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THE

# HISTORY OF CANADA,

FROM ITS

FIRST DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JOHN MERCIER McMULLEN.

THIRD EDITION,  
REVISED AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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## PREFACE.

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THE long period of thirty-six years has passed away, since the author of these volumes completed his first History of Canada. It was written under circumstances of considerable difficulty. In the first place, the author had then only resided for a few years in this country, and knew very little, comparatively speaking, of its political or social life. In the second place, while endeavouring to supply a much-felt want, there being at that time no complete history of Canada in existence, he had none of that real leisure so requisite for good literary work. In the third place, the materials then available for the history of Upper Canada were exceedingly scanty and fragmentary; the burning of the Parliament buildings having made sad havoc with the public records of every description. After spending over two years in collecting every work of any value bearing on the annals of this country, which came to his notice, he found that there were still large gaps left, as regarded the requisite historical material, which had to be filled in order to enable him to construct a consecutive narrative. These gaps he was eventually able to bridge over by aid from local sources. Brockville had been settled at an early period of the U. E. Loyalist immigration, and among its original inhabitants were several persons of education and literary tastes, who soon commenced to form libraries of their own, and to collect

every book and pamphlet throwing light on the earlier settlement of this country that came in their way.— Several of these collections were courteously placed at the author's service. The files of the Brockville *Weekly Recorder*, from the date of its first publication in 1820, carefully bound and preserved by its publisher,\* proved of great value; as well as a full set of the statutes of Upper Canada, from 1792 onwards, which formed part of the library of a Brockville barrister.† At the same time, old books and pamphlets were discovered, in half-forgotten places, many of which proved of no small historical benefit. With these helps, in addition to his own collection of books on this country, the product in several instances of much research, from cellar to attic, in New York second-hand bookstores, the author was enabled to write the first complete History of Canada, which however deficient it may have been, in some respects, has formed the basis of every historical narrative, touching the Province of Ontario, from that day to this; and from this point of view, if not from any other, it has been of no small value to its people. A new edition of this work, continued down to the Confederation of the Dominion, was published in 1868. Unfortunately, however, the same circumstances that operated against the more careful preparation, for the press, of the first edition, also affected the second one. The author still remained immersed in the cares of a considerable mercantile as well as newspaper business, and, therefore, without the necessary leisure for literary work. The greater part of the first edition was accordingly reprinted without having been properly revised, and the new matter added was not as carefully digested as it should have been. The second edition was printed in Scotland, in order to obtain an Imperial copyright; and as the author had not, therefore, the opportunity of correcting the proof-sheets, several small errors were permitted to creep into the text. He then supposed that his his-

\* The late William Buell. † The late D. B. O. Ford.



torical labours, such as they were, had been finally terminated ; and that the greatly widened literary field, which now presented itself, would lead some more competent writer, with the necessary leisure at his command, to undertake the task of giving the people of Canada a good general history of their country. As yet, however, no historian of this description has made his appearance, and the *hiatus valde deflendus* in our literature still continues to exist.\* In order to prepare the way for his advent at some future day, to supply him in part, at least, with the necessary material for his labours, and, in the meanwhile, to fill a present literary want, these volumes are now most respectfully submitted to the public. They contain only a part of the author's former work, and even that part has been carefully revised, or wholly re-written, and largely added to. Every old authority originally used has been re examined, and every important statement verified anew, while the historical material of any value which has accumulated since Confederation has been fully consulted, the chief object being to make this work as accurate and as reliable as possible. To render it still more useful, especially for reference purposes, in addition to the very full "table of contents," a copious index will be supplied at the end of the second volume, which will be shortly put to press.

Wholly independent of political parties ; without the slightest disposition to favour either one side or the other, but most anxious to deal fairly by both ; with an experience ripened by the progress of time and a close and constant observation of public affairs and public men, the author has applied himself to the task of giving the people of Canada a history of their country,

\* The reader will bear in mind that the author is only speaking of a general History of Canada. Many excellent works exist on detached portions of Canadian History. Garneau's History of Lower Canada, up to the Union in 1840, although written from a French-Canadian stand point, and very inaccurate and misleading at times, is an excellent work on the whole. Parkman's admirable series, based almost exclusively on records from the archives of France, or on the authority of French writers, completely exhaust all the more dramatic and romantic episodes of the Canada of the Old *Régime*, and clearly prove how frequently wrong and partial Garneau is.

so full, in all essential detail, as to leave no important occurrence untouched ; so condensed as not to weary or confuse the reader with tedious description, or unprofitable narrative. While telling the truth to the best of his ability, without fear, favour or affection, his desire is to make these volumes as easy and as pleasant reading as possible, and thus win his countrymen to a better acquaintance with their own history as a people—a history most prolific of interesting episode, of romance in war and peace, of moving incident by flood and field.

In addition to writing what he hopes will be considered an impartial, and, for all practical purposes, a sufficiently extended History of Canada, the author designs that his work should be also a History of the Canadian people,—of their fortunes and misfortunes ; of their past difficulties ; of their present success. Since 1853, when he commenced to work on the first edition, the changes in this country have been very great.—The vast Province of Ontario had then within its borders only two miles of railway, which constituted a horse-tramway extending from the village of Chippewa to Niagara Falls ; and during the winter season, with all its water-ways frozen over, it was virtually shut out from the rest of the world, so far as commerce and ordinary travel were concerned, for almost six months in the year. To-day all Canada is in touch with the whole civilized world, by railway, by steamship, by telegraph, from January to December. Her iron roads stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and traverse a greater extent of empire than Imperial Rome could boast of in its palmy days. Practically independent ; collecting and expending her own revenue ; making her own laws ; at liberty to raise armies and construct fleets, if she will, it is scarcely necessary to say that the future of Canada rests largely with her own people. They have all the elements of solid and secure success within themselves, if they only use them courageously and wisely. To do this, however, race

prejudices, race differences, and an unhealthy seeking for race ascendancy, must be laid aside, and the whole people learn to act harmoniously together for the general good. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," and neither can a nation. Canada owns millions of acres of fertile land, for the present and coming generations to go in and possess, and if her people are only true to themselves, true to their best interests, her future lot should be one of great expansion and prosperity. Her principal national sin in the past has been the long struggle for race supremacy.—It is her principal sin now! National sins are sure to bring down, sooner or later, national punishments; and the people of Canada cannot look to be exempt from the immutable law taught by all history, ancient and modern—sacred and profane. The author's first work, despite its short-comings, did much, in one way or another, to develop a more national spirit. He trusts that the present work, so much fuller, and more carefully prepared for the press, will foster anew the same spirit, and thus prove of real value to the Canadian people, and the best legacy an old friend and ardent well-wisher could leave them.

THE AUTHOR.

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## ERRATA.

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Page 36, line 38, for more and critical, read more and more critical.

Page 52, line 43, for principle read *principal*.

Page 176, line 6, for sentinel read *sentinels*.

Page 217, line 22, for officer read *officers*.

Page 217, line 30, for gentlemen read *gentleman*

Page 234, note, for 1873 read *1763*.

Page 286, line 30, for the read *its*.

Page 294, line 1, for is read *it*.

Page 319, line 32, for gentlemen read *gentleman*.

Page 447, note, for 1830 read *1820*.

Page 468, line 35, for stalworth read *stalwart*.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE discovery of America revealed to the wondering gaze of civilised humanity a people in the rudest and most primitive condition.\* The annals of the Old World had no corresponding spectacle to present. Even the earliest historians of Greece and Rome had not left a single fact on record, as evidence of an acquaintance with any portion of the human family in the primal stages of existence. In every region within the sphere of their observation society had already made considerable progress ; and the several nations of their day had long before emerged from the social dimness and historical uncertainties which belong to a first condition. The Scythians and Germans, the barbarians of antiquity, were acquainted with the useful metals ; possessed flocks and herds and other property of various descriptions ; and, when compared with the aborigines of this continent, had already attained to a high degree of civilisation.

In some instances the red man appeared in the rudest state in which it is possible for our species to exist. Accompanied solely by his wife and children, he roamed, like a beast of prey, through

\* In the New World the state of mankind was ruder and the aspect of nature extremely different. Throughout all its vast regions there were only two monarchies remarkable for extent of territory, or distinguished by any progress in improvement. The rest of this continent was possessed by small independent tribes, destitute of arts and industry, and neither capable to correct the defects nor desirous to meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation. Countries occupied by such people were almost in the same state as if they had been without inhabitants. *Robertson's Amer.* vol. i. p. 126.



the forests and over the savannas of South America, subjected to no restraints but those imposed by the imperious necessities of his condition, or the caprices of his own will; and revelling in that primeval simplicity which, in the other continents, was known only by the imaginary descriptions of the poet.\* In other instances his wants were compelling him to seek a closer union with his fellow-man, and accordingly communities were beheld in the first process of formation. In Brazil, in Tierra Firme and Paraguay, many of the ruder tribes were unacquainted with every description of cultivation. They neither sowed nor reaped: and lived upon the spontaneous productions of the soil, the fruits and berries which they found in the woods, the products of their teeming rivers, and the lizards and other reptiles so numerous in those warm and prolific regions.

The Iroquois, the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the other principal North American tribes, occupied a point in social progress as far in advance of these barbarous natives of the south as it was inferior to the condition of the Mexicans and Peruvians. They cultivated maize and a few vegetables, lived in villages, had made some progress in two or three of the more necessary arts of life, and recognised certain fixed principles of public policy in their intercourse with other tribes.

When Canada was first discovered by the French, the Algonquins and Hurons† held chief sway within its limits. The territory of the former extended along both banks of the St. Lawrence as high as Cornwall, and also embraced the district watered by the Lower Ottawa, while kindred tribes occupied the New England States and the country along the southern and eastern shores of the upper lakes. They were a bold and warlike race, subsisting principally by the chase, for which the vast forests of the north afforded the most ample scope, and were reputed to be more advanced in their

\* Man, in some parts of America, appears in a form so rude that we can discover no effects of his activity, and the principle of understanding, which should direct it, seems hardly to be unfolded. Like all other animals, he has no fixed residence; he has erected no habitation to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather; he has taken no measures for securing certain subsistence; he neither sows nor reaps; but roams about as led in search of the plants and fruits which the earth brings forth in succession; and in quest of game which he kills in the forest, or of the fish which he catches in rivers.—*Rob. Amer.* vol. i. p. 152.

† This tribe were frequently called Wyandots.

public policy and general intelligence than any of the neighbouring tribes.\* The Hurons occupied the left bank of the Upper St. Lawrence, the northern shore of Lake Ontario, the district lying around Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, and the eastern extremity of Lake Huron where their more populous settlements existed, and which the Jesuits, in the middle of the seventeenth century, estimated at twenty thousand souls, resident in thirty-two villages containing some seven hundred dwellings. Their close alliance, however, with the Algonquins, induced them frequently to establish themselves lower down the St. Lawrence; and in 1534, Cartier met with them at Anticosti and the Bay of Chaleur.† At Hochelaga he found them occupying a well-defended and populous village. Regarding the chase as a precarious mode of subsistence, they did not, like the Algonquins, disdain the cultivation of the soil, and partially devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits, from which, imperfect as their mode of tillage was, the fertile glebe and favourable climate of their country usually enabled them to reap a most abundant return.‡ A few unimportant tribes, or rather

\* Colden.

† When the tribes were all settled, the Wyandots were placed at the head. They lived in the interior, at the mountains east, about the St. Lawrence.—They were the first tribe of old, and had the first chieftainship. Their chief said to their nephew, the Lenapees, go down to the sea-coast and look, and if you see anything, bring me word. They had a village near the sea-side, and often looked, but saw nothing except birds. At length they espied an object, which seemed to grow, and come nearer and nearer. When it came near the land it stopped, but all the people were afraid, and fled to the woods. The next day two of their number ventured out to look. It was lying quietly on the water. A smaller object of the same sort came out of it, and walked with long legs (oars) over the water. When it came to land two men came out of it. They were different from us, and made signs for the others to come out of the woods. A conference ensued. Presents were exchanged. They gave presents to the Lenapees, and the latter gave them their skin clothes as curiosities.—*Schoolcraft*, p. 199.

‡ As the country was thinly inhabited, and by a people of little industry, who had none of the domestic animals which civilised nations rear in such vast numbers, the earth was not exhausted by their consumption. The vegetable productions, to which the fertility of the soil gave birth, often remained untouched, and being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment from air and water, if they were not destroyed by man or other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. Thus the unoccupied soil of America may have gone on enriching for many ages. The vast number, as

clans, were scattered over the remaining portions of the country ; but all these, like the Nipissings, were merely off-shoots of the Algonquin and Huron races, and spoke their language. No *data* exist on which to base anything approximating to a correct estimate of the population of Canada at this period ; but it certainly did not exceed fifty thousand souls. These were scattered here and there over the vast area extending from Gaspe to Goderich, which could easily sustain a population of many millions.\*

The Iroquois were a separate people, and spoke a language of their own. Their territory proper lay wholly within the present State of New York, from above the Highlands of the Hudson River to Lake Erie. The Iroquois' confederacy originally embraced five tribes, the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca, which were again sub-divided into clans. The homes of the Mohawks were made in the pleasant and fertile valley, through which winds the river that bears their name ; the Oneidas the Onondagas and the Cayugas occupied the centre of the

well as enormous size, of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigour of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the New World, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould ; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter is still employed in diminishing and wasting its superfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a fit state for profitable culture.—*Rob.* vol. i. p. 129. *Charlevoix, History New France*, vol. iii. p. 405.

\* While hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a vast extent of territory is requisite for supporting a small number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals on which they depend for food diminish, or fly to a greater distance from the haunts of the enemy. The increase of a society in this state is limited by its own nature, and the members of it must either disperse, like the game which they pursue, or fall upon some better method of procuring food than by hunting. Beasts of prey are by nature solitary and unsocial ; they go not forth to the chase in herds, but delight in those recesses of the forest where they can roam and destroy undisturbed. A nation of hunters resembles them both in occupation and in genius. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence ; and they must drive to a distance every rival who may encroach on those domains, which they consider as their own. This was the state of all the American tribes ; the numbers in each were inconsiderable, though scattered over countries of great extent ; they were far removed from one another, and engaged in perpetual hostilities or rivalry. In America, the word *nation* is not of the same import as in other parts of the globe. It is applied to small societies, not exceeding, perhaps, two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces greater than some kingdoms in Europe.—*Maresat's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 360.

State ; and the Senecas, the most numerous of them all, built their villages in the Genesee country. It was thus grouped that authentic history first found the Five Nations, as they were termed, when Samuel Champlain penetrated into their country with the war-parties of the Algonquins and the Hurons. At a later period, when the Tuscaroras, a kindred southern tribe, entered the confederacy, and found a new home near the Oneidas, the Iroquois became the Six Nation Indians, a name they have continued to bear from that day to this. Each tribe had a separate organisation of its own, and was subdivided into totemic clans which had a distinguishing "totem" or mark, representing some bird, or beast, or reptile. In its sachem it had a hereditary adviser, whose assistants were the inferior chiefs, and principal men of the tribe. But when foreign powers had to be treated with, or grave questions of general policy determined, an assembly of delegates convened at the great central council house in the Onondaga Valley. There ambassadors were received, alliances entered into, and business transacted for the whole confederacy. Time-honoured usage governed the rules of procedure in this Indian Parliament, and during the fiercest debates it maintained its dignity and self-control.\*—Intellectually the Iroquois stood at the head of all the red men of North America ; while in courage, endurance and firmness of purpose, they had no superior. There is no evidence that Cartier ever met with any of the confederates, who, in his time, do not appear to have penetrated as far as the St. Lawrence ; and the Algonquins and Hurons were still in secure possession of their ancient hunting grounds. But when Champlain came to Canada, some sixty years after Cartier's death, he found the Iroquois engaged in active hostilities with the northern tribes, to whom he rendered important aid in repelling the invaders, an occurrence that the latter never forgot nor forgave. During the seventeenth century the Iroquois ascended to the zenith of their power, and dominated, either by force or policy, over all the surrounding tribes. Their war-parties roamed over half of North America, from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi ; from the tide waters of the Atlantic to the head-streams of the Illinois, and left death and desolation behind them wherever they turned their steps. Amid the hills of New England the war-cry of the Mohawks filled its Indians with dismay, until at last they abandoned altogether the shores of Lake Champlain,

\* Parkman's Jesuits, Intro. p. 59.

and retired into the recesses of the forests of the State of Maine, or towards the sea-coast, to escape from their formidable foes. In Pennsylvania the Delawares, and its other kindred Algonquin tribes, unconditionally submitted to the Iroquois, became their tributaries, and were not even permitted to bear arms; so that Penn and his Quakers, when they came to make treaties with them, found a people to deal with almost as peaceably inclined as themselves. But Penn had to pay twice for his purchase—first to the Delawares, and afterwards to their confederate masters. It is amazing that the Iroquois, a comparatively small nation, whose fighting strength never much exceeded three thousand warriors, could dominate over almost half a continent. Around them, in every direction, were either tribes who had submitted completely to their sway, or vast tracts of desolate wilderness, from which they had swept the original inhabitants, who had preferred death or banishment to tame submission to their implacable enemy. During the seventeenth century the Canadian tribes, from Quebec to Lake Huron, were almost wholly destroyed, the wretched remnant fleeing for their lives to the fastnesses north of the great lakes, and their country converted into a vast wilderness, and game preserve, for the benefit of the hunting parties of the Iroquois who, from time to time, chose to frequent it. All Indian title to the soil was thus violently extinguished, and the land left vacant, to be afterwards occupied without dispute by another and more fortunate people.

The national pride of the Iroquois was as intolerant and unbounded as their lust for power. Masterful as they were, as regarded the native races, they did not hesitate to assail the French of Canada, whom they soon came to look upon as their mortal foes, in order to compel them to abandon the country altogether, and almost succeeded in the attempt. But, in this direction, they at last found the most formidable of all their antagonists. As time moved onwards, and the French obtained a more solid and secure hold on the country beyond the Alleghany Mountains, one western tribe after another became their allies, and under their protection were at last able to safely set the Iroquois at defiance. Even their subjects the Delawares, crowded at length out of eastern Pennsylvania, by the advancing waves of white settlement, after crossing the Alleghany Mountains into the Ohio Valley, again resumed arms, and asserted their independence. About the same time, the Ottawas and other fugitive Canadian tribes, expelled from their country by the Iroquois, descended from their fastnesses beyond Lake



Huron, whither they had fled for refuge, and made new homes for themselves around the pleasant waters of Lake St. Clair, along the Detroit River and the southern shore of Lake Erie, once the undisputed territory of their ancient foes. Gradually, in this way, and mainly owing to French support, tribe after tribe, at the north and west, threw off the galling yoke of the Iroquois, who had now to recede from one vantage point after another, until at length they were finally compelled to restrict themselves to their original territory within the bounds of the State of New York, where we find them, still a formidable confederacy, at the commencement of the seven years' war which gave Canada to Great Britain. Nor had they lost much of their strength when the War of Independence broke out. That war utterly shattered the confederacy. The Mohawks, the Oneidas and the Onondagas were especially active in behalf of the Crown, which led to their settlements being utterly destroyed by a strong force of American troops, under General Sullivan, and they had finally to retire to Canada with the other U. E. Loyalists. The Senecas were permitted to remain, and eventually placed on a reservation in western New York, where they now reside in undiminished numbers.

The history of the Canadian Indians, prior to the arrival of the French amongst them, is shrouded in the deepest obscurity. In this respect they resembled the other northern tribes, whose numerous wars and frequent migrations had effectually neutralised whatever benefits, in a historical point of view, they might have derived from their knowledge of pictorial writing.\* Unlike the Aztecs and Peruvians, who, from memorials of this kind, could give a correct outline of their histories for several centuries, the Canadian Indians possessed only a few meagre traditions and crude reminiscences of the past, equally unreliable and unworthy of serious attention. Their social condition was in accordance with the rude state of mental culture which these facts bespeak. Their weapons of war and of the chase were a hatchet of stone, a knife of bone, the bow and its flint-headed arrow. Their culinary utensils were restricted to a coarse description of pottery, and rough wooden vessels, which, on the arrival of the French traders, were speedily superseded by the more portable and convenient brass or

\* The Iroquois and Hurons made hieroglyphic paintings on wood, which bear a strong resemblance to those of the Mexicans.—*La Hinton*, p. 193. Schoolcraft also alludes to the pictorial writing of the Canadian Indians.

iron kettle. Their agricultural implements were equally primitive. Patches of forest were occasionally cleared by the united efforts of a tribe or clan, who felled the trees with their light stone hatchets, at an enormous sacrifice of time and labour;\* and months passed over in producing results, which are now exceeded by a single backwoodsman in as many days. This duty devolved on the men, who only performed it when absolutely necessary to their subsistence, and after they had exhausted the open glades of the forest by continual cropping. To the women and children the proud and indolent savage left the labour of slightly loosening the rich loam with hoes roughly made of wood, or stakes hardened in the fire; of sowing the crop of maize, and the few vegetables with which they were acquainted; of freeing these from weeds; of harvesting and storing them in pits dug in the earth, to protect them from the winter frosts, the wild animals of the forest, and, not infrequently, from their own improvident husbands or fathers.† With wheat,

\* All the savage tribes, scattered over the continent and islands, were totally unacquainted with the metals, which their soil produces in great abundance, if we except some trifling quantity of gold which they picked up in the torrents that descended from their mountains, and formed into ornaments. Their devices to supply this want of the serviceable metals were extremely rude and awkward. The most simple operation was to them an undertaking of immense difficulty and labour. To fell a tree with no other instruments than hatchets of stone was employment for a month. To form a canoe into shape, and to hollow it, consumed years, and it frequently began to rot before they were able to finish it. Their operations in agriculture were equally slow and defective. In a country covered with woods of the hardest timber, the clearing of a small field destined for culture required the united efforts of a tribe, and was a work of much time and great toil. This was the business of the men, and their indolence was satisfied with performing it in a very slovenly manner. The labour of cultivation was left to the women, who, after digging, or rather stirring, the field with wooden mattocks, and stakes hardened in the fire, sowed or planted it; but they were more indebted for the increase to the fertility of the soil than to their own rude industry.—*Rob. Amer.* vol. i. p. 160.

† Their houses are smaller in the summer, when their families be dispersed by reason of heate and occasions. In the winter they make some fiftie or threescore foote long, fortie or fiftie men being inmates under one rooffe; and as is their husband's occasion, these poor taconists are often troubled, like snails, to carrie their houses on their backs, sometimes to fishing places, other times to hunting places, after that to a planting place, where it abides the longest; another work is their planting of corne, wherein they exceed our *English* husbandmen, keeping it so cleare with their clamme shell hoes, as if it were a garden rather than a corne-field, not suffering a choaking



and the other cereal grains, the American Indian was wholly unacquainted; and, aside from the products of the chase and the fruits of his fishing labours, maize constituted his principal article of food. Although vast herds of buffaloes traversed the prairies and forests of his native land, his knowledge, unlike that of the aborigines of Hindostan, had not taught him to use them for the purposes of the dairy, nor subdue them to the labours of the field. Of the horse he was wholly ignorant; and not even the dog submitted to his intelligence, or rendered him the smallest service in the chase, or during his frequent forays on the territories of his foes.

Female life among the Hurons stood on a much lower plane, than it occupied among any of the other northern tribes. With the Algonquins a lapse in womanly virtue was regarded as a disgrace; while the Iroquois had clear ideas of the value of female honour, and their matrons frequently exercised no small influence on the decisions of even their councils of state. But womanly life among the Hurons had little or nothing of this brighter and better side. It was a youth of license, and an old age of hardship and drudgery. The Hurons, male and female, were notoriously dissolute. Divorce took place in the most summary fashion, at the will or caprice of either party, and the marriage tie was lightly considered. Once a mother, however, the marriage relation was regarded as more permanent, and the Huron woman, from the wanton such as Cartier's people met with, then became a mere domestic drudge, to fetch and carry, and plant and reap, at the capricious will of her husband. On the march it was she who bore the burden; and when in camp she toiled from morning till night, while her master slept or amused himself. Her good looks speedily fled under the burden of this wretched existence, and premature old age presently came on. Every Huron village abounded with shrivelled hags, hideous and despised, who in vindictiveness, ferocity and cruelty, surpassed every warrior of their tribe.\*

Nor were the morals of the Hurons otherwise of a much better

weede to advance his audacious head above their infant corne, or an undermining worme to spoile his spurnes. Their corne being ripe, they gather it, and, drying it hard in the sunne, convey it to their barnes, which be great holes digged in the ground in forme of a brass pot, sealed with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corne, covering it from the inquisitive search of their gormandising husbands, who would eate up both their allowed portion and reserved seede, if they knew where to find it.—*New England Prospect, 1744.*

\* Parkman's Jesuits, Intro. p. 35.

character. They were gluttons of the worst kind, and when food was plentiful gorged themselves like vultures. They were also inveterate gamblers, and often, in this way, lost everything they possessed. In addition, they were notorious thieves, and were always ready to steal the property of others when they could do it with safety. In accordance with custom the plundered party was not only permitted to retake his property by force, but, also, if he could, to strip the robber of all he had.

While in a primitive condition, the wants and desires of mankind are few and simple in their character. Protection from the weather, a sufficiency of food, and safety from enemies, constitute the chief objects of existence. In summer the tough bark of the birch-tree enabled the Indian to construct, entirely to his own satisfaction, a dwelling by the side of some pleasant stream or grateful forest glade. In winter this was exchanged, by the more provident, for a hut substantially built of earth and wood, which was frequently occupied in common by several families. The skins of the beaver, the fox, the marten, the buffalo, and the deer, which fell victims to his skill or courage in the chase, after undergoing a simple yet effectual process of tanning, were readily converted into garments such as he required.\* In ordinary seasons his exertions as a hunter, and the labours of his wife and children, supplied him with abundance of wholesome and nutritious food ; but his improvident and indolent habits usually prevented him from making provisions for seasons of deficiency in his patch of maize, or of an unusual scarcity of game. Hence, he occasionally experienced periods of great distress, and, after devouring the carcasses of the dead animals which chance threw in his way, the skins he had accumulated for clothing or traffic, and everything around him capable of sustaining life, he became the victim of starvation in its most protracted and direst form.

Like the other natives of North America, the peculiar condition of the Canadian Indian gave a colouring to his religious tenets.—He believed indeed in a future state ; but did not, like the Christian, regard it as a heaven of rest or an eternity of punishment. It was simply with him another experimental world, peopled with the souls of animals as well as men, in which the Great Spirit would be alike merciful to all, irrespective of their conduct in this life. After

\* Their intercourse with Europeans soon taught the Indians that it was more profitable to exchange their furs for clothing, powder, &c.

death\* the soul was still supposed to experience all the necessities of a corporeal existence. It hungered, and food must be deposited on the grave : it suffered from cold, and the body of the departed must be wrapped in clothes : it was in darkness, and a light must be kindled by its resting-place. The spirit wandered over tedious plains, paddled its bark-canoe across mighty rivers, and traversed the pathless forest in search of the paradise of happy hunting grounds, where it arrived at length to find game in abundance, and freedom from the privations of hunger and cold which had beset it in the body.†

Although debased by superstition, a degrading deference to his priest or medicine man, a mythological faith in his manitou, and

\* They believe, at least to some extent, in a duality of souls, one of which is fleshly, or corporeal, the other is incorporeal or mental. The fleshly soul goes immediately, at death, to the land of spirits or future bliss. The mental soul abides with the body, and hovers round the place of sepulture. A future state is regarded by them as a state of rewards, and not of future punishments. They expect to inhabit a paradise filled with pleasures for the eye and the ear, and the taste. A strong and universal belief in divine mercies absorbs every other attribute of the Great Spirit, except His power and ubiquity ; and they believe, so far as we can gather it, that His mercy will be shown to all. There is not, in general, a very discriminating sense of moral distinctions and responsibilities, and the faint out-shadowings, which we sometimes hear among them, of a deep and sombre stream to be crossed by the adventurous soul, in its way to the land of bliss, does not exercise such a practical influence over their lives as to interfere with the belief of universal acceptance after death. So firm is this belief, that their most reverend term for the Great Spirit is *Gezba Monedo*, that is to say *Merciful Spirit*. *Gitchy Monedo*, which is also employed, is often an equivocal phrase. The term *Wazheaud*, or *Maker*, is used to designate the Creator, when speaking of His animated works. The compound phrase *Waosemigoyan*, or *Universal Father*, is also heard.—*Schoolcraft*, p. 204.

† With respect to the other great doctrine of religion concerning the immortality of the soul, the sentiments of the Americans were more united ; the human mind, even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thoughts of annihilation, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. This sentiment, resulting from a secret consciousness of its own dignity, from an instinctive longing after immortality, is universal, and may be deemed natural. Upon this are founded the most exalted hopes of man in his highest state of improvement ; nor has nature withheld from him this soothing consolation in the most early and rude period of his progress. We can trace this opinion from one extremity of America to the other, in some regions more faint and obscure in others more perfectly developed, but nowhere unknown. The most uncivilised of its savage tribes do not apprehend death as the extinction of

numerous other inferior deities,\* the Indian firmly believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, or Great Spirit, as he termed him, who made the heavens, and all material things by the power of his will.† He next created animals and man out of the earth, and

being. All entertain hope of a future and more happy state, where they shall be for ever exempt from the calamities which embitter human life in its present condition. This future state they conceive to be a delightful country, blessed with perpetual spring, whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, where famine is never felt, and uninterrupted plenty shall be enjoyed without labour or toil. But as men, in forming their first imperfect ideas concerning the invisible world, suppose that there they shall continue to feel the same desires, and to be engaged in the same occupations, as in the present world, they naturally ascribe eminence and distinction in that state to the same qualities and talents which are here objects of their esteem.—*Rob. vol. i. p. 183.*

\* *Rob. Amer. vol. i. p. 184 ; Charl. N. F. vol. iii. p. 422. Parkman's Jesuits, Intro. p. 68.*

† Whenever men acknowledge the reality of supernatural power and discernment in one instance, they have a propensity to admit it in others. The Americans did not long suppose the efficacy of conjuration to be confined to one subject. They had recourse to it in every situation of danger or distress. When the events of war were peculiarly disastrous, when they met unforeseen disappointment in hunting, when inundations or drought threatened their crops with destruction, they called upon their conjurors to begin their incantations, in order to discover the causes of those calamities, or to foretell what would be their issue. Their confidence in this delusive art gradually increased, and manifested itself in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any transaction of moment, every individual regularly consulted the sorcerer, and depended upon his instructions to extricate him from the former, as well as to direct his conduct in the latter. Even among the rudest tribes in America, superstition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high esteem. Long before man had acquired such knowledge of the Deity as inspires reverence and leads to adoration, we observe him stretching out a presumptuous hand to draw aside that veil with which Providence kindly conceals its purposes from human knowledge ; and we find him labouring with fruitless anxiety to penetrate into the mysteries of the divine administration. To discern and to worship a superintending power is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding ; a vain desire of prying into futurity is the error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness.

From this weakness likewise proceeds the faith of the Americans in dreams their observation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds, and the cries of animals, all which they suppose to be indications of future events ; and if any one of these prognostics is deemed unfavourable, they instantly abandon the pursuit of those measures on which they are most eagerly bent. *Rob. Amer. vol. i. p. 185.*

subsequently two spirits, a good and evil one, who continually strove for mastery. These, in the characters attributed to them by the Indian, closely resembled the Ariman and Hormuzd of the Guebre creed, as well as the Shiva and Vishnu of Hinduism. The idea embodied in this belief might be said, in fact, to constitute the groundwork of his religion, his sacrifices, and his worship. He endeavoured continually to appease the evil spirit—to disarm its malignant tendencies. He was persuaded that his good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their natures, would bestow every blessing in their gift without solicitation or acknowledgment.—Hence, his only anxiety was to soothe and deprecate the wrath of those powers whom he regarded as the enemies of mankind.\* Antagonistic as a belief of this kind is to the pure genius of Christianity, it merits nevertheless the closest attention of the philosopher. Amid all his wars and wanderings the dim traditions of a creation, and of a general deluge, were perpetuated from generation to generation by the Indian, who, separated from his fellow-man from remotest time, bears, like the silent ruins of Nineveh, in this very knowledge, most important testimony to the truth of the Biblical narrative.†

The political condition of the North American Indians was democratic in the extreme. Possessing their hunting grounds in common, and accustomed to divide their stores of provisions with one another when pressed for food, the distinctions arising from inequality of possessions were unknown amongst them. Their greatest chief and meanest warrior were on a par in point of landed property. Their huts were constructed alike, and furnished in the same rude manner: their weapons were precisely similar: to the river and forest they had equal claims. Exulting in their freedom, they acknowledged no superiority but that arising from personal prowess or superior intelligence. When they found it necessary to attack an enemy, the warrior of the most approved courage led them to the combat: in the chase, the hunter of the greatest experience directed their motions: in the council lodge, the most eloquent orator swayed their decisions.‡ During periods of tranquility, all superiority ceased: the entire community occupied the same position, and scarcely seemed to feel the ties of political union. Destitute of any form of local government, they knew,

\* *Rob. Amer.* p. 182. Parkman's Jesuits, Intro. p. 75. † Parkman's Jesuits Intro. p. 73. ‡ *War. Con. of Can.* vol. i. p. 175.



nothing of the duties of the magistrate, and were left at liberty to follow the dictates of individual inclination : without questions of property to decide, or suits to institute, they had no occasion for the services of the lawyer. If any scheme of public utility was proposed, each member of the community adopted it, and aided in its execution, or otherwise, as he deemed proper. Nothing was compulsory with him : all his resolutions were voluntary, and flowed from the impulse of his own mind.

It does not appear that even the first step had been taken, among either the Algonquins or the Hurons, towards the establishment of a public jurisdiction. In the extreme case of murder, the right of vengeance belonged to the friends of the party slain, and not to the community. Their resentment was usually implacable, and not infrequently transmitted from father to son for generations.—The instinct of self-defence, one of the first aroused in the human breast, evidently was the great bond of union. They united in communities, and obeyed the authority of a leader in time of war, simply because such a course was necessary for personal safety and the protection of their hunting grounds.\*

Like the other aborigines of America, the Canadian Indian, when thoroughly aroused, displayed all the fierceness characteristic of the savage. Cruel and unrelenting in warfare, the remembrance of his massacres still lingers over many a neighbourhood in the New England States. His murders alike of old and young, his cruel treatment of his prisoners, his partial cannibalism, are too generally known to require more than a passing notice in this brief

\* Hunting on their grounds without leave, robbery, and personal violence, are the motives to an Indian war. Before they set out on their expeditions, a feast of dogs' flesh is generally prepared, which is invariably followed by the war dance. Then the chiefs recite the glorious achievements of the forefathers of the young warriors, to excite their valour, after which they paint themselves with vermilion in the most frightful manner. The route they are to pursue is usually traced on a piece of the bark of a tree. Their conduct of their wars is certainly not calculated to admit of them taking many prisoners, for instead of marching in strong parties, they often go out singly and surprise the foe, whom they kill and scalp. If the prisoners are unable to march, or dangerous by their numbers, they are destroyed. Such as are brought into a state of safety, they generally adopt as their own children. They are almost universally brave, and meet death with heroic firmness.—Intolerable contempt is the sure consequence of pusillanimity.—*Smith's Hist. Can.* vol. i. p. 47 ; *Char. N. F.* vol. iii. p. 266, 467, 469.

introductory sketch. But, if the Canadian Indian possessed the vices of the savage, he also inherited his virtues in an eminent degree. Bold in war, skilful in the chase, eloquent at the council-fire, and thoroughly independent, he was capable of acting on many occasions with great force and dignity. At the same time he was sincerely attached to his tribe: the Algonquins especially evinced the most chivalric spirit touching the preservation of its honour, and frequently braved the greatest dangers, and endured the most excruciating torments without a groan, that it might not be disgraced.

The gentler affections, too, exercised a much more powerful influence among the Indians of Canada than has been generally supposed. They were strongly attached to their children, treated their parents in many instances with tenderness,\* and had a profound veneration for their dead. The ties of relationship were respected and acknowledged, and in some cases accurately traced for generations. The relation of husband and wife was clearly understood and well defined, and polygamy, although permitted by custom, was rarely practised.

Such were the prominent characteristics of the tribes who once held possession of this country. But a few generations have since passed away, and flourishing cities, and towns and villages, and thousands of happy homesteads, occupy those regions where they chased the deer and trapped the beaver in the silent depths of the primeval forest. Instead of the war-whoop of the Algonquin or the Huron, the church bell now swells out on the vesper breeze, and the silence of the wilderness has given place to the sounds of

\* There lived a noted chief at Michilimackinac, in days past called Nay-grow, or the Great-Sand-Dune, a name which he had, probably, derived from his birth and early residence at a spot of very imposing appearance, so called, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, which is east of the range of the Pictured Rocks. He was a Chippewa, a warrior and a councillor of that tribe, and had mingled freely in the stirring scenes of war and border foray, which marked the closing years of French domination in the Canadas. They were then inland on the Manistee river, which enters the northern shores of Lake Michigan. It was his last winter on earth; his heart was gladdened by once more feeling the genial rays of spring, and he desired to go with them, to behold, for the last time, the expanded lake and inhale its pure breezes. He must needs be conveyed by hand. This act of piety was performed by his daughter, then a young woman. She carried him on her back from their camp to the lake shore, where they erected their lodge and passed the spring, and where he eventually died and was buried.—*School*. p. 191.



industrial life, or the blithesome whistle of the ploughman. A poor and thinly-scattered community of improvident savages has been succeeded by an orderly, industrious, and enterprising people, whose genius and resources embody all the germs of a great nation, and there is thus little room for regret that the possession of the soil has been transferred to another race, and that the rule of the fierce Indian has for ever passed away.

# THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

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## CHAPTER I.

NEARLY four centuries have passed away since the discovery of America constituted a new epoch in the annals of civilisation. The vague ideas of unknown climes indulged in by Strabo,\* the dim prophecies of Seneca,† the romantic theories of Plato,‡ the philosophic speculations of the middle ages,§ had all pointed to an actual reality, however obscurely ; and the return of Columbus to Spain, on the 4th of January, 1493, after an absence of seven months, dispelled every doubt regarding the existence of hitherto unknown regions amid the waters of the western Atlantic.

The wise and politic Henry VII., who then sat upon the throne

\*“ It is very possible that in the same temperate zone, and almost in the same latitude as Athens, there are inhabited worlds distinct from that in which we dwell.” Strabo, lib. 1. p. 65.

† “ Seneca held that a vast country was originally situated in the Atlantic Ocean, and rent asunder by a violent earthquake. The portion which still remained unsubmerged by the ocean, would one day be discovered. Malte Brun.

‡ Buffon quoting Plato’s *Timæus*, relative to the destruction of *Atalantis*, says, it is not devoid of probability. The land swallowed up by the waters were perhaps those which united Ireland to the Azores, and the Azores to the continent of America ; for in Ireland there are the same fossils, the same shells, and the same sea-bodies as appear in America : and some of which are found in no other parts of Europe. Buffon’s *Natural History*, vol. 1. p. 306.

§ In the middle ages, the prevalent opinion was, that the sea covered but one-seventh of the Globe, an opinion which Cardinal d’Ally founded on the book of Ezra. Columbus, who always derived much of his cosmological knowledge from the cardinal’s work, was much interested in supporting this opinion of the smallness of the sea. He also used to cite Aristotle, Seneca, and St. Augustine in its support.—Humboldt,

of England, was not a little moved by the intelligence which so profoundly agitated the maritime nations of Europe. The mere accident of the capture, by pirates, of the brother of Columbus when on his way to the English court, had in all probability robbed that king of the glory of the great navigator's discoveries being made under his auspices, and deprived the nation at large of the vast commercial benefits which he foresaw they must sooner or later produce. Henry, however, was not discouraged. Wisely judging that other countries were yet to be discovered, he eventually fitted out a small fleet, and placing it under the command of John Cabot, a celebrated Venetian navigator, sent him forth in quest of new climes, as well as of a north-west passage to the Indies and China, then sought after as earnestly as it has been in our own times.

Cabot sailed from the port of Bristol about the middle of May, 1497; and following very nearly the same course now pursued by vessels making the voyage from Great Britain to

North America, discovered, on the 26th of June, the Island of Newfoundland, which he named St. John's Island in honour of the saint. After a brief stay there he continued his westerly course, and, on the 3rd of July, arrived off the coast of Labrador. He had, therefore, the credit of being the first discoverer of the Continent of America, which was not seen by Columbus until some thirteen months afterwards. Having made a partial survey of Hudson's Bay, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he sailed south as far as Virginia; when, being anxious to announce his success to Henry, he returned to England; where, shortly after his arrival, he received the honour of knighthood.

At this period Britain possessed no royal navy, and in cases of emergency the crown had to arm merchant vessels. Encouraged by the success of Cabot, Henry determined that this condition of affairs should no longer continue, and promptly applied himself to the construction of a national fleet; on one large ship of which he expended the immense sum, for those times, of fourteen thousand pounds.\* This, with some smaller vessels, he placed in the following year under the command of Sebastian, one of Sir John Cabot's sons, with instructions to search for a north-west passage. Beyond the barren glory of mere discovery, Henry derived no results from this or two subsequent expeditions. No settlements were formed; and his death, in 1509, terminated for several years all efforts, on the part of the British nation, to profit by a more intimate connection with this continent. For the next fifteen years, Spain and Portugal were the only nations which derived any solid benefits from settlements in the New World. In 1524 the French sovereign, Francis I., with a view to the partition of these benefits in his own favour, resolved to acquire a claim, by further discoveries, on a portion at least of America. "What," said he to his courtiers,

\* Hume, vol. 3, p. 76.

“shall the kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother. I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them.” Francis, accordingly, prepared a squadron of four ships, which he placed under the command of Giovanna Verazzano, a Florentine navigator of great repute, who explored the American coast from Carolina northward. He called the entire region New France, and, utterly regardless of the prior claims of England, took formal possession of it in the name of his sovereign. Verazzano, like Cabot, returned without gold or silver. He was in consequence unfavourably contrasted with the adventurers to Mexico and Peru; met with a cold reception; and died in obscurity. In 1527 Henry VIII. resolved to make another attempt to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies. One of 1527. his ships was lost; and the expedition returned to England without having made any fresh discoveries, or effecting a settlement.

In 1534 the French king fitted out a second expedition, the conduct of which he entrusted to Jacques Cartier, a fearless and skilful mariner, who had previously been engaged for 1534. several years in the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland; which, even as early as 1517, already gave employment to some fifty English, French, Spanish and Portuguese vessels. This expedition, consisting of two vessels of sixty tons each, sailed from St. Malo on the 20th of April, and on the 10th of May arrived at Newfoundland, where it remained ten days. Proceeding northward, Cartier passed through the straits of Belle Isle, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and landed at Gaspé; where, on the 24th of July, he erected a cross surmounted by a *fleur-de-lis*, to commemorate his advent on the coast. A friendly intercourse with the natives enabled him to kidnap two men, with whom he sailed for France, where he was well received by his sovereign.

In the following year Cartier obtained a new commission from Francis, and sailed with three vessels\* direct for the Gulf of St. Lawrence; with instructions to explore its shores 1535. carefully; to establish a settlement, if at all practicable; and to open a traffic for gold with the inhabitants. In the month of August, 1535, on the festival day of the martyr Lawrence, the navigator entered the great father of the northern waters, which he called after the saint. Proceeding up its course, he found himself in a few days opposite the Indian village of Stadacona, then occupying a portion of the ground on which the city of Quebec now stands. As the vessels came to an anchor the terrified natives fled to the forest, whence they gazed with mingled feelings of awe and wonder, on the “winged canoes,” which had borne the “pale-faced strangers” to their shores. These feelings were, however, much less intense than they must have otherwise been, owing to the rumors which, from time to time, had preceded Cartier's

\* These were the *Hermine* of 110 tons, the *Little Hermine* of 60 tons, and the *Hermerillon* of 40 tons burden.

approach ; and to the fact, that they were well acquainted with the circumstance of his visit to Gaspé in the previous year, and the outrage he had there perpetrated on their countrymen. This knowledge led the inhabitants of Stadacona to resolve on a wary intercourse with the strangers. Their chief, Donacona, approached the vessels with a fleet of twelve canoes filled with his armed followers. Ten of these canoes remained at a short distance, while he proceeded with the other two to ascertain the purport of the visit—whether it was for peace or war. With this object in view he commenced an oration. Cartier heard the chief patiently, and with the aid of the two Gaspé Indians, now tolerable proficient in the French language, was enabled to open a conversation with him, and allay his apprehensions. An amicable understanding having thus been established, Cartier moored his vessels safely in the river St. Charles, where, shortly afterwards, he received a second visit from Donacona, who this time came accompanied by five hundred warriors of his tribe.

Having thoroughly rested and refreshed himself and his men, Cartier determined to explore the river to Hochelaga, another Indian town, which he learned was situated several days' journey up its course. With the view of impressing the Indians with the superiority of the white man, he caused, prior to his departure, several cannon shots to be discharged, which produced the desired results. Like their countrymen of the south, on the arrival of Columbus, the red men of the St. Lawrence were alarmed by the firing of artillery ; and, as its thunders reverberated among the surrounding hills, a feeling of mingled terror and astonishment took complete possession of their minds.

Leaving his other ships safely at anchor, Cartier, on the 19th of September, proceeded up the river with the *Hermerillon* (which owing to the shallowness of the water he had to leave in Lake St. Peter) and two boats ; and frequently came into contact with small parties of the natives, who treated him in the most friendly manner. Bold, and loving adventure for its own sake, and at the same time strongly imbued with religious enthusiasm, Cartier watched the shifting landscape hour after hour, as he ascended the river, with feelings of the deepest gratification, which were heightened by the reflection that he was the pioneer of civilisation and of Christianity in that unknown clime. Nature presented itself in all its primitive grandeur to his view. The noble river on whose broad bosom he floated onwards day after day, disturbing vast flocks of water fowl ; the primeval forests of the north, which here and there presented, amid the luxuriance of their foliage, the parasitical vine loaded with ripe clusters of grapes, the strange notes of the whip-poor-will and other birds of varied tone and plumage, such as he had never before seen or heard ; the bright sunshine of a Canadian autumn ; the unclouded moonlight of its calm and pleasant nights ; and the other novel accessories of the occasion, made a most profound impression upon the mind of the adventurer.

Delighted with his journey, Cartier arrived on the 2nd of October opposite the Huron village of Hochelaga, the inhabitants of which lined the shore on his approach, and made the most friendly signs for him to land. Supplies of fish and maize were freely tendered by the Indians, in return for which they received knives and beads. Despite this friendly conduct, however, Cartier and his companions deemed it most prudent to pass the night on board their boats.— On the following day, headed by their leader dressed in the most imposing costume at his command, the exploring party went in procession to the village. At a short distance from its environs they were met by a sachem, who received them with that solemn courtesy so peculiar to the aborigines of America. Cartier made him several presents, among which was a cross, which he hung around his neck, and directed him to kiss. Patches of ripe corn encircled the village, which consisted of fifty substantially built huts, secured from attack by three lines of stout palisades.\* Like the natives of Mexico and Peru the Hochelagans regarded the white men as a superior race of beings, who came among them as friends and benefactors.† Impressed with this idea they conducted them in state to their council lodge, and brought their sick to be healed. Cartier was at once too completely in their power, and too politic, to undeceive them. It is recorded that “he did everything he could to soothe their minds: that he even prayed with these idolators, and distributed crosses and other symbols of the Roman Catholic faith amongst them.”

The introductory ceremonies concluded, Cartier ascended the mountain behind Hochelaga, to which he gave the name of Mont Royal, subsequently corrupted into Montreal. From a point near its summit a noble prospect met his view. Interminable forests stretched on every side; their deep gloom broken at harmonious intervals by hills, and rivers, and island-studded lakes. Simple as were the natives of Hochelaga, they appeared to have some knowledge of the geography of their country. From them Cartier learned that it would take three months to sail in their canoes up the course of the majestic river which flowed beneath him, and that it ran through several great lakes, the farthest one of which was like a vast sea. Beyond this lake was another large river, (the Mississippi) which pursued a southerly course through a region free from ice and snow. With the precious metals they appeared but very partially acquainted. Of copper they had a better knowledge, and stated that it was found at the Saguenay.

Favourably as Cartier had been received, the lateness of the season compelled his immediate return to Stadacona. The Indians

\* There is no doubt that Cartier gave a somewhat exaggerated description of Hochelaga, being desirous that his discoveries should bear some resemblance to those of Cortes and Pizarro. Hochelaga was simply an ordinary Indian village, surrounded by wooden palisades, and containing probably seven or eight hundred inhabitants.

† Jesuits' Journal.



expressed their regret at the shortness of the visit, and accompanied the French to their boats, which they followed for some time, making signs of farewell. The expedition did not, however, find all the natives equally friendly. While bivouacking one night on the bank of the river, they would probably have all been massacred but for a timely retreat to their boats. Cartier had a narrow escape, and owed his life to the intrepidity of his boatswain, an Englishman.

The adventurers wintered in the St. Charles River, and continued to be treated with kindness and hospitality by the Stadaconians, who had fortunately laid up abundant stores of provisions. Unaccustomed, however, to the rigours of a Canadian winter, and scantily supplied with warm clothing, Cartier and his companions suffered severely from the cold. To add to their other misfortunes scurvy, the terror of the seaman in those days, made its appearance; and, in conjunction with a disease produced by a licentious intercourse with the natives, speedily carried off twenty-five of their number. To a decoction from the bark of the spruce fir, taken on the recommendation of the Indians, the remainder ascribed their restoration to health.

The long winter at length drew to a close; the ice broke up, and although the voyage had produced no gold discoveries, or 1536. profitable returns from a mercantile point of view, the expedition prepared to return home. Like other adventurers of that age they requited the kindness and hospitality of the aborigines with the basest ingratitude. They compelled Donacona, with two other chiefs and eight warriors, to bear them company to France, where the greater part of these unfortunate men died soon after their arrival.

Disappointed in its expectations of discovering the precious metals in the regions explored by Cartier, the French nation, for the ensuing four years, gave no adventurers to the New World.— That navigator's favourable representations of the valley of the St. Lawrence, however, still continued to attract a large portion of attention. In 1540 a new expedition was organized under 1540. the direction of the Sieur de Roberval, an opulent nobleman of Picardy, to proceed to Canada, as it now began to be called from the Indian word Kanata, (a collection of huts,) which had been mistaken for the native name of the country. In consideration of his bearing the expenses of the expedition, and effecting a permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence, or in the adjacent districts, Roberval was created lieutenant-general, and appointed viceroy of all the territories claimed by France in the New World. Circumstances having arisen which prevented him from proceeding with the expedition, which embraced five ships, he transferred its command to Cartier, who accordingly sailed the third time to New France, and arrived safely at his old anchorage in the neighbourhood of Stadacona. He was at first received with every appearance of kindness by the Indians, who expected that he had brought



back their chief Donacona, as well as the other chiefs and warriors who had been taken to France. On learning that some of these were dead, and that none of them would return, they showed themselves averse to any further intercourse, and to the formation of a settlement in their neighbourhood.

Finding his position with the inhabitants of Stadacona becoming daily more and more unpleasant, Cartier moved higher up the river to Cape Rouge, where he laid up three of his vessels, and sent the other two back to France with letters to the king and Roberval, stating the success of his voyage and asking for supplies. His next proceeding was to erect a fort, which he called Charlesbourg. Here, after an unsuccessful attempt to navigate the rapids above Hochelaga, he passed a most uncomfortable winter.—During the ensuing summer, he occupied himself in examining the country in every direction, and in searching for gold, but of which he only procured a few trifling specimens in the beds of some dried rivulets. A few small diamonds were discovered in a headland near Stadacona, which was therefore called Cape Diamond, a name it still retains.

The promised supplies not having arrived, another severe winter completely disheartened Cartier, and he accordingly resolved to return home. Putting into the harbour of St. John, Newfoundland, he encountered Roberval on his way to Canada with a new company of adventurers, and abundance of stores and provisions. The viceroy endeavored to persuade Cartier to return with him, but without success. He and his companions were alike disheartened with the extreme cold and prolonged duration of a Canadian winter; and this circumstance, in connection with the other hardships to which they had been exposed, caused them to long earnestly to return to France. To avoid further importunity, a possible quarrel, and perhaps forcible detention, Cartier caused his sailors to weigh anchor during the night. After a tolerably quick passage he arrived safely in his native country, where he died shortly after his return, having, like many others, sacrificed health and fortune to a passion for discovery, and a desire to acquire gold.

Roberval sailed up the St. Lawrence to Charlesbourg, which he strengthened by additional fortifications, and here passed the ensuing winter. Leaving a garrison of thirty men behind, he returned in the following spring to France, where he was detained by his sovereign to assist in the war against Charles V. The peace of Cressy eventually terminated hostilities; but, although six years had elapsed in the interval, Roberval had not forgotten Canada. In company with his brother Archille, and a numerous train of adventurers, he again proceeded to this country. His fleet was never heard of after it had put to sea, and was supposed to have foundered, to the regret of the people of France, who greatly admired the Brothers Roberval for the gallant manner in which they had borne themselves in the war. Their loss

completely discouraged Henry II., now king of France, who made no further attempts to effect a settlement in Canada. The distracted state of France, occasioned by the religious wars, tended likewise to withdraw, during the succeeding half century, the attention of its government from projects of transatlantic colonisation.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, the idea of discovering a north-west passage still occupied the attention of many persons in Europe. England, now rapidly rising in maritime importance, sent out several expeditions to the northern coasts of America to search for this passage. None of these, however, had any connection with Canada, the first colonisation of which was reserved for France; the private enterprise of whose merchants was already accomplishing what the countenance and decrees of royalty had failed to effect. The discovery that a lucrative trade in furs could be prosecuted with the Indians, led to the formation of trading posts on the St. Lawrence, the principal of which was at Tadousac, near the mouth of the Saguenay River.

The fact, thus established, that a profitable connection with Canada could be maintained, and tranquillity having been restored in France by the accession of Henry IV. to the throne, the attention of its government was again turned to founding a colony in this country. In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, encouraged by Henry, fitted out a large expedition, which convicts were permitted to join, as it was found difficult to procure voluntary adventurers owing to former disasters. Armed with the most ample governmental powers, the marquis departed for the New World under the guidance of Chedotel, a pilot of Normandy. But he lacked the requisite qualities to insure success, and little is recorded of his voyage with the exception that he left forty convicts on Sable Island, a barren spot off the coast of Nova Scotia. Owing to the failure of this adventure, and his earnest attempts to equip another being thwarted at court, the marquis fell sick, and literally died of chagrin. The unfortunate convicts whom he had left behind were completely forgotten for years, and suffered the most intense hardships. Their clothes were soon worn out, their provisions exhausted. Clad in the skins of the sea wolf, subsisting upon the precarious supplies afforded by fishing, and living in rude huts formed from the planks of a wrecked vessel, famine and cold gradually reduced their number to a dozen. After a residence of twelve years on the island, these wretched men were found in the most deplorable condition, by a vessel sent out by the Parliament of Rouen to ascertain their fate. On their return to France they were brought before Henry, who pardoned their crimes in consideration of the great hardships they had undergone, and gave them a liberal donation in money.\*

The unsatisfactory result of the expedition under De la Roche, had not the effect of seriously checking French enterprise. In the

\* Champlain's Voyages.

following year another expedition was resolved on by Chauvin, of Rouen, a naval officer of reputation, and Pontgrave, a sailor merchant of St. Malo, who, in consideration of a monopoly 1599. of the fur trade, granted them by Henry, undertook to establish a colony of five hundred persons in Canada. This monopoly once secured, Chauvin displayed very little energy in fulfilling his engagements. In order to save appearances, however, he equipped two vessels in the spring of 1600, and taking out a party of settlers with him safely arrived at Tadousac. 1600. Here, contrary to the representations of some of his companions, who stated that much more desirable locations for a settlement might be found higher up the river, he erected a small fort. During the summer he obtained, for the most trifling consideration, a large quantity of very valuable furs. Being anxious to dispose of these to advantage, he returned to France on the approach of winter, leaving behind him sixteen settlers, who were but slenderly provided with provisions and clothing, and in the cold weather were reduced to such distress, that they had to throw themselves completely on the hospitality of the natives. From these they experienced much kindness ; yet so great were the hardships endured that several of them died before the arrival of succour from France. Chauvin made a second voyage to Tadousac, and obtained another valuable cargo of furs, but failed to establish a permanent settlement. During a third voyage he was taken ill and died.

The death of Chauvin did not damp the spirit of enterprise, which had now taken firm hold of the more adventurous among the French people. The fur trade held out a certain and lucrative reward to perseverance and courage, and, in 1603, De Chaste, the Governor of Dieppe, organized a company to conduct it. 1603. He prevailed upon several wealthy merchants to second his views, and made a most valuable auxiliary, at the same time, in Samuel Champlain, who had just returned from the West Indies, and was destined to be the founder of the French Colony of Canada. Accompanied by Pontgrave, the former associate of Chauvin, who had made several voyages to the St. Lawrence, Champlain proceeded to that river, with instructions from the French court to ascend it as far as possible, and make a survey of the country towards its source. He traversed its course to the Sault St. Louis, but, effectually stopped by these rapids, had to content himself with an observation made from the summit of Mont Royal.\*

On his return to France Champlain found Chaste had died during his absence, and that the company he had formed was broken up. Proceeding to Paris he laid before Henry a map and description of the district he had surveyed, and was graciously received.—Shortly after his return Chaste's scheme was taken up by De Monts, a Calvinist gentleman of opulence, then very popular

\* Champlain makes no mention of Hochelaga. The village had no doubt ceased to exist owing to the incursions of the Iroquois.

at the French court, who had already received substantial marks of his sovereign's favour. He was instructed by Henry to establish the Roman Catholic religion among the natives, but he and his friends were to be allowed the free exercise of the Calvinistic faith. He also obtained many other valuable privileges, and an entire monopoly of the fur trade.

Monts put out to sea, on the 7th of March, 1604, with a much larger expedition than had ever before left France.—

1604. Erroneously supposing that the higher he ascended the St.

Lawrence the colder the weather must become, he remained some months trading with the natives of Nova Scotia, where he seized an English vessel for interfering with his privileges, and afterwards wintered on an island near the mouth of the St. John in New Brunswick. In the following spring he formed a settlement on the coast of the Bay of Fundy, which was called Port Royal; and shortly afterwards returned to France, where, owing to complaints made against him, he was deprived of his commission, notwithstanding it had been granted for ten years. Monts had not,

however, wholly lost his influence with Henry, and obtain-

1607. ed, in 1607, another commission for one year. Owing to

the representations of Champlain, he now resolved to establish a settlement on the St. Lawrence. Fitting out two vessels he placed them under the command of that experienced navigator, with whom he associated Pontgrave as lieutenant. The expedition

sailed from Harfleur on the 13th of April, and arrived at

1608. Tadousac on the 3rd of June. Here Pontgrave remained to

trade with the natives, while Champlain proceeded up the river to examine its banks, and determine upon a suitable site for the settlement he was to found. After a careful scrutiny he fixed upon a promontory, distinguished by a luxuriant growth of vines, and shaded by some noble walnut trees, called by the natives (very few of whom now resided in the neighbourhood,) Quebio, or Quebec,\* and situated a short distance from the spot where Cartier had erected a fort and passed a winter sixty-seven years before. Here, on the 3rd of July, he laid the foundation of the present city of Quebec. Rude buildings of wood were first erected on the high grounds to afford shelter to his men. When these were completed an embankment was formed, above the reach of the tide, where Mountain Street now stands, on which the houses and battery were built. The land in the neighbourhood was discovered to be fertile, and in the autumn the first crop of wheat was planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence. With the exception of Jamestown, in Virginia, this was the first permanent settlement established in North America.

Champlain and his companions passed the winter at Quebec without suffering any of those extreme hardships which, during the same period of the year, had distinguished the residence of former

\* Champlain, Book, chap. 2.

adventurers in Canada. Their dwellings being better protected from the cold, their persons more warmly clothed, more abundantly supplied with provisions, possessing a greater amount of experience than their predecessors, they speedily discovered that a winter existence among the snows of the north was not only possible, but even had its pleasures.

Winter gradually merged towards spring without producing any incidents of very great importance to the infant Colony. Meanwhile everything had been done to preserve a good understanding with the Indians who visited the fort; Champlain wisely perceiving, that the success of the settlement chiefly depended on their friendship. Nor were the Indians themselves, who belonged to the Algonquin nation, averse to the cultivation of a friendly understanding with the French. A fierce war was then raging between them and the Iroquois, or Five Nations, over whom they anticipated an easy victory were they but aided by the white men. To secure this aid a son of one of their principal chiefs had already visited the fort; and, as an inducement to the alliance he proposed, promised that his nation should assist Champlain in exploring the country of their enemy.

About the middle of February a scarcity of food began to prevail among the Indians. Some of these people on the opposite side of the river were reduced to great extremities, and resolved to cross it at all hazards, in the expectation of receiving assistance at the fort. Death stared them in the face on either hand, and they had only to choose the mildest alternative. The huge floes of ice that crashed against each other, as they drove hither and thither with the tide, threatened instant destruction to their frail canoes, which, nevertheless, were boldly launched in succession. Presently mid-channel is gained. Vast fields of ice encircle the canoes, which are speedily crushed to pieces. The Indians seek to save themselves by jumping on the ice, which fortunately floats to shore. But Champlain could only spare them a very scanty supply of food, and the unfortunate people were obliged to subsist, for a time, on the putrid carcases found in the neighbourhood.

The spring appears to have been an early one; and no sooner had the weather become sufficiently warm to make travelling agreeable, than Champlain prepared to ascend the river, and explore it above Mont Royal. When twenty-five leagues from Quebec, he was met by a war party of the Algonquins, on their way to attack the Iroquois, who now without much difficulty induced him to promise his aid. He accordingly retraced his steps to the fort, procured a reinforcement from Tadousac, where another settlement had been formed, and made the necessary arrangements for the expedition. On the 28th of May, in company with his Indian allies, he again ascended the St. Lawrence, and after traversing Lake St. Peter, diverged into the Richelieu river, and proceeded along its course till he encountered rapids, which prevented the further passage of his boats. Finding it useless to attempt cutting a road through the



woods, he resolved to commit himself and his companions to the canoes of the natives, and to share their fate. Only two of his men had sufficient courage to accompany him: the hearts of the remainder failed them when they perceived the dangers of their position, and he permitted them to return. The bark canoes of the Algonquins were easily carried past the rapids, and Champlain soon found himself on the waters of the beautiful lake which still bears his name. The party saw nothing of the Iroquois until it had entered Lake George, on the shores of which a pitched battle, that with the aid of fire arms resulted in its favour, took place.—Many of the Iroquois were killed, and twelve taken prisoners who were afterwards tortured to death in the customary cruel manner.

On Champlain's return from this expedition he was greeted with unfavourable tidings from France. Its merchants had again made loud complaints of the injury they sustained by the fur trade being confined to a single individual. Monts' commission had in consequence been revoked, and Champlain was obliged to return home to give an account of his conduct, which the king listened to with apparent satisfaction. All attempts, however, to procure a renewal of the monopoly proved abortive. Still Monts determined, even without royal patronage, to continue the settlement. To lighten the expenses, he made an arrangement with some traders at Rochelle to give them the use of his buildings at Quebec, as a depot for their goods, while they in return engaged to assist him in his 1610. plans of colonisation. He was thus enabled to fit out another expedition for his lieutenant, and to furnish him with considerable supplies and a respectable reinforcement.

On Champlain's return to the St. Lawrence, he received a fresh application from the Algonquins to aid them in another war.—Undeterred alike by fear or principle he accepted the proposal; but, upon his arrival at the mouth of the Richelieu, found affairs more urgent than he had anticipated. An Indian brought the intelligence that one hundred of the enemy were so strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood, that without the aid of the French it must be impossible to dislodge them. The Algonquins imprudently advancing to the attack unsupported were repulsed with loss; and had to fall back and await the assistance of their less impetuous allies. As soon as Champlain came up he proceeded to reconnoitre the Iroquois' position. He found it very strong, and formed of large trees placed close together in a circle. Thus protected they continued to pour forth showers of arrows, one of which wounded him in the neck. His ammunition soon began to fail, and he urged the Algonquins to greater exertions in forcing a way into the barricade. He made them fasten ropes round the trunks of single trees, and apply all their strength to drag them out, while he undertook to protect them with his fire. Fortunately at this crisis a party of French traders, instigated by martial ardour, made their appearance. Under cover of their fire the Algonquins pulled so stoutly, that a sufficient opening was soon effected, when they leaped in and

completely routed the enemy, most of whom were either killed or drowned while seeking to escape, or taken prisoners. Of the assailants three were killed and fifty wounded. Champlain before taking leave of his allies, who were too well pleased to refuse his request, readily prevailed on them to allow one of his people to remain with their tribe in order to learn their language; while he, at their request, took a native youth with him to France, whither he went soon after.

The assassination of Henry IV., the Huguenot king of France, on the 14th of May, and the accession of his son, a boy of nine years of age, as Louis XIII., to the throne, while it destroyed the project of making Canada a refuge for French Protestants, did not affect Champlain's plans. Early in 1611 he again returned to Canada, bringing the young Algonquin with him; and, on the 28th of May, proceeded in search of his allies, whom he was to meet by appointment. Not finding them he employed himself, in the interval of their arrival, in choosing a site for a new settlement at some point higher up the river than Quebec.—After a careful survey, he finally fixed upon an eligible spot in the vicinity of Mont Royal. His choice has been amply justified by the great prosperity to which this place, under the name of Montreal, has since attained. Here he cleared a considerable space of ground, fenced it in with an earthen ditch, and planted grain in the enclosure.

At length, on the 13th of June, three weeks after the time appointed, a party of his Indian friends appeared. They evinced great pleasure at meeting their countryman, who gave a most favourable report of the treatment he had received in France; and after a liberal present to Champlain the cause of their long delay was unfolded. It was altogether owing to a prisoner, who had escaped the previous year, spreading a report that the French, having resolved to espouse the cause of the Iroquois, were coming in great force to destroy their nation. Champlain complained of their having paid attention to such an idle rumour, the truth of which all his actions belied. They protested that it had not been credited by themselves, and was believed by those only of their tribe who never had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the French. Having now received solemn protestations of friendship, and being satisfied with Champlain's sincerity, they declared their firm determination of adhering to his alliance; and promoting, to the best of their ability, his projects of penetrating into the interior. As an evidence of their good will they imparted much valuable information respecting the geography of the northern part of this continent, with which they seemed tolerably well acquainted as far south as the Gulf of Mexico. They also readily agreed to permit him to return, as soon as he pleased, with forty or fifty of his own people, in order to prosecute discoveries, and form settlements in their country if he found it advisable to do so. They even made a request that a French youth should accompany them to their village, and make observations upon their territory and tribe.



Champlain again returned to France with a view of making arrangements for more extensive operations; but this object was now of very difficult accomplishment. Monts, who had been appointed governor of Saintonge, was no longer inclined to take the lead in measures of this kind, and excused himself from going to court by stating the urgency of his own affairs. He therefore committed the whole conduct of the settlement to Champlain, advising him, at the same time, to seek some powerful protector, whose influence would overcome any opposition which might be made to his plans. The latter was so fortunate as to win over, almost immediately, the Count de Soissons to aid him in his designs. This nobleman obtained the title of lieutenant-general of New France; and by a formal agreement transferred to Champlain all the functions of that office. The Count died soon after, but Champlain found a still more influential friend in the Prince of Conde, who succeeded to all the privileges of the deceased, and transferred them to him in a manner equally ample. These privileges, including a monopoly of the fur trade, gave great dissatisfaction to the interested merchants; but Champlain endeavoured to remove their hostility by permitting as many of them as desired to do so to accompany him to the New World, and engage in this traffic. In consequence of this permission three merchants from Normandy, one from Rochelle, and one from St. Malo, accompanied him. They were allowed the privileges of a free trade in furs on the conditions of contributing six men each to assist in projects of discovery, and giving one-twentieth of their profits towards defraying the expenses of the settlement.

In the beginning of March, the expedition sailed from Harfleur, and on the 7th of May arrived at Quebec. Champlain now engaged in a new project. A person named Vignau had accompanied him on several visits to the Indians of the lower Ottawa region, and spent a winter amongst them. He reported that the river of the Algonquins (the Ottawa) issued from a lake connected with the North Sea, that he had visited the shores of this sea, and there witnessed the wreck of an English vessel. The crew, eighty in number, had reached the shore, where they had all been killed and scalped by the natives, with the exception of a boy, whom they had offered to give up to him as well as other trophies of their victory. Wishing to have this narrative as well authenticated as possible, Champlain caused a declaration to be signed before two notaries, warning Vignau that if it were false he would be exposing himself to capital punishment. Finding that the man persevered in his statements, and having learned that some English vessels had really been wrecked on the coast of Labrador, his doubts were at length removed, and he determined to devote a season to the prosecution of discoveries in the Nipissing country.

Having this object in view he did not remain long at Quebec, and on the 21st of May arrived at the Lachine Rapids. With two canoes, and accompanied by four of his own countrymen and one

Indian, he proceeded on his voyage up the Ottawa, during the prosecution of which he experienced much severe hardship, and encountered numerous difficulties. The adventurers met with a succession of cataracts and rapids, which they could only avoid by carrying the canoes and stores overland. In some instances, the woods were so dense that this laborious plan could not be adopted; and their only alternative then was to drag their frail craft through the foaming current, exposed to the danger of being themselves engulfed. Another danger arose from the wandering bands of Iroquois, who, if they had the French in their power, would doubtless have treated them in the same cruel manner as they did their Algonquin captives. The difficulties of navigation increasing as they ascended the river, they were eventually compelled to leave their supplies behind, and trust entirely to their guns and nets for provisions. At length the party reached the abode of Tessonant, a friendly chief, whose country was eight days' journey from that of the Nipissings, where the shipwreck was said to have occurred.--- He received them courteously, and agreed to admit their leader to a solemn council. Champlain having explained the object of his visit, requested that four canoes escort him into the country of the Nipissings, which he earnestly desired to explore. The Indians were averse to granting his request, and only promised compliance on the most earnest entreaty. The council having broken up, he ascertained that his wishes were still regarded unfavourably, and that none of the natives were willing to accompany him. He, therefore, demanded another meeting, in which he reproached them with their breach of faith; and to convince them that the fears which they expressed were groundless, referred to the fact of one of his own people having spent some time among the Nipissings without injury. Vignau was then called upon to state whether he had made such a voyage, and after some hesitation replied in the affirmative, when the Indians declared, in the strongest terms, that he had uttered a falsehood, having never passed the limits of their own country, and that he deserved to be tortured for his dishonesty. After a close examination of Vignau, Champlain was obliged to acknowledge that they were right; and that he had been egregiously deceived. He had not only encountered a long series of labours and fatigues in vain, but the whole season had been spent without promoting objects which he had much at heart. Leaving Vignau with the Indians, as a punishment, he returned to Quebec, and shortly afterwards sailed for France, where he arrived on the 26th of August, and found that matters still continued favourable for the Colony. The Prince of Conde retained his in- 1614. fluence at court, and no difficulty was consequently found in equipping a small fleet to carry out settlers and supplies from Rouen and St. Malo. On board of this fleet came out four fathers of the order of the Recollets, whose religious zeal led them to desire the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. These were the first priests who settled in Canada.

Champlain arrived safely, on the 25th of May, at Tadousac, whence he immediately pushed forward to Quebec, and subsequently to the usual place of Indian rendezvous at the Lachine Rapids. Here he found his Algonquin and Huron allies full of projects of war against the Iroquois, whom they now proposed to assail, among the lakes to the westward, with a force of 2,000 fighting men. Always desirous to embark in any enterprise which promised to make him better acquainted with the country, Champlain at once resolved to accompany this expedition, and laid down a plan of operations which he offered to aid the Algonquins in carrying out, at which they expressed the utmost satisfaction. He accompanied them in a long journey, first up the Ottawa river, and afterwards over small lakes and portages leading to Lake Nipissing. The Indians, about 800 in number, who inhabited the shores of this lake, received the expedition in a friendly manner. Having remained with them two days, the Algonquins resumed their journey along the course of French River to Georgian Bay, which they crossed, and, near the Great Manitoulin Island, entered Lake Huron, which Champlain describes in his travels as a great fresh-water sea.\* After coasting this lake for several leagues, they turned a point near its extremity, and struck into the interior with a view of reaching Cahiagua, where they were to be reinforced by a detachment of western Algonquins, and some other friendly Indians. On arrival at this place a large body of their friends were found collected, who gave them a joyful welcome, and stated that they expected 500 additional warriors of other tribes, who also considered the Iroquois as their enemies, to join them. While awaiting the arrival of these warriors, several days were spent in dancing and festivity, the usual prelude to Indian expeditions. But the expected allies not arriving according to promise, they again set out, and occasionally employed themselves in hunting until they came to Lake St. Clair, where they at length descried the Iroquois fort, which, in expectation of an attack, had been rendered unusually strong. It was defended by four rows of wooden palisades, with strong parapets at top, and enclosed a pond whence water was conducted to the different quarters, to extinguish any fires that might occur. The Iroquois advanced from this fort, and skirmished successfully against their assailants for some time until the fire-arms were discharged, when they retreated precipitately. They fought bravely, however, behind their defences, and poured forth showers of arrows and stones, which compelled the assailants to retreat, despite the exhortations and reproaches of Champlain. He now taught them to construct an enclosure of planks called a cavalier, which would command the enemy's intrenchment. The discharges from this machine were meant to drive the latter from the parapet, and afford the assailants an opportunity of setting fire to the defences. The Indians showed the utmost activity in constructing this work,

\* Champlain, Book ix, chap. vi.

which they finished in a few hours, when 200 of the strongest moved it close to the palisade. The shot from it drove the Iroquois into the interior of their stronghold, whence, however, they continued to discharge missiles of various kinds. The fort might now, with the greatest ease, have been set on fire, but Champlain found to his mortification that he had to deal with men who would make war only as they pleased. Instead of following his directions, they preferred to pour out execrations upon the enemy, and to shoot arrows against the strong wooden defences. At length they commenced throwing pieces of burning timber, but so carelessly as to produce very little effect, while the voices of their white friends, instructing them how to proceed, were lost amid the tumult. The Iroquois, meanwhile, drew water from their reservoir so copiously, that streams flowed through every part of the fortress, and the fires were speedily quenched ; when, taking advantage of the disorder in the adverse ranks, they killed several of their assailants. Champlain was twice wounded in the leg ; and his allies, finding the reduction of the fort likely to be attended with more loss than they had anticipated, resolved to retire. They justified their conduct by alleging the absence of the 500 auxiliaries, promising on their arrival to renew the assault. For two days a strong wind blew most favourably for another attempt to fire the fort, but nothing could induce them to advance. Several petty attacks were afterwards made, but with such little success that the French were obliged to come to the rescue. The enemy, in consequence, bitterly taunted the Algonquins as being unable to cope with them in a fair field, and thus forced to seek the aid of a strange and odious race.

The reinforcements not appearing, the Canadian Indians determined to abandon the enterprise altogether, and return home.— Their retreat was conducted with a much greater degree of skill than had been displayed in their offensive operations. The wounded were placed in the centre, while armed warriors guarded the front, brought up the rear, and formed flanking parties. The Iroquois followed them a short distance, but unable to make any impression on their ranks abandoned the pursuit. But, if the safety of the disabled was well provided for, their comfort seemed to be a matter of trifling consideration. Their bodies were bent in a circular form, bound with cords, and thrown into baskets, where, unable to stir hand or foot, they appeared like infants. Champlain suffered the greatest agony while being carried twenty-five or thirty leagues in this position, and at the termination of the journey felt as if he had been released from a dungeon.

Arrived in the country of the Hurons, Champlain claimed the fulfilment of their promise to convey him to Quebec after the campaign. But they averred that guides and canoes could not be procured. He soon discovered, however, that this was a mere excuse, designed to conceal their desire to retain him and his companions with a view to a more effectual defence in case of attack, and to secure their aid in future forays on their foes. He

was consequently compelled to pass the winter with his faithless allies, during which he derived his principal amusement from accompanying them on their hunting excursions.

No sooner had the warm sun of April and May melted the ice on the rivers and lakes, than Champlain, accompanied by 1616. some friendly Hurons, secretly set out on his return to Quebec, where he arrived in the earlier part of July, and shortly afterwards sailed for France.\* On his arrival there he found that the interests of the Colony were threatened with serious danger, owing to the disgrace and imprisonment of his patron, the Prince of Conde, for the part he had taken in the disturbances during the minority of Louis XIII. Some other powerful protector was necessary to enable Champlain to carry out his plans; and he accordingly induced the Marquis de Themines to accept the office until the prince should be released, by agreeing to give him a share of the emoluments. The influence of the marquis at the 1618. French court was not sufficient, however, to prevent Champlain from becoming involved in a serious controversy with several merchants, desirous to participate in the profits of the fur trade: and after a tedious negotiation of two years and a half, matters still remained in a most unsatisfactory condition for the Colony. In this dilemma he sought the protection of the Duke de Montmorency, high admiral of France, who purchased his viceroyalty from Conde for 11,000 crowns. The merchants, however, still continued to make every effort to deprive Champlain of the 1619. governorship of Canada; but the protection of the new viceroy enabled him to overcome all opposition. A hot dispute was also waged between the different commercial cities, as to the respective shares they ought to have in the new expedition; which was still further delayed by difficulties which arose between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics connected with it.

After a tedious voyage Champlain arrived at Quebec in the month of July, bringing his childless wife out with him for the 1620. first time, and found that his long absence had been of the greatest injury to the Colony; which, after all he had done for it, numbered, on the approach of winter, only sixty souls, ten of whom were engaged in establishing a seminary. In the following year the Iroquois made a descent upon Quebec, and caused considerable alarm, although they were easily repulsed. Owing to the representations of Champlain, that they had neglected to furnish supplies, the associated merchants, who had fitted out the last expedition, were deprived of all their privileges by Montmorency, who gave the superintendence of the Colony to William and Emeric de Caen, uncle and nephew, both Huguenots.— 1621. William proceeded to Canada during the summer, and had an interview with Champlain. He was disposed to act in a very arbitrary manner; and claimed the right of seizing the ves-

\* Heriot's *His. Can.* p. 29. Champlain's Voyages.



sels of the associated merchants, then in the river. This conduct had the effect of further weakening the Colony. Several quit it in disgust ; and towards the close of the year the European population of Canada only numbered forty-eight souls.\*

The high-handed course pursued by Caen, and the numerous difficulties which otherwise beset the infant Colony, must have quickly disheartened an ordinary man. But Champlain was not an ordinary man. Patient, self-denying, hopeful, and courageous ; desirous to found a prosperous colony, and conscious that he possessed the qualities necessary to accomplish the arduous task, he did not permit himself to be turned aside from his object for a moment. No sooner had the difficulties caused by Caen been partially arranged, than he gave his attention to settlement and discovery in the interior ; and was so fortunate as to aid in the establishment of peace between his allies, the Algonquins and Hurons, and the Iroquois ;† but which as usual was only of very brief duration.

Champlain's judicious policy soon led to the arrival of additional settlers, and in this year the settlement at Quebec alone had fifty inhabitants. To afford these more effectual protection in case of danger, he now commenced the construction of a stone fort. Before its completion, however, the distressed state of the Colony compelled him to depart for France to procure supplies. On his arrival there he found that Montmorency, disgusted with the trouble his vice-royalty had given him, had transferred it to his nephew, Henry de Levy, Duke de Ventadour, for a very moderate consideration. The new viceroy was a member of a religious order, and had long retired from the noise and bustle of Parisian life. A zealous promoter of the interests of his religion, he at once avowed that his object, in becoming connected with Canada, was not so much to advance its temporal as its spiritual interests. This announcement was received with the utmost distaste by the French Protestants, many of whom already looked forward to a secure refuge, in the Colony, from persecution.

The duke promptly applied himself to carry out his views, but

\* The first child of European parents was born in Canada this year. He was the son of Abraham and Margaret Martin, and was named Eustache.—*Parish Register, Quebec*

† The Iroquois, or Five Nations, destined to act the most conspicuous part among all the native tribes of North America, occupied a long range of territory, extending from Lake Champlain and the Mohawk River to the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. This confederacy embraced the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Cayugas. They were the most powerful of all the tribes east of the Mississippi. They uniformly adhered to the British during the contests that took place subsequently with the French. In 1714 they were joined by the Tuscaroras, since which time the confederacy has been called the Six Nations. Remnants of the once powerful Iroquois are still found near Montreal at Sault St. Louis, or Caughnawaga, the usual rendezvous of Champlain ; at St. Regis ; and at the Lake of the Two Mountains ; whilst a considerable body of the same people, under the title of The Six Nation Indians, are settled on the Grand River in western Ontario.

1624. soon found that his course was beset with numerous difficulties, and was likely to cause him much more trouble than he at first imagined. Apart from the opposition he received from influential Huguenots, and from the Caens, who secretly traversed his plans, among the rest, he soon ascertained that the most skilful and adventurous of the French mariners chiefly belonged to the reformed faith, and that few Roman Catholics were willing to proceed to Canada either as settlers or as sailors. After much enquiry he found captains of his own faith to command his vessels ; but he could not prevent the major part of the crews being Huguenots. To satisfy his religious scruples,\* he directed that the means of exercising their religion should be restricted as much as possible ; and, in particular, that they should not sing psalms on the St. Lawrence. The mariners, who had been freely permitted to perform this act of worship on the open sea, remonstrated in the strongest terms against the illiberal restriction ; but the duke's orders had to be obeyed, and the captains, by way of compromise, allowed them greater latitude in other parts of their religious duties.

The conversion of the Indians, as well as the establishment of his own faith in Canada on a secure and dominant basis, was a favourite project with the new viceroy. It had already engaged his attention for years, and armed as he was now with the most ample powers, and possessed of the greatest possible facilities to carry out his views, he resolved to make every exertion for its accomplishment. In common with many others of the French nobility, at this period, the Jesuits had acquired a complete control over him. The order supplied him with a confessor, and was well acquainted with his views, which it readily entered into. Three Jesuit fathers and two lay brothers, charged with the conversion of the Indians, accordingly embarked for Canada ; where, on their arrival, they were comfortably lodged by the Recollets, now ten years in the country, despite an attempt by the Huguenot settlers to create a prejudice against the order.

Considering Champlain sufficiently orthodox to carry out his views as to religious matters ; and satisfied, also, that no person could better direct the temporal affairs of the Colony,

1626. Ventadour continued him in all his powers as Governor of New France. From one cause or another, however, over two years elapsed before Champlain returned to Canada, where he found matters in an equally unsatisfactory condition as after his former absence. The fort was in the same unfinished state as he had left it, and the population of Quebec numbered only 55 persons, of whom but 24 were fit for labour. Shortly after his return he found that a hostile spirit was brewing among the Indians ; and

\* Champlain, who was also a strict Roman Catholic, constantly expressed a pious horror of the Huguenots, and granted them as few privileges as possible.—He states in his memoirs that two-thirds of the ships' crews were usually Protestants.



that a fresh war might soon be looked for between the Iroquois on the one hand, and the Algonquins and Hurons on the other.—Champlain made the most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and strongly advised that several captive Iroquois, about to be tortured, should be restored to their nation, with presents to compensate them for the injuries they had already sustained. This salutary counsel was so far adopted, that one captive was sent back to his friends, accompanied by a chief and a few of his tribe, and Magnan, a Frenchman. Unfortunately for the Colony this pacific course had a most tragical termination. An Algonquin who sought to produce a war, in which he expected that his nation, aided by the French, would be completely victorious, persuaded the Iroquois that this mission, though professedly friendly, was devised with the most treacherous intent. Regarding the strangers accordingly as spies, the latter prepared to take the most horrible revenge. The unfortunate men found a caldron boiling, as if to prepare a repast for them, and were courteously invited to seat themselves. The chief was asked, if after so long a journey he did not feel hungry? He replied in the affirmative, when his assassins rushed on him, and cut slices from his limbs, which they flung into the pot, and soon after presented to him half cooked. They afterwards cut pieces from other parts of his body, and continued their torture until he expired in the greatest agony. The Frenchman was also tortured to death in the usual manner. Another Indian, more fortunate, while attempting to escape was shot dead on the spot; a third was made prisoner.

When news reached the allies of this dreadful tragedy, the war cry was immediately sounded, and their remaining captives put to death with every refinement of cruelty. Champlain himself, deeply afflicted by the intelligence, saw no longer any possibility of averting hostilities; and, as a countryman had been deprived of life, felt that the power of his nation would be held in contempt if his death were not avenged. Nevertheless, he could effect but little in the way of punishing the Iroquois, owing to the impoverished state of the Colony, which still, however, continued to be known by the pompous title of New France. A few small houses lodged the inhabitants of Quebec, not yet increased to 60 souls; while at Montreal, Tadousac, Three Rivers, and two or three other points along the St. Lawrence, the settlements were in a wretched condition.\*—To make matters still worse, religious dissensions agitated the Colony. Champlain, a sincere Romanist himself, endeavoured to carry out the views of the viceroy, while the Caens, on the other hand, being equally sincere Huguenots, sought to obtain liberty of conscience for those of their own faith, and an equal participation in every civil privilege.

Cardinal Richelieu having by this time firmly established his influence with his sovereign, found leisure to turn his attention

\* Heriot's *His. Can.* p. 49. See also Charlevoix.

1627. to New France, and to listen to the representations of its viceroi, whom Champlain had already acquainted with the condition of affairs. Apart from the suggestions of the Duke de Ventadour, the cardinal had the desire of crushing the Huguenots too closely at heart, to miss any opportunity of doing them an injury. He accordingly revoked the exclusive privileges which had been granted to the Caens ; and at the same time, with the view of placing the Colony in a more prosperous condition, encouraged the formation of a new company, composed of men of influence and wealth, to which a charter was granted under the title of "The One Hundred Associates." To this company, of which the cardinal himself was a member, Louis XIII. made over the fort and settlement at Quebec, and all the territory of New France, including Florida ; with power to appoint judges, build fortresses, cast cannon, confer titles, import and export French goods free of all restrictions, and take whatever other steps it might think proper for the protection of the Colony, and the fostering of commerce. He granted it, at the same time, a complete monopoly of the fur trade, and only reserved to himself and his heirs supremacy in matters of faith, fealty, and homage, as sovereigns of New France, and the presentation of a crown of gold at every new accession to the throne. He also reserved, for the benefit of his other subjects, the cod and whale fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

In return for these privileges this company engaged, first, to supply all its settlers with lodging, food, clothing, and farm implements for three years ; after which it would allow them sufficient land cleared to a certain extent, with the grain necessary for sowing it, to support themselves ; secondly, that the emigrants should be native Frenchmen and Roman Catholics, and that no stranger or heretic should be introduced into the country ; and, thirdly, it agreed to provide in each settlement three priests, whom it was bound to provide with every article necessary for their personal comfort, and also to defray the expenses of their ministerial labours for fifteen years. After which cleared lands were to be granted by the company to the clergy, "for maintaining the Roman Catholic Church in New France."

This scheme of Richelieu, if we except its religious illiberality, was equally able and adapted to the necessities of Canada ; and had it been carried out as he proposed, would, no doubt, have placed it at the head of the North American colonies. But a storm was now brewing in Europe which threatened serious interruption, if not total destruction, to his plans. The imprudent zeal of the Roman Catholic attendants of the French Queen of Charles I., Henrietta Maria, with Richelieu's persecution of the Huguenots, had aroused the hostility of the English people : and the Duke of Buckingham, to gratify a private pique against the cardinal, involved his country in a war with France. The conquest of Canada was at once resolved upon at the British court ; and Charles granted a commission for that purpose to Sir David Kirke, an Englishman

of an ancient family, but born in France during the temporary residence, owing to commercial engagements, of his parents at Dieppe. Aided by his two brothers, Lewis and Thomas, and the younger Caen, who vowed vengeance against his native country for the loss of his exclusive privilege, Kirke speedily equipped a squadron, and sailed for the St. Lawrence. On arrival at Tadousac he sent a formal summons to Quebec, demanding its surrender. Champlain immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants to consult on what was best to be done. On learning their determination to support him, he returned so spirited an answer, that Kirke, ignorant of the weak state of the defences, gave up his intention of capturing the town, and contented himself with seizing a convoy on its way thither with settlers and supplies.

But Champlain and his companions gained only the brief respite of a few months by their courage. The following summer, in the month of July, the English fleet again ascended the St. Lawrence. A portion of it under Admiral Kirke remained at Tadousac, while the vessels commanded by his brothers sailed up to Quebec to demand its surrender. Champlain, distressed by famine, owing to the capture of his supplies, and the settlement being severely harassed by the hostile incursions of the Iroquois, at once resolved to comply with the summons, and accordingly, on the following day, surrendered the town and fort. The terms granted him were of the most honourable character. The inhabitants were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and were to be conveyed to France if they desired it; but, owing to the kind treatment they experienced from the English, very few of them left the country. Leaving his brother Lewis in command of Quebec, Sir David Kirke, accompanied by Champlain, sailed for England in September; and arrived safely at Plymouth on the 20th of October.

Shortly after his arrival Champlain proceeded to London, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the French ambassador, who was now endeavouring to adjust the differences between the two nations. The ambassador, like a numerous party in France, had no very exalted opinion of Canada; and seemed to regard its restoration, as one condition of peace, as a very unimportant matter. Champlain's representations, however, prevailed at the French court. He clearly proved the vast national importance of the fur trade and the fisheries; and that the latter formed an admirable nursery for seamen. These facts, backed by his strong solicitations, induced Richelieu to negotiate for the restoration of Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton, which, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, again became appendages of the French crown. But before signing this treaty Charles made it a special condition of the peace, that France pay the half of his Queen's\* marriage portion still remaining due. The establishment of peace placed the Company of One Hundred Associates in possession of all its former privileges. It promptly

\* Letter of Charles I. to the British Ambassador to France, June 12th, 1631.

reinstated Champlain as Governor of Canada, and commenced extensive preparations for a fresh expedition, which several Protestants offered to join. This the company would not permit, and stringent measures were resolved on to prevent the spread of *heresy* in its transatlantic possessions.

From various causes Champlain was detained in France until the spring of 1633, when he arrived once more at Quebec with 1633. considerable supplies, and several new settlers. He found the Colony in nearly the same state as he had left it, both as regarded numbers and poverty. His first care was to place its affairs in a more prosperous condition, and establish a better understanding with the Indians, and was tolerably successful in both respects. He next directed his attention to the establishment of a college, or seminary, for the education of the youths of the Colony, agreeable to a scheme proposed by the Jesuits, one of whom (a noble who had lately entered the order) gave 6000 crowns in gold to aid in carrying it out. The foundation of the seminary was laid 1635. in the autumn of 1635, to the great gratification of the inhabitants. Champlain, however, was not destined to see its completion. He died in the following December, on Christmas day, deeply regretted by the colonists, and by his numerous friends in France. Possessed of great experience of human nature—of energy, perseverance, enterprise, and courage, he was eminently fitted to be the founder of a new and prosperous colony. The tenacity with which he clung to his projects, and the earnestness with which he sought to carry them out, prove that he anticipated, in some measure at least, the future greatness of Canada, and that he was creating for himself an imperishable place in its history. His memoirs afford the most ample testimony of his extensive professional knowledge, and prove him to have been a faithful writer, a most intelligent traveller, an acute geometrician, and a skilful navigator. They also prove, that the errors of his early colonial policy were principally owing to the novelty of his position, and his want of experience in Indian affairs. While the pen of the historian can record his chequered fortunes, Champlain will never be forgotten; and the waters of the beautiful lake that bears his name chant the most fitting requiem to his memory; as they break in perpetual murmurings on their shores.\*

\* Champlain was born at Brouage, in France, as nearly as can be ascertained, in 1575, so that he was about sixty years of age at the time of his death, which resulted from paralysis. He left no children behind him. His wife returned to France in 1624, and never afterwards came to Canada. She had been bred a Huguenot, but conformed to her husband's faith after her marriage. After Champlain's death she founded a convent of Ursulines at Meaux, and died there in 1654. Champlain, like so many of his successors, was greatly opposed to the Jesuits, who soon solidly established themselves in Canada to the total exclusion of the Recollets, whom despite their hospitable treatment of them, on their first arrival in 1625, they speedily supplanted, and had even got sent back to France. The Recollets repeatedly petitioned the French Court to be allowed to return to Canada, but owing to adverse Jesuit influence were not permitted to do so until 1681. Champlain, who favoured

## CHAPTER II.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE MONTMAGNY.

M. DE MONTMAGNY, the successor of Champlain, and a knight of Malta, arrived in Canada in 1637. He was accompanied by M. de Lisle, also a knight of Malta, who had been appointed to the command of Three Rivers, then next 1637. in importance to Quebec. The new Governor found the affairs of the Colony in a very unsatisfactory condition. The Company of One Hundred, after its first great effort, speedily relaxed its exertions, and neglected to supply the necessary troops and stores. In other respects, also, the Colony was in a very critical condition. The Algonquins and Hurons, unaided by the French, were utterly unable to resist the assaults of the Iroquois, who, from their intercourse with the Dutch and English traders, were fast becoming acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and had rapidly ascended to supremacy of power among the northern tribes. They had already completely humbled the pride of the Algonquins, and now closely pressed the Hurons ; scarcely allowing them to pass up or down the St. Lawrence, and, at every opportunity, capturing their canoes, laden with furs, as they descended to Quebec. They also threatened the settlement at Three Rivers, and their scouting parties occasionally appeared almost under the very guns of its fort. While matters remained in this condition Montmagny very readily

the Recollets, was much disturbed by the bad treatment they received from the Jesuits. He disliked the latter, also, for the arbitrary manner they had acted towards Poutrincourt, who founded, in 1607, a flourishing settlement at Port Royal in Acadia. The Jesuits speedily compelled Poutrincourt to receive them as missionaries, and to surrender for their benefit a part of the profits of the fur trade. This disgusted the Huguenots, who now mostly retired from Port Royal ; and the Jesuits finally seizing Poutrincourt's vessels the settlement was wholly broken up, although Champlain used his best efforts to prevent this result. The Jesuits at once supplanted the Recollets in the mission field, and speedily acquired great influence with the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, and the Abenaki of Maine, two tribes which were afterwards long distinguished for their frequent and bloody raids on the New England frontier settlements. Their Christianity never prevented them from practising the most diabolical cruelties of savage warfare.—The Jesuits were the only priests in Quebec at the time of Champlain's death. Shortly before his death they got him to execute a will leaving them some property, and from this fact endeavour to make it appear that he had become fully reconciled to their order.—*Vide Garneau.*



entered into a plan for the complete settlement of the Island of Montreal by the Sulpitians, as it promised to check the future encroachments of the Iroquois in that direction. Accordingly, 1638. in this year, M de Maisonneuve, a gallant soldier from his boyhood, and a rigid Roman Catholic, was formally invested with the government of the island on behalf of that order : and on the 17th of May, in the following year, the site of the town and fort was solemnly consecrated by the Jesuit fathers. Apart from this event, the zeal and enterprise of the religious orders made up, to a very great extent, for the supineness of the company. They organised a mission at Sillery, four miles above Quebec, for the conversion of the Indians, where Brubart de Sillery, a knight of the grand cross of St. John of Jerusalem, and once the magnificent ambassador of Marie de Medicis, but who subsequently assumed the friar's cowl, built a fort, a church, and dwellings 1639. for the natives. The Jesuits founded, shortly afterwards, the Hotel Dieu at Quebec as an hospital for the sick, and also an Ursuline Convent with a view to the education of female children.

The audacity which the Iroquois had shown, in appearing in arms before Three Rivers, and the insolence of their conduct generally, rendered it necessary for Montmagny to guard against a surprise. However desirous he might be to punish them for the injuries they had inflicted on the French and their allies, and to compel them to abate the arrogance of their pretensions, (their aim now being evidently to give law, either by policy or force, to the whole country,) the want of resources compelled him to act on the defensive. He accordingly determined to erect a fort at 1642. the entrance of the River Richelieu, by which the Iroquois usually made their descents, after having first mustered their forces on Lake Champlain. The latter quickly perceived the important advantages this fort would give the French, and in order to prevent its erection detached a body of seven hundred warriors, rapidly drawn together, who made repeated assaults to effect their object, but were always gallantly repulsed. The Richelieu fort was soon completed, and supplied with as strong a garrison as the means of the Colony would permit.

The courage and address displayed by the Governor on this occasion, as well as some recent defeats they had sustained, made a salutary impression on the Iroquois, who felt that they were not sufficiently strong to cope effectually with the French. Although apparently disposed to carry on the war with vigour, they indicated, at the same time, an inclination for peace, now earnestly desired by the colonists, who were in a poor condition to continue hostilities from which they could not hope for any solid advantages. The native allies of the French being equally solicitous for peace, it was finally arranged that deputies to settle its conditions should meet at Three Rivers, whither Montmagny went to be present at their interview.

The Iroquois had provided themselves with seventeen belts of wampum (one for each proposition they proposed to discuss,) which they arranged along a cord fastened between two 1644. stakes. On their orator coming forward he addressed the Governor by the title of Ononthio, (great mountain,) a name which they continued ever after to apply to him and his successors. He declared the sincerity of the peaceable professions of the confederated tribes, "their wish to forget the war song, and to resume the voice of cheerfulness." The wampum belts were to mark the calming of the spirit of war, the opening of the paths of peace, the mutual visits to be paid, the feasts to be given, the restitution of the captives, and other friendly proceedings. In conformity with Indian etiquette, Montmagny delayed his answer for two days, when, at another general meeting, he gave as many presents as he had received belts, and expressed, through an interpreter, the most pacific sentiments. Piskaret, one of the principal Algonquin chiefs, then said, "Behold a stone which I place on the sepulchre of those of my people who were killed in the war, that no one may attempt to remove their bones, and that every desire of avenging their deaths may be laid aside." The treaty was still further ratified, in the opinion of the natives, by three discharges of cannon. It was for some time faithfully observed; and for five years unwonted tranquillity reigned along the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois, the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the few smaller Canadian tribes who were parties to the treaty, forgot their deadly feuds for a time, and mingled in the chase as though they were one nation.

While thus providing for the safety of the Colony, Montmagny was not insensible to its other necessities, and caused an accurate account of its condition to be drawn up and forwarded to France. But the connection of the Company of One Hundred with Canada had not, by any means, produced the golden returns anticipated. The powerful incentive of individual profit was wanting; a deaf ear was accordingly turned to the Governor's applications for assistance, and the company appeared desirous to give itself as little trouble, and put itself to as little expense, as possible.

Like his predecessor, in whose steps he was desirous to follow as closely as he could, and whose views, as expressed in his memoirs, he laboured to carry out, Montmagny administered the affairs of the Colony with singular ability, and won alike the respect of the Indians and of his own people, as well as that of the French court, by which he was long held up as a model for governors of new colonies.\* Unfortunately, however, for Canada, the conduct of De Poinci, governor-general of the French West India islands, who attempted to retain his situation in opposition to the orders of his sovereign, induced the latter to determine that in future three years should limit the powers of his principal colonial 1647. servants. In pursuance of this unwise policy Montmagny was recalled, and his successor appointed.

\* Charlevoix in Heriot, vol. i. p. 56.



## THE GOVERNMENT OF DE AILLEBOUST.

M. de Ailleboust was the next Governor of Canada. He was a man of probity and worth ; was well acquainted with the wants of the Colony, having already been commandant at Three Rivers ; and although said to have been deficient to his predecessors in energy and ability, was perhaps the best choice the company could have made. He found matters in a tolerably prosperous condition, notwithstanding the neglect of the authorities in the mother country. Society was fast assuming an ordinary commercial appearance.—From the Jesuits' Journal we learn that wood for fuel was this year publicly sold at Quebec for one and three-pence currency per cord, and the price of bread fixed at seven-pence half-penny for the six-pound loaf. Labourers received one shilling and three-pence (equal to two and sixpence at present) per day and their board : servants' wages by the year averaged four pounds. Eels, continued this journal, were sold in the market for one shilling per hundred, forty thousand having been taken at Sillery from August to November.

The long peace had enabled the missionaries to make considerable progress in the conversion of the Indians, among whom they found the Hurons the most tractable and docile. Previous habits had partially trained them to agricultural pursuits ; and at the suggestion of the missionaries they readily formed themselves into villages. At Sillery four hundred families, embracing in all nearly two thousand souls, were congregated, and several of their other settlements were likewise very populous. Of this people alone it was estimated that fully ten thousand had placed themselves under the guidance of the missionaries, who, it was said, baptized over three thousand of their number on one occasion.\* The Algonquins were found much less tractable, and less willing to receive religious instruction. Yet even among these fierce hunters the missionaries made considerable progress. Nor were they wholly unsuccessful among the Iroquois, over many of whom they exercised so great an influence as to induce them to settle within the limits of Canada ; and even, at a later period, to turn their arms against their own relations. Missionaries also penetrated to the great lakes, and formed flourishing and populous settlements on Lake Huron, and especially on St. Joseph's Island ; but these were all soon destroyed, owing to the hostility of the Iroquois.

Ailleboust well aware, from personal experience, of the miseries attendant on Indian warfare, and desirous to preserve the existing comparatively happy state of things, sought to strengthen the position of himself and his Indian allies, by forming a perpetual alliance with the New England colonies. To

\* Charlevoix and the Jesuit records say three thousand : but probably two thousand were nearer the mark. The French missionaries usually required only a simple assent to the truths of Christianity to qualify converts for baptism. The same system was pursued by Xavier in Hindostan. Hence the great number of converts baptized in both cases. Protestantism requires that converts be more fully instructed before baptism.

effect this object he despatched an agent to Boston ; but the English authorities refused to form an offensive alliance with the French against the Five Nations, which was one of the principal conditions of the proposed treaty, and the negotiation was in consequence broken off. Thoroughly incensed at this attempt to crush them ; looking upon it as an instance of bad faith, and tantamount to a breach of existing treaties, and desirous likewise of avenging some minor injuries, the Iroquois now determined, if possible, to extirpate the French, and also their native allies, the Hurons and Algonquins. They commenced hostilities by a rapid movement on Sillery, where they arrived on Sunday while the inhabitants were engaged in the usual religious exercises. The cry was suddenly raised, "we are murdered." An indiscriminate massacre of the unfortunate Hurons had already commenced. Old and young, male and female, alike fell victims to the Iroquois' thirst for blood. The village was soon enveloped in a general conflagration. Last of all the priest was murdered and flung into the flames ; and soon a smoking pile of ruins was all that remained of what had been a few hours before a populous village, whose inhabitants fancied themselves in perfect security.

Notwithstanding this dreadful massacre, the disappearance of the Iroquois for six months led the villages to relapse into the old feeling of security. The tranquillity was again disturbed 1649. by a party of the enemy, this time a thousand strong, who made an attack on the mission of St. Ignace. Some resistance was offered, and ten assailants fell ; but ultimately all the inhabitants were either killed or carried off. St. Louis was next attacked, and made a brave defence, which, although it was finally stormed, enabled many of the women and children to escape. The missionaries could have saved themselves, but attaching a high importance to the administration of the sacrament to the dying, they sacrificed their lives to the performance of this duty. They were not killed on the spot, but reserved for a dreadful series of torture and mutilation.

Deep and universal dismay now seized upon the Huron race. Their country, lately so peaceable and flourishing, was become a land of horror and of blood ; a vast sepulchre of the dead. Utterly bereft of hope, the nation broke up and fled for refuge in every direction. A few reluctantly offered to unite with their conquerors, who, according to their usual policy, readily accepted them ; but, the greater number sought an asylum among the Cat, Ottawa, and other nations still more remote. The missionaries were at a loss how to deal with the remnant of their converts, now nearly reduced to the single village of St. Mary. The Island of Manitoulin, in Lake Huron, was proposed as a safe asylum from danger ; but although they wanted the means or courage to defend their country, the Hurons felt a deep reluctance to remove to such a distance from it. They preferred the insular situation of Amherst Island, in Lake Ontario, which it was hoped would secure them against

their dreaded foe. There they enjoyed repose for some time, but were obliged by the difficulty of obtaining subsistence, a terrible famine having appeared among them, to form stations on the opposite coast. It was hoped that on any alarm the inhabitants could flee to the island for safety; but the Iroquois, on learning the existence of these posts, came upon them successively with such suddenness and fatal precision, that it seemed as if a destroying angel had guided their steps. One post after another was surprised and destroyed, until out of many hundreds only a single individual escaped to tell the story of their massacre.

The unhappy remnant of the Huron nation, now reduced to 300, renounced all hope of remaining in their native country. One of their chiefs addressed the missionary, representing the extremity to which they were reduced, being ghosts rather than men, and that they could now only hope to preserve their wretched existence by a speedy flight. "If the Father chose to remain where he was," continued the chief, "he would have trees and rocks alone to instruct, as the deplorable remnant of his flock must soon be scattered in every direction by famine and the foe." He concluded by requesting the missionary to conduct them to Quebec, and place them under the immediate protection of its inhabitants. After mature consideration this course was considered the most advisable, and every necessary preparation for departure was speedily made.

Fugitives in the land where they had so long been sovereigns, the Hurons pursued their way in silence, fearful of being intercepted by some scouting party of Iroquois. Their path lay through scene after scene of desolation, terrible even to the savage although so familiarised with rapine and ruin. As this famine-stricken band occasionally emerged from the gloom of the forest into the clearings where populous villages had been so recently situated, the charred ruins and traces of havoc and slaughter mutely, yet forcibly, proclaimed the almost general destruction of the Huron race.

Worn out with fatigue the fugitives finally arrived at Quebec, where their reception presented a mortifying contrast to that which they would have met among the friendly tribes of their own race. The latter would have welcomed them as countrymen and equals, and supplied their wants to the best of their ability; but now they were merely regarded as objects of charity. One hundred of the most destitute found refuge among the different religious houses.—The remainder were thrown upon the compassion of the community at large; and although considerable exertions were made to sustain them, they had well-nigh perished from cold and hunger in the interval of a station, which was named Sillery after their former chief settlement, being established for them.\*

But a more deadly foe than even the Iroquois began at this period to decimate the unfortunate Indians of Canada. The French traders had already discovered the fondness of the red man for

\* Murray's Bri. Amer. vol. i, pp. 167, 170, 171.

fermented liquor, and now introduced it as an article of commerce among the Montagnez, a small tribe occupying the neighbourhood of Tadousac, and the other Indians who frequented that post.\*—Drunkenness, and the malignant passions in its train, apart from the diseases it originated, soon produced the greatest disorders among the impulsive natives. The chase was forgotten for the time: they had other excitement. Like the home of the white inebriate the lodge of the Indian drunkard was soon visited by poverty and want. Society was disquieted, rude as were the restraints it imposed among the aborigines of the St. Lawrence, and the Montagnez chiefs solicited the governor to erect a prison to restrain the disorderly and the criminal. Much to their credit the clerical order steadily set their faces against the introduction of liquor among the Indians; but the traffic soon became too lucrative to be seriously interrupted by their endeavours, and its evil results became wider and more destructive with the progress of time.

The closing event of this year, so fruitful of disaster to Canada, was the accession of a new governor. M. de Lauson, one of the principal members of the Company of One Hun- 1650. dred, was appointed to succeed Ailleboust, whose three years' term had expired. The latter retired without much regret from an office, which the want of the necessary means prevented him from filling with dignity to himself, or benefit to the Colony.†

While these events were transpiring on the St. Lawrence, an extraordinary state of affairs had arisen on the Canadian seaboard. When the treaty of St. Germain en Laye restored Acadia to France, it was tacitly understood that the persons who already occupied that province under lease should be still left in possession. Razilli, held Port Royal, and all the territory south to New England; Latour had the whole country between Port Royal and Canso; Denis had the rest of Acadia, from Canso to Gaspe. Razilli, by agreement with Latour, fixed his residence at La Heve, and possessed himself, by authority of a royal order, of the country beyond as far as the Kennebec River. He also took possession of a small fort at Penobscot, which the New England colonists of Plymouth had erected, and placed a garrison therein. Razilli died, 1635. and his interests passed to his brother, the Chevalier de Charnisey, who had the reputation of being one of the most skilful navigators of his day. One of Charnisey's first acts was to remove to Port Royal, where disputes soon arose between him and Latour. Both appealed to Louis XIII.; and Charnisey making out the better case, or having more influence, received orders to arrest the Huguenot Latour, and send him a prisoner to France. But before this could be done Charnisey had to besiege and take Fort St. John, Latour's stronghold, which he accordingly invested.—Latour, in his extremity, applied to the people of Boston for aid. Winthrop, then Governor of Massachusetts, hesitated to assist him openly, as England and France were at peace. But Protestant

\* Heriot's His. Can. p. 71. † Heriot's His. Can. p. 72.

sympathy was in his favor, and he was soon at the head of eighty New Englanders, and one hundred and forty Huguenots. Latour was now enabled not only to raise the siege of St. John, but to pursue Charnisey to his headquarters. The latter protested against being thus assailed by the subjects of a friendly state, and Winthrop, to settle all difficulties, now proposed to make a treaty of amity and trade between Acadia and New England, which was agreed 1644. to. This treaty was signed at Boston, on October 8th, by

Charnisey on one hand, and commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth, on the other.—Charnisey now re-invested Fort St. John. Latour was absent, but the place was vigorously defended by his wife, who repulsed the assailants with a loss to them of thirty-three men. But the defenders having been weakened by the return home of the New England men it was again besieged, and this time captured, the safety of the small garrison being first stipulated. But Charnisey basely hung every man; and even compelled Madam de Latour to be present at the execution with a halter round her neck. The unfortunate lady was so affected by her family's misfortunes, that she fell into a decline, and died shortly afterwards. Latour came to Quebec in 1646, and with the aid of some New England friends resumed his peltry business in the Hudson's Bay country.—

News of the death of Charnisey led Latour to return to 1651. Acadia, where he married his old enemy's widow, and took possession of his property. But Cardinal Mazarin doubting his loyalty empowered Le Borgne, a creditor of Charnisey, to take possession of certain of his properties in Acadia. Le Borgne, giving

a large interpretation to his commission, determined to 1654. possess himself of the entire province. The establishment of Denis, at Cape Breton, was first captured. He next got possession of the settlement at La Heve, and was preparing to attack Latour, in Fort St. John, but was compelled to retreat by a body of troops sent by Cromwell to take possession of Acadia.—At the same time a force of Massachusetts' men captured La Heve.

Acadia now remained for years in a half unappropriated state, the fur traders sometimes acknowledging French dominion and sometimes English, but neglected by both countries; a condition of things relieved by an occasional civil war among its principal peltry merchants. Finally Latour had the best of it. Being a Huguenot he had no scruples about putting himself under the protection of the English, who were thus enabled to bring the whole

1656. country under their sway. Cromwell eventually granted to Latour, Sir Thomas Temple and William Crown, conjointly and severally, territorial rights over all Acadia. Latour afterwards sold his interest to Temple, who spent £16,000 sterling in putting the

forts into a good state of defence. The annals of Acadia from 1667 this time until it was re-transferred to the French Crown by the treaty of Breda, possess no features of interest to the general reader.



## THE GOVERNMENT OF DE LAUSON.

The new Governor, who arrived in Canada in 1651, must have been previously well acquainted with the wants of the 1651. Colony. He had hitherto the greatest share in the management of the company's affairs in France, and had also negotiated in England for the restitution of Quebec, while still in the possession of the Kirkes. He was a man of integrity, had always taken a great interest in the welfare of New France, departed thither with the best intentions, and was expected to retrieve its affairs. But he found its situation much worse than he had expected. Disorder and distress everywhere prevailed, and the several settlements were rapidly on the decline. Elated by their recent victories, and the abundant possession of fire-arms, which they could now use with the greatest skill, the Iroquois no longer feared the French, and spread themselves over the Colony in every direction, plundering and murdering the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. The remnant of the Huron and Algonquin nations had already fled to the north and west, whither also most of the smaller Canadian tribes retreated, leaving the Iroquois in full possession of their ancient hunting-grounds. Even the French had to withdraw from all their border settlements, and were virtually blockaded in Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, from under the very cannon of which they and their allies were sometimes carried off by bands of the enemy, who also frequently set fire to the standing crops of hay and grain. At Three Rivers they routed a party of French, who went out to attack them, and killed their officer; and so severely did they harass the settlement at Montreal, that Maisonneuve, still its governor, was compelled to make a voyage to France, to solicit, in person, the succour which his letters had been insufficient to procure. He returned 1653. in the spring with a reinforcement of one hundred men, and supplies of the more necessary description.

‘ Finding themselves unable to make any impression on the fortified places of the French, and having inflicted upon them and their allies all the injury possible, the Iroquois next turned their arms against the Eriez or Cat Tribe, whose hunting-grounds embraced a part of the Canadian peninsula, extending from Lake Ontario westward. The Governor, with the view of making the most of this circumstance, resolved to send an agent to the Onondaga Iroquois, who had always been more favourably disposed towards the French than the other confederated tribes, to ascertain whether it was possible to effect a peace. He chose for this purpose the Jesuit father, Simon Le Moyne, who, on the 2nd of July, 1654. departed on his hazardous mission. In his progress upwards to the Onondaga country, the father was kindly entertained by the Christian Iroquois, whom he states in his journal “enriched him from their poverty,” and likewise met many of the

Huron captives, "who received him with joy." On the 10th of August he met, in council, the deputies of the Cayugas, the Senecas, the Oneidas, and the Onondagas, whom he astonished by the knowledge he had of their language and of the principal men of their nation.

The council terminated satisfactorily, the various deputies expressing themselves disposed to form a lasting peace with the French, and treating the father with the greatest consideration.—The Mohawks, the most hostile of the confederates, whose country lay nearest to Montreal and Quebec, had no representative at this council, and consequently did not indorse the peaceable professions it originated. Subsequent events proved that, in making these professions the Onondagas alone were sincere, and that the object of the other tribes was merely to amuse Lauson, and so prevent him from assisting the Cats, who were a brave people, and had prepared for a most vigorous defence of their country. The Mohawks, especially, never for a moment abated their hostility to the French, and irritated by the attempt to separate the confederates, and divert the trade of the western tribes from passing through their country to Albany and New York, resolved on wreaking their vengeance upon Canada the moment the destruction of the Cats enabled them to turn their arms in that direction.

Father Le Moyne arrived safely at Quebec in the month of September, and influenced by the gratifying statement he made of his success, and the favourable report of the other missionaries, 1655. the Governor determined to comply with the solicitations of the Onondagas to establish a settlement in their country.—Fifty men were chosen for this purpose, the command of whom was entrusted to Dupuys, a clever officer of the Quebec garrison. Four Jesuit fathers, one of whom was the Canadian superior, accompanied the expedition, which their order aided most liberally to equip, to found the first Iroquois church.

On the 7th of May Dupuys put his little band in motion for their destination. The Mohawks were fully apprised of the objects of the expedition, and had already made preparations 1656. for its destruction. Four hundred warriors of their tribe proceeded to intercept it, but failing in their object they avenged themselves by pillaging some canoes which had dropped behind the main body, and were insufficiently guarded.

It was not deemed expedient by Lauson to make this insult a ground of quarrel, as hopes were entertained that the influence of the western Iroquois would be sufficiently strong to compel the Mohawks to make reparation. But the latter soon showed that no concessions need be looked for at their hands. Presuming on the vacillating conduct of the Governor, whom no doubt they despised for the impolitic course he had pursued in weakly permitting their war against the Cats, and leaving that tribe to their fate without daring to aid them, they made a descent on the Isle of Orleans, one



morning before sunrise, fell upon a party of ninety Hurons of both sexes who were in the fields, killed six of these helpless people, and carried off the rest. As the Iroquois returned homewards they boldly passed up the river before Quebec, and compelled their prisoners to sing psalms, when opposite the fort, as if to challenge the Governor to attempt their rescue. On arrival in their own country the Huron chiefs were tortured to death, and the other prisoners held in severe captivity.\*

The remainder of the Hurons on the Isle of Orleans, considering themselves no longer in security there, took refuge in Quebec.— Having found the French unable to protect them, they now secretly sent a proposal to the Mohawks, offering to unite with them, and become one people. To this arrangement the latter promptly acceded, and finding that the Hurons after a while regretted their offer, took prompt measures to compel them to fulfil it. Scouting parties were spread around Quebec in every direction, which massacred or carried into captivity every Huron encountered; and when they had, as they supposed, sufficiently humbled this unfortunate people the Iroquois sent thirty deputies to Lauson, to demand the surrender of those who still remained under his protection.

Nothing could equal the haughtiness with which these deputies acquitted themselves. They demanded to be heard in an assembly of the French and Hurons, to which the Governor pusillanimously acceded, and was most deservedly punished by the insolence of their language. "Lift up thy arm, Ononthio," said their spokesman, "and allow thy children whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom to depart; for, if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows may fall on thy head. I know," continued he, after presenting a belt of wampum, "that the Huron is fond of prayers: that he confesses and adores the Author of all things, to whom in his distress he has recourse for succour. It is my desire to do the same. Permit the missionary, therefore, who quitted me to return with the Hurons; and as I have not a sufficient number of canoes to carry so large a body of people, do me the favour to lend me thine."

The council broke up without the Hurons having come to any definite conclusion as to their future course. One clan alone finally determined to keep their promise to the Mohawks, and departed with them to their country, accompanied by Father Le Moyne. The Governor was severely censured by the public for the want of courage he had displayed throughout the entire transaction, and it was generally supposed that had he pursued a contrary course the Mohawks would not have dared, engaged as the confederacy was in a war with the Cats, to press their demands in the insolent manner they had done. Lauson finding that his pacific policy was disliked by the colonists, and tired of a government which he now

\*Heriot's *His. Can.* p. 75. Murray's *Bri. Amer.* vol. i, p. 179.

felt sensible required the energy of a military man to control with effect, quit his post without waiting to be recalled, and returned to France in disgust, leaving Ailleboust in temporary charge of the government.

Meanwhile, the Iroquois had pursued the war against the Cats with the utmost vigour; the possession of fire-arms giving them a great superiority in the contest. Out-post after out-post was captured and broken up, and 700 warriors of the confederates finally stormed the principal stronghold of the enemy, although defended by 1500 fighting men. This success completely annihilated the Erietz, or Cats, as a distinct tribe. Those who were not killed or adopted into their tribes by the victors fled westward and northward; and were it not that the lake lying along the southern borders of their country still retains their name, every memorial of their existence would have passed into oblivion.

The Iroquois, about this period, likewise turned their arms against the Outawas or Ottawas, a branch of the great Algonquin race, whose hunting-grounds lay along the Ottawa, from Ottawa city upwards. This tribe did not make the slightest resistance, and sought shelter amid the marshes along their river, or fled to the islands of Lake Huron, whence a portion of them subsequently penetrated to the south-west, where they joined the Sioux. A great part of the present Province of Quebec, and all Ontario, were now completely in the possession of the Iroquois, who had become the terror of all the Indian tribes of the north and west; and even on the side of New England, the cry of "a Mohawk," echoed from hill to hill, caused general consternation and flight.\*

The Iroquois having attained to this formidable position among the native tribes, and esteeming the neutrality of the French as now no longer of any value, the destruction of the settlement in the Onondaga country was resolved upon. The Christian Hurons were first massacred, some of them in the very arms of the Jesuit missionaries; and Dupuys, who still continued to command this post, saw at once that unless he and his people made a timely flight they must shortly expect to share the same fate, an opinion in which he was confirmed by the secret warnings of some native converts.—Day after day the position of this little band became more and more critical. Luckily for it three Frenchmen had been scalped and murdered near Montreal by the Oneidas, which was promptly avenged by Ailleboust seizing a dozen Iroquois, and placing them in irons. This proceeding, although it added to the irritation of the confederates, now compelled them to proceed more cautiously, and so as not to endanger the lives of these prisoners.

Dupuys was destitute of canoes and other means of transport, but he remedied this want by having several light batteaux constructed in the garret of the Jesuits' dwelling, which stood apart

\* Colden's *His. Five Nations*, vol. i. pp. 3, 4. Missions to New France in 1659, 1660, p. 34.

from the other buildings. A day at length was appointed for departure, and every preparation made so secretly that the Indians knew nothing of what was going forward. To conceal the launching of the batteaux a great feast was given them at which as much noise as possible was made. The boats were speedily launched in silence. Gorged with food and drugged with brandy the Iroquois slept heavily, and awoke to find the dwellings of the Frenchmen tenantless, and their occupants spirited away in a most mysterious manner.\*

After a dangerous journey of fifteen days' duration, Dupuys conducted his detachment in safety to Montreal. But his gratification at this fortunate occurrence was diminished by the 1658. reflection, that his precipitate flight was highly discreditable to his country, and that had he been properly supported, he could have maintained his position among a people who largely derived their power from the weakness of the French. He found the inhabitants of the Island of Montreal in a state of great alarm, owing to the appearance of parties of Iroquois, who, although they did not openly proclaim themselves enemies, were evidently there for some hostile purpose.

Towards the end of May, the Mohawks, having first conducted Father Le Moyne to Montreal, agreeable to their promise to place him in a place of safety in case of hostilities, which they thus honourably redeemed, threw off the mask in conjunction with the other confederate tribes, and openly declared their determination to drive the French from the country ; a purpose their ignorance of siege operations alone prevented them from accomplishing.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE ARGENSON.

Meanwhile the Viscount de Argenson, a brave and pious young soldier, had been appointed governor of Canada, and landed at Quebec on the 11th of July. On the day after his arrival he was startled by the cry to arms, in consequence of the appearance of the Iroquois almost under the cannon of the fort. In fact they were so near that their war-whoops, and the cries of their unfortunate Indian victims, could be plainly heard.—Argenson pursued with such force as he could muster at the moment, but the foe was too nimble for him, and escaped into the forest.\* He ascended the St. Lawrence shortly afterwards in pursuit, with two hundred Canadians and Indians, the Iroquois retreating before him up the Richelieu river. His return to Quebec, however, left the way open for a fresh advance ; and a strong body of Mohawks descended from Lake Champlain with the view of surprising Three Rivers. Under pretence of holding a council with the commandant, they sent eight men to ascertain the condition of the garrison ; but these, instead of being treated as legitimate deputies, were regarded as spies and

\* Smith's His. Can. vol. 1, p. 29.

held as prisoners. Disappointed in their object, and not wishing to endanger their captive brethren, the Mohawks now retreated from the Colony, which for a brief space enjoyed repose. Of this the Jesuit missionaries promptly availed themselves to prosecute their labors among the tribes of the north-west, and now discovered several routes to Hudson's Bay.

But, the difficulties which arose from Iroquois invasion and massacre, were not the only ones which beset Canada at this period. Limited as her population was it might naturally be supposed, that the imminent and perpetual danger from a relentless heathen foe would knit the small Christian community more closely together. Yet such was not the case. Her domestic quarrels were alike numerous and bitter. There was a standing quarrel between Montreal and Quebec over the fur trade and other matters. Priests quarreled among themselves or with the Governor ; the latter was rarely at peace with the intendant ; and ceaseless wranglings arose between rival traders and rival speculators. The Sulpitians ruled supreme at Montreal, the Jesuits at Quebec ; and presently a bitter quarrel arose between the two as to which should have the nomination of a bishop, whose appointment was now deemed necessary for the spiritual welfare of the Colony. The Sulpitians put forward Queylus, one of their own order, for the position ; but the Jesuits objected, and he was set aside. The Archbishop of Rouen, however, who had hitherto exercised episcopal rule in Canada created Queylus his vicar general, who thereupon came down to Quebec, announced his new dignity, and assumed charge of the parish. The Sulpitians were under no vow of poverty, and were rich ; so Queylus was generous to the poor, and soon stood well with the community. But the Jesuits, while outwardly courteous, kept their partisans from listening to the sermons of the vicar general, who finding how things stood launched two angry discourses at his opponents, whom he likened to the Pharisees. To abate the quarrel the Governor, after some difficulty, persuaded Queylus to retire to Montreal.

Shut out from the episcopal dignity, by the rules of their order, all that the Jesuits could do was to have a bishop appointed as favorable as possible to themselves. The queen mother, Anne of Austria, moved thereto by her Jesuit confessor, had invited Father Le Jeune, then in France, to make choice of a bishop for Canada. After consultation with the leading members of his order, a sagacious choice was made, for themselves, in Francois Xavier de Laval Montmorency, otherwise known as the Abbe de Montigny, now in his thirty-seventh year, a scion of one of the noblest houses in France, trained under Jesuit influences, and thoroughly opposed to the Jansenist doctrines of election and salvation by grace, then held by a large number of the French clergy. Two great parties now divided the church of France. One, the Gallican, resting on the scriptural injunction "to render to Caesar the things that be Caesar's," held that to the king belonged the temporal, and to the

church the spiritual power ; and that the laws of their country could not be broken at the bidding of the Pope. The other, the Ultramontane party, held that the Pope was superior to all earthly rulers, of which rulers the clerical order should be wholly independent, and amenable only to their own terrestrial head. Then, as now, the Jesuits were the strongest exponents of Ultramontane principles. Then, as now, the cardinal elements of their policy stood—the church to rule the world, the Pope to rule the church, and the Jesuits to rule the Pope. On most of these points, if not on the whole, Laval fully agreed with them. Under Jesuit influence he largely moulded the ecclesiastical policy of the Canada of the old *regime*, and his views continue to be, in no small measure, the policy of the French-Canada of to-day. In ancient times the clergy of France had nominated their own bishops, but in the reign of Francis I, the contemporary of the English Henry VIII, the king and the Pope wrested the right from them by the Concordat of Bologna. Under this agreement, still in force, the king first nominated, and the Pope then appointed, the French bishops.—Louis duly nominated Laval, but the Ultramontanes, desirous to have the episcopate of Canada independent of the crown, out-generalled both the king and the Gallicans, by having him created grand vicar apostolic, and also made titular bishop of Petræa.—The Gallicans were enraged ; the Archbishop of Rouen vainly protested, as did also the parliament (or high court of justice) of Paris. But the Jesuits finally prevailed ; and the king and his minister Mazarin, unwilling to quarrel with the papacy, gave their consent ; but subject to certain conditions, among which was taking the oath of allegiance.\* Bishop Laval sailed for Canada in the 1659. spring, duly arrived at Quebec, and proceeded to exercise his episcopal as well as civil functions, for he was clothed with both. Queylus apparently accepted the situation, and seemed disposed to regard Laval as his ecclesiastical superior ; but, stimulated by a letter from the Archbishop of Rouen, he soon assumed an attitude of opposition. A bitter quarrel ensued. Queylus was accused of Jansenism ; the king interposed to preserve the peace ; and the offender was at length arrested by a squad of soldiers, sent up to Montreal for that purpose, and forcibly shipped to France. The feud was finally arranged by the Pope cancelling the appointment of Queylus, as vicar general, and the Archbishop of Rouen resigning his claims to episcopal authority in Canada, where Laval was now left to reign alone. He proceeded to organise his clergy on the missionary basis, so as to preserve the right of appointment and removal in his own hands, and to guard against any prescriptive claims, on the score of the parish priesthood as it existed in France. Feeling, at the same time, that the Holy Father had clothed him with his own authority, as regarded Canada, he determined this authority should be fully maintained ; a resolution

\* Jesuits' Journal.



which harmonized completely with his own arbitrary and domineering temper. In these events we have the key to many of the difficulties and disputes which afterwards arose between the civil and clerical authorities of Canada.

Bishop Laval had scarcely well rested after his voyage than the crozier and the sword commenced to clash ; and he came into direct conflict with the Governor on various questions of precedence and etiquette. The bishop asserted that his spiritual function entitled him to rank before the representative of the earthly sovereign. This contention was repudiated by Argenson, who maintained that the king's representative must necessarily take precedence, in a royal colony, of all other persons ; and declared that the bishop was too self-opinionated. And the bishop bitterly retorted by asserting that he was wholly independent of the civil power, could do as he liked in his own eyes, and threatened to excommunicate the Governor, at which the latter was exceedingly indignant, and wrote angrily to Mazarin complaining of the insult. At the Christmas midnight mass the deacon presented incense to the bishop, and then, in obedience to his order, sent a subordinate to offer it to the Governor. Then, again, at the solemn catechism the bishop insisted that the children should salute him before saluting the Governor. And thus, in many exasperating little ways, the spiritual authority was made manifest above the civil, and much bad blood was engendered. The Jesuits ranged themselves behind the bishop ; and now the long struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, so baneful afterwards to the Colony, had fully commenced.\*

Turning aside from ecclesiastical affairs we have now to resume the thread of our secular narrative. Argenson had already 1660. made earnest appeals to the French court for help ; and stated that if it did not come the Colony could not hope to resist the persistent attacks of the Iroquois. Relief for a time, however, came from another and unlooked-for direction. In the month of May the Algonquins captured a Mohican Indian, adopted by the Iroquois, who after being first baptized by the Jesuits, and so prepared for heaven, was afterwards tortured out of existence. But before he died he requited their spiritual care with a startling secret. He told them that eight hundred Iroquois warriors were encamped at the Richelieu, waiting for four hundred more, who had wintered up the Ottawa River, to join them ; and that the united force would sweep the French from the country. A few days afterwards eight Hurons, who had been adopted by the Iroquois, seized a mother and her four children, some twenty miles below Quebec, and while trying to pass Point Levi in the night three of these Hurons were shot dead and the rest captured. The prisoners were taken to Quebec, and there tortured by the Canadian Indians with even more ferocity than the Mohican. Before their

\* Garneau vol, i, p. 165. *Vide* also Parkman's *Old Regime of Canada*.



deaths they confirmed his story. All was now alarm in the Colony, but still the Iroquois did not make their appearance. They had their hands full elsewhere. Daulac, a gallant young officer, commandant of Montreal, had already determined to wage offensive warfare against the Iroquois, and not wait to be attacked as heretofore. In company with sixteen other young men, and some forty Huron warriors, he took post, in April, at the foot of the Long Sault, on the Ottawa River, in an old Indian fort, and there waited for the Iroquois to appear. Daulac was a religious enthusiast as well as a soldier; and his white comrades were animated with the same feeling of devout zeal. The Iroquois were regarded in the Colony as the incarnate embodiment of the evil one; and in fighting them they would not only be benefitting their country, but also combatting Satan himself. To accomplish this double purpose Daulac and his men were willing to brave even death itself, and so make their little post in the Ottawa wilderness the Thermopylæ of Canada. They had not long to wait for the fray. Two canoes, with five Iroquois on board, approached the landing near the fort. Four of the foe were shot down, but one escaped to tell the story of this unlooked-for attack to the main body of his countrymen a little way behind. Presently a fleet of canoes, filled with warriors eager to avenge the deaths of their comrades, came rushing down the rapids. Daulac's force had barely time to gain the shelter of the fort when the Iroquois were upon them, to be quickly repulsed. They then commenced a parley; but finding nothing was to be gained from this they built a rude fort of their own a short distance away. Daulac, who was provided with intrenching tools, improved this breathing time by strengthening his fort, and carefully loopholing it. This work was not quite finished when the Iroquois again attacked, and now endeavored to set fire to the fort, but were beaten back a second time with loss. Two other furious assaults were also repulsed; and the Iroquois now contented themselves with establishing a blockade, and sent a canoe to summon their friends, waiting for them at the Richelieu, to come and help them. Five weary days, for Daulac and his little band, now passed away, during which they suffered severely from the want of water, a hole dug within the fort yielding only a muddy and scanty supply. After a time their food also began to run short, although nearly all the Hurons had deserted to the enemy, won over by their own renegade countrymen in the Iroquois ranks. By noon of the fifth day the Richelieu force had arrived, the war-whoop of seven hundred savages filled the air, and warned the little band within the fort that the final struggle had come.—Knowing its weakness from the Huron deserters, the Iroquois anticipated an easy victory, and advanced confidently, though cautiously as was their wont. But the French were at their posts. Besides muskets they had musketoons of large calibre, which killed or maimed several of the Iroquois at every discharge, and the foe presently fell back astonished and beaten. Three days more passed

away, and Daulac and his men, although almost at the last point of exhaustion, fought and prayed and fought, sure at least of a martyr's crown. Wearied with the prolonged assault the Iroquois were about to abandon the siege, but finally resolved to make a last effort. Covered by heavy shields, made of wood, they advanced close to the fort, cut away the pickets, and presently a hand to hand fight ensued. Daulac was soon struck dead, but the survivors fought with such tremendous courage and fury that the Iroquois, despairing of taking them alive, finally shot them down with repeated volleys. Enraged by their severe loss the Huron deserters were either tortured on the spot or carried away to share the same fate at the Iroquois villages. Five of the captives had the good fortune to escape back to Canada. Partly from them, and partly from the Iroquois themselves, long afterwards, the tragic but glorious fate of Daulac and his heroic band became known.—For that year the Colony had repose. The Iroquois had got enough of fighting for one Summer, and returned to their villages, dejected and amazed, to howl over their losses, and to plan a future revenge. On the fourth of July Argenson wrote a letter to the minister, telling how Daulac had saved Canada from a disastrous invasion. A solemn *Te Deum* for the marvellous deliverance, regarded as a direct interposition from heaven, was chanted in the churches; and the people felt devoutly thankful. But despite this deliverance, and as no succour came from France during the summer, a feeling of despondency gradually arose; and many of the colonists made preparations to return to their native country with the autumn fleet. Argenson, too, was dissatisfied. Apart from his difficulties with Bishop Laval he found his pay would not support him. "The cost of living here is horrible," he writes. "I have only two thousand crowns a year for all my expenses, and I have been forced to run into debt. When I came to this country I hoped to enjoy a little repose; but I am doubly deprived of it; on one hand, by enemies without and incessant petty disputes within; and on the other, by the difficulty I find in subsisting. The profits of the fur trade have been so reduced that all the inhabitants are in the greatest poverty. They are all insolvent, and cannot pay the merchants their advances."

Such was the condition of matters when the ensuing year dawned upon the Colony. With the milder weather came the 1661. annual summer plague—the Iroquois, who swept like a sirocco over the open country; but they had not forgotten Daulac, and so avoided the fortified posts. Towards midsummer, however, they retired, satisfied for the present with the injuries they had inflicted; and, in the month of July, sent two canoes to Montreal, with a flag of truce, to demand an exchange of prisoners, as well as to signify that they were not indisposed to peace. After some consideration the governor acceded to the proposed exchange, which Father Le Moyne was deputed to arrange, as well as to as-

certain whether an honourable peace could not be effected. With these objects in view the father accompanied the deputies, who belonged to the Onondaga and Cayuga tribes, on their return home.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE AVAUGOUR.

The poor health of Argenson, added to the chagrin he had experienced at the supineness of the Company of One Hundred, and his private discontents, had, during the preceding year, induced him to request his recall. Laval had written the president of the company urging his removal; but whether that had any effect or otherwise it is certain that the bishop was not sorry to get rid of him. During the latter part of the summer the Baron de Avaugour, an honest, energetic, blunt and obstinate old soldier, of forty years' service, came out to take charge of the government. He had heard in France of the bishop's treatment of Argenson; and while he called upon the Jesuits, and appeared desirous to stand well with them, he rather ignored their spiritual superior. He began by placing some of them on the council, while he overlooked the bishop, but they and Laval were too closely united, and if Avaugour designed to separate them he signally failed.

The new Governor had served in Hungary with distinction, was possessed alike of great integrity and resolution of purpose, and entered upon his government with the full intention to administer it to the advantage of the colonists. One of his first measures, accordingly, was to make himself more fully acquainted with the condition of the Colony, and for this purpose he soon set out on a tour of observation as far as Montreal. He was delighted with the country, and the magnificence of the St. Lawrence; and wrote to Colbert, now the king's minister, in high praise of what he had seen. But he was astonished at the deplorable condition of affairs, and despairing of relief from the Company of One Hundred, now reduced to forty-five members, promptly complied with the solicitations of many of the inhabitants to request the king to take Canada under his immediate protection, and to present him with a petition to that effect from themselves. Boucher, 1662. commandant of Three Rivers, was sent to France to lay this petition before Louis, and was graciously received by his young sovereign, who was much surprised to learn the deplorable state of affairs in a country naturally so fruitful of resources. He promptly ordered M. de Monts to proceed to Canada, as his commissioner to inquire into and report upon its condition, and whether it would be desirable to annul the company's charter. He directed, at the same time, that four hundred soldiers should hold themselves in readiness to reinforce the posts most exposed to the assaults of the Iroquois.\*

Father Le Moyne still remained with the Onondagas, and had

\* Smith's *His. Can.*, vol. 1, p. 35. Charlevoix vol. 2, p. 120.

already induced the Iroquois to agree to an exchange of prisoners. The central tribes of the confederacy had become greatly attached to him personally, and listened attentively to his religious instructions, but did not appear disposed to go beyond that point, despite his solicitations, as regarded the French. He eventually, however, induced the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Oneidas, to meet him in council, and there presented the gifts that Argenson had sent for their chief men. After deliberating for several days they agreed to make peace, and sent a deputation to Canada for that purpose. But the Mohawks and the Senecas still held aloof, and during the latter part of the summer made a descent on the island of Montreal, where they attacked the *habitants* at work in the fields, and after a sanguinary conflict, which lasted nearly a whole day, killed the town major and a party of twenty-six soldiers, sent out to protect them.

Meanwhile the proud and unbending Avaugour had become involved in a serious controversy with the clergy, whom he had already learned to dislike, owing to the great influence they had acquired in the Colony, an influence that not infrequently clashed with his own authority. Not content with the exercise of their sacerdotal functions, the Jesuits frequently assumed the office of the civil magistrate, and thus made themselves the objects of much jealousy and dislike.\* Laval had not forgotten the curt manner in which he had been treated by Avaugour on his arrival, and now stood ready to exercise his power against him at the first opportunity.—That opportunity came in connection with the liquor traffic. It was not a new question by any means. It had agitated the Colony for years in the past, and was destined to agitate it for many years in the future. The Indians' inordinate passion for strong drink of every sort, had long been the source of the most excessive disorders. They drank to get drunk, and when drunk they were worse than wild beasts. Crime and violence of all sorts ensued, and the priests saw their teaching despised, and their flocks demoralised. On the other hand, the sale of brandy was the chief source of profit to those interested in the fur trade, who included the principal persons in the Colony. And, then, if the French did not supply liquor to the Indians, the latter would sell their furs to the heretic English, a difficulty to be solved in some way. In Argenson's time Laval had launched an excommunication against those engaged in the liquor traffic with the Indians; and besides the spiritual penalty he and the Jesuits demanded that the offender should be put to death.—And the death penalty was accordingly decreed in solemn council. This decree was in full force when Avaugour arrived, and disposed as he was to conciliate the Jesuits, its great promoters, he permitted it, although with no small repugnance, to take effect. A few weeks after his arrival two men were shot, and one publicly flogged, for selling brandy to Indians, events which produced great

\* Garneau vol. i, p. 165 and 186.

though partially suppressed excitement. A woman had been condemned to imprisonment for the same offence, and Pere Lalemant, the Jesuit superior, went to the Governor to intercede for her ; and for some unexplained reason even sought to justify what she had done. This occurrence, in connection with the dislike he had conceived against the Jesuits, so piqued Avaugour that he could no longer contain himself ; and declared that as Lalemant and his brethren, who were the first to cry out against the traffic, did not now deem it a crime for a woman to sell liquor to Indians, it should not be a crime for anybody else. This decision, which the resolute old general refused to alter, was productive of the greatest disorders, and operated most unfavourably to the authority of the clergy. The lust of gain proved stronger with the people than the admonitions of their confessors, whom some persons even taunted with the heavy tithes they collected and their own avarice. The bishop was finally under the necessity of going to France to put a stop to this state of things, and succeeded in procuring from the king an order prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians.—The bishop's success in this respect, and the favour with which he was otherwise regarded at court, so disgusted the Governor, that he requested permission to resign his post. But his recall had already been decided on, and even the nomination of his successor left with the bishop. The agitation, however, had one good effect. It ultimately led to the tithes being reduced from a thirteenth to a twenty-sixth part of the products of the country. But, under the new arrangement, the farmers were compelled to pay their tithes in clean grain, instead of in the sheaf as before.\*

The earlier part of the ensuing year was distinguished by a memorable event in the annals of the Colony. On the 5th of February, about half-past four in the evening, a great noise was heard throughout the whole extent of Canada. It resembled the crackling and rushing sound of a vast fire, and the inhabitants imagining their dwellings were in flames ran out of doors to save themselves. But their terror was if possible increased when they saw the buildings tottering backwards and forwards, the walls, in many instances, suddenly parting one moment, and closing again the next. The earthquake caused the bells in the churches to peal, the pickets of fences to bound from their places, great trees to be torn up by the roots, and dashed hither and thither against their fellows of the forest. Dogs howled, terrified cattle ran here and there, dense clouds of dust increased the prevailing darkness, while the cries and lamentations of women and children, who supposed their last hour had come, added to the horrors of the scene. The ice on the different rivers was broken into fragments, and frequently thrown into the air ; several small rivers and springs were dried up, and the water of others strongly impregnated with sulphur. In some instances hills were torn from

\* Smith's His. Can. vol. i, p. 33. Heriot's His. Can, p. 160.



their places, their broken fragments damming up the courses of rivers, and inundating the neighbouring districts. But derangements of this kind could only have been of a temporary or minor character, for at the present moment the physical features of this country present the same general aspect as they did to Jacques Cartier.\*

The first shock continued without intermission for half an hour. Three hours afterwards another violent shock was felt, and during the night no less than thirty shocks took place. Slighter shocks were subsequently experienced at intervals till the month of August. This earthquake extended throughout Canada, Nova Scotia, and New England. There can be no doubt that its effects were much exaggerated, owing to the novelty of the occurrence, and the extreme terror it produced. The Jesuits' Journal, which supplies very full details of the event, does not state that any buildings were destroyed, and it says that no person perished, a proof of itself that the danger was not very imminent. The geological formations in many parts of Canada, and particularly the islands of the St. Lawrence, prove the occurrence of severe earthquakes and volcanic eruptions at some very remote period, but there is no just grounds to suppose that the causes which produced these now exist, or that this country will ever again be subjected to severe visitations of this kind.

\* Jesuits' Jour. 1663.



### CHAPTER III.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE MEZY.

THE representations of his commissioner, M. de Monts, as well as those of Bishop Laval, who strongly advocated the measure, induced the king to demand its charter from the Company of One Hundred, and to place the Colony in immediate connection with the crown. The profits of the fur trade having been greatly diminished by the hostilities of the Iroquois, the company readily surrendered its privileges; and thus a new and better state of things was now inaugurated. As soon as the transfer was fully completed, M. de Mezy was appointed governor for three years, and an edict published which defined the powers of the principal officers of the Colony. Hitherto, with the exception of a tribunal for the decision of small causes, no court of law or equity had existed in Canada; and the governors, or intendants, decided according to their pleasure. But provision was now made for the regular administration of justice, in conformity with the laws of France, and a sovereign council, or court of appeal, created. It consisted of the governor, the bishop, five others to be annually selected by them conjointly, the intendant, an attorney-general, and a secretary or clerk.\*

The new Governor and the bishop sailed for Canada after midsummer, and landed at Quebec on the 15th September. They brought out with them De Gaudais, the king's commissioner to take possession of the Colony, to report on its condition, and, also, to investigate the charges against the Baron de Avaugour. In the same fleet came out four hundred troops, and a considerable body of immigrants, with a supply of cattle, horses, and every description of the primitive agricultural implements then in use.—Avaugour willingly resigned his authority into the hands of his successor, and returned to France, where he found no difficulty in satisfying his sovereign how little he was to blame. He soon afterwards entered the service of the Emperor of Austria, and was killed, in the following year, while gallantly defending the fortress of Serin, in Croatia, against the Turks.

\* Smith's vol. 1, p. 36-39. Heriot's p. 104.

As we have already seen Bishop Laval had been invited, by the French court, to choose a governor to suit himself. After consulting with the Jesuits his choice fell upon an old acquaintance of his own, Saffray de Mezy, town major of Caen. In his youth Mezy had been headstrong and dissolute ; but he had long since completely reformed, and was now looked upon as an exceedingly pious and model officer, and a strong Ultramontane. He was greatly admired at Caen for his humility and charity ; and as an evidence of these graces had been seen, on different occasions, to carry beggars across the muddy streets, on his back, so that they might perform the journey dryshod. This piety and self-abnegation delighted Laval ; and so earnestly did he plead for Mezy that his appointment was conceded ; and the king, himself, paid certain debts which the pious major had contracted, and thus left him free to sail for Canada. His behaviour during the voyage was most edifying, and established him more firmly than ever in the good graces of the bishop.

Shortly after his arrival the bishop and the Governor proceeded to construct the new council. As Mezy knew very few in the Colony, and was at this time wholly under Laval's influence, he left the nominations with him ; so the bishop appointed his own friends. Against several of these, however, strong charges of fraud had recently been made by Dumesnil, the agent of the Company of One Hundred, who had been sent out three years before to investigate its affairs, and ascertain why certain of its claims had not been paid over. Dumesnil was speedily regarded as altogether too prying a person ; and the former council had refused to acknowledge him as intendant and judge ; and declared his proceedings null and void. Things got so warm that his life was threatened ; and his son, a young man, was assaulted on the streets, in broad daylight, and received injuries from which he soon afterwards died. Dumesnil said the new councillors were dishonest and incapable ; and the royal commissioner, Gaudais, who had taken a seat with them in the council, while defending them from the charges of fraud, admitted they were unlettered, and nearly all unable to deal with affairs of importance.

Bourdan, the attorney-general, was the person against whom Dumesnil had made the most serious charges ; and two days after his appointment, and in order to destroy the evidence against himself, demanded that the agent's papers should be seized, on the ground that he had illegally obtained some documents from the record office. The council consented. Mezy sent ten soldiers to Dumesnil's house, where, under Bourdon's directions, his private cabinet and drawers were broken open by a locksmith, and his papers seized. On the plea that Dumesnil was abusive during these transactions, an order was about to issue for his imprisonment, but he managed to escape on board a ship, and sailed for France, to lay a long memorial before Colbert about the manner in which he had been treated, and the company robbed. But as his charges

compromised persons of influence and position, they were not pressed by the crown, although Colbert felt satisfied they were largely true.

Montreal had been hitherto as little in harmony with the ecclesiastical authority at Quebec, as it had been with the civil, and even military, authority of the Governor. It was a sort of *imperium in imperio*—a wheel within a wheel. Its governor was the appointee of the Sulpitians, the seigniors of the island; and Maisonneuve, an able and judicious man, had held the post for twenty-five years.—He was now removed by Mezy, with the concurrence of the bishop, and his successor appointed. Laval effectually backed by the civil power at Montreal would now be as potent there as at Quebec, should any case like that of Queylus again arise. In any event it was a movement in the interest of centralised power; and, therefore, met with the cordial approval of Laval and the Jesuits.

But Mezy, to the surprise of the bishop and his clergy, very soon gave evidence of a strong will of his own. On the occasion of an embassy of Iroquois, on whom the arrival of the soldiers had exercised a salutary effect, he cowed the savages by the decisive and haughty manner in which he rated them for their past duplicity, and not a little astonished the listening ecclesiastics. The town major of Caen gradually began to realise that he represented the royal authority in a domain many times larger than France; and that it was, therefore, not fitting that he should be the mere agent of those who had procured for him his new dignity. Evidence of his rebellion to ecclesiastical domination soon began to appear. The docile lamb was gradually assuming the form of a wolf, and Laval stood aghast at the unlooked-for transformation.

But Mezy saw that while the majority of the council, led by the attorney-general Bourdon, were opposed to him he could accomplish very little in the way of increasing his own 1664. power. He accordingly determined to remodel it. On the 13th of February he sent the major of the fort to Laval with a written declaration to the effect that he had ordered Bourdon and two others to absent themselves from the council, because having been appointed "on the persuasion of the aforesaid Bishop of Petrea, who knew them to be wholly his creatures, they wished to make themselves masters in the said council, and had acted in divers ways against the interests of the king and the public." And he wound up by asking the bishop to acquiesce in their expulsion, and to join him in calling an assembly of the people to choose councillors in their place. But the bishop flatly refused to do either one or the other. Mezy was still fanatically religious; and while he disliked breaking with the church felt, at the same time, he must not forget his duty to his sovereign. He consulted the Jesuits in his dilemma. Lalemant advised him to follow the advice of his confessor, one of his own order, in spiritual matters, but on worldly matters he had no advice to give; and it was about worldly matters all the trouble arose. Perplexed as he was Mezy

would not reinstate Bourdon and his two allies. The people began to clamour at the interruption of justice, and blamed Laval, whom a recent levy of tithes had made unpopular. Mezy thereupon issued a proclamation stating, that in accordance with the petition of the people, he had appointed the *Sieur de Chartier* attorney-general in place of Bourdon. A new ground of quarrel presently arose touching the election of a "deacon of habitations," a town officer whose duty it was to note any infraction of public rights, and to be generally careful of the common weal. The votes were cast in presence of the council, when the choice fell on a supporter of the Governor, and the Laval party protested, but in vain.

September had again come round, and it was now a year since the council had been formed, and a new one had to be appointed. Laval re-nominated his four former partisans, but Mezy refused his assent ; and on the 18th of the month reconstructed the council by his own authority—an illegal proceeding. Laval protested, but Mezy proclaimed his choice by beat of drum ; and was now excluded from confession and absolution. On the following Sunday the pulpits of Quebec resounded with denunciations of the Governor, who presently fell into a fresh indiscretion, and ordered Bourdon and Villeray, his two great opponents, home to France. They carried with them the instruments of their revenge, in the charges made by Laval and the Jesuits against the author of their new woes. The king and Colbert busy in carrying out the autocratic policy of Richelieu, dear to their hearts as it was to his, could not brook the idea of Mezy's fishing for popular support ; and independent of his illegal conduct, in selecting the council, this act alone was sufficient to condemn him. He had no powerful friends at court to stand up for him, his dismissal was ordered, and Laval triumphed. The bishop had become the foremost power in Canada, and had already made one governor and unmade two. Colbert had secretly instructed former governors and intendants to watch Laval, and prevent him from assuming powers which did not belong to him. Mezy, no doubt, had received the same orders, but he blundered sadly in carrying them out ; and destitute alike of rank and influence was at once sacrificed, without compunction, to placate the church.\* An inquiry was ordered into his conduct, and if found necessary he was to be put on his trial, and sent a prisoner to France. But a voice more potent than that of the king soon called him before a higher tribunal. He was struck with a mortal disease, partly the result of mental worry, and died on the night of the 5th of May, before he even heard of his recall, or it had arrived ; and thus escaped the mortifications to which he must otherwise have been subjected.† But, although he made peace with the bishop before his death, and died in full communion with the church, clerical vengeance followed him into

\* *Vide* Parkman's *Old Regime* and Garneau.

† *Jesuit's Journal*, Courcelle's commission was dated 23rd March, 1665.

the grave. "God," said the dean of Quebec, "had already *luckily* made nugatory, by the death of the *culprit* in penitence, the process (trial) to be entered upon."\*

Thus Mezy's career was ended, and his brief reign of authority in New France suddenly set aside. But his representations in his own defence, following so closely upon those of his two predecessors, had considerable weight at the French court, and led to the conclusion that the bishop and the Jesuits had attained to greater influence in the Colony than was consistent with the interests of the crown, and also to a resolve to abate that influence at a fitting opportunity.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE TRACY.

Colbert, now the minister of Louis, and formerly intendant of Mazarin's household, was a man of talent and energy, who had preserved a character for rectitude in an age of corruption and venality. He did much for France, lightened the burdens of the working classes, reformed the laws, restrained feudal tyranny, still existing here and there, and prevented the plunder of the public exchequer with a strong hand. But, nevertheless, his commercial and colonial system was largely based on erroneous principles of political economy, and repressed that individual freedom so necessary to success. It was a system of monopoly and exclusion, in which the government and not the individual acted always the foremost part. Arrogant and domineering he sought to drive France into paths of prosperity, and create colonies by the energy of an imperial will; and accordingly established great trading corporations, in which the principles of privilege and exclusion were pushed to their utmost limits. Among these corporations was the West India Company, the edict creating which was signed by the king on the 24th of March, 1664. To this company was transferred, for forty years, all the territory of New France, from the Hudson's Bay to the Mississippi, and the West India Islands; with power to build forts, wage war, make peace, establish courts, appoint judges, and to act as sovereign within its own domains.—Canada once more was surrendered, bound hand and foot, to a selfish league of merchants; with monopoly in trade, religion and government as its ruling principle. Nobody but the company had the right to bring it the necessaries of life, and nobody but the company had the right to the traffic which alone could give it the means of paying for these necessaries. The Canadian merchants remonstrated, and the company gave up its monopoly of the fur trade, but reserved the right to levy a duty of one-fourth of the beaver skins and one-tenth of the moose skins, and retained in its own hands the entire trade at Tadousac, which covered all the territory between the lower St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay. It, also,

\* Garneau vol. i, p. 214,



retained the right of carrying all furs in its own ships. Lieutenant-general, the Marquis de Tracy, a veteran of sixty-two, portly and tall, was appointed the king's viceroy for all the territories of France in the new world, directed to make an inspection of St. Domingo and the Windward Islands, and then to proceed to Canada, and provide for its future security by curbing the power of the Iroquois. After driving out the Dutch from Cayenne, bringing several West India Islands under French authority, and performing some important administrative duties there, Tracy proceeded to Canada with a part of the regiment of Carignan, the first French regiment sent out to the Colony, and on the 30th of 1665. June landed at Quebec in great state, surrounded by a crowd of young French nobles, bewigged and gorgeous in lace and ribbons. The Quebeckers cheered, and the Indians stolidly gazed in amazement at the grand procession, as it wound its way through Lower Town, and then to the top of the rock above, where a dilapidated fort of stone, and sheds half wood, half masonry, bore the grandiloquent title of the Castle of St. Louis. Laval, in full pontificals, surrounded by his seminary priests and Jesuits, was waiting at the cathedral door to receive the representative of his sovereign ; and as he greeted Tracy looked anxiously into his face to see what manner of man he was. The signs were auspicious ; the procession passed into the cathedral ; *Te Deum* was sung ; and a day of rejoicing followed.

Meanwhile the Sieur de Courcelles, a gallant soldier, had received his commission as lieutenant-general and Governor of New France, and on the same day, the 23rd of March, Jean Baptiste Talon, afterwards the Baron de Ormale, an able man and an honest one, was created intendant. From first to last he proved himself a vigorous and prudent executive officer ; a true disciple of Colbert, formed in his school, and animated by his spirit. Judging solely from the usual terms of their commissions the intendants were the ruling power in the Colony. They controlled all the expenditure of the public money, and though ranking after the governor and the bishop, presided at the sessions of the council, as the chief legal authority ; took the votes, pronounced judgment, signed procedure papers, and called special meetings. But they often met with obstructions, and were not infrequently set at defiance by the governor, the judges, or the council ; or by all three combined, and did not always rest upon a bed of roses. In those days of one-man power in France—of imperial despotism—so demoralising in its essence, the Canadian intendant, whoever he chanced to be, was in reality a spy upon the governor, as well as upon all the principle men of the Colony who came within his sphere ; and a part of his duty was to make long reports about them, and of everything else of consequence which came under his observation, to the king or to his minister. Talon was especially charged to look sharp after Laval, and keep both him and the Jesuits within prescribed bounds.

Courcelles and Talon sailed together for Canada, bringing the



remaining companies of the regiment of Carignan with them, as well as guards, valets, and much finery otherwise; for Talon loved splendour, and so a sunbeam from the dazzling court of Louis le Grand fell upon the dull grey rock at Quebec. But there was a background of suffering and sadness to Talon's bright pageant.—The voyage out had been a tedious one of over a hundred days' duration. Disease and death had made sad havoc among the passengers and crews of the fleet, and the hospitals, the churches, and the neighbouring houses were soon overflowing with the numerous sick. During the summer over two thousand immigrants landed at Quebec, at the royal charge, and the Colony now began to grow apace.

The viceroy promptly applied himself to fulfil his instructions with respect to the Iroquois. The force at his command readily enabled him to repel their usual summer forays, and the harvest was consequently gathered in security. To check their future inroads, as well as to place troops in close proximity to their country, and afford a secure base for offensive operations against them at any time, forts were erected on the river Richelieu at Sorel, at Chambly, and at a point above its rapids. The vigorous manner in which these forts were constructed, as well as the bolder front now assumed by the French and their allies, discouraged the Iroquois for the time. The Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, sent deputies to Quebec, to assure the Governor of their peaceable disposition, and of their desire to maintain, in future, a good understanding with the French. One of the deputies (Garahonthie) pronounced an eloquent eulogium on Father Le Moyne, who had died in his country a short time before, and declared the sorrow of his people for that event.

But the Mohawks and Oneidas still kept haughtily aloof, and as this conduct left no doubt of their hostility, a winter expedition into their country, to punish them for the numerous injuries they had inflicted on the Colony, was resolved upon.\* This expedition, composed of 300 soldiers and 200 militia, left Quebec on the 1666. 9th January, under the command of Courcelles. Each man carried, besides his arms and the necessary warm clothing, twenty-five pounds of biscuit. During the march to the Richelieu the greatest hardships were encountered, owing to the severity of the weather, and some of the soldiers perished. Still, Courcelles resolutely persevered in the enterprise, and after a long and toilsome journey, the greater part of which his troops performed with snowshoes, he found himself in the vicinity of Schenectady on the 9th of February. In the evening some Indians making their appearance he detached sixty of his best marksmen in pursuit. These were led into an ambuscade, and had an officer and ten men slain and seven wounded.

Intelligence of the approach of the Canadians speedily reached

\* For full details of this expedition see *Relation, &c. la Nouvelle France, 1665, 1666.*

Albany, three of whose principal inhabitants were despatched to inquire the cause of the invasion of English territory. Courcelles stated, that he was not aware of being on ground belonging to England, that he had come solely to seek out and punish the Mohawks for the numerous injuries they had done to the people of Canada, declared himself willing to pay in money for provisions, and requested that his wounded men might be taken to Albany and attended to, which was done. Much to his chagrin, however, he learned that he was still three days' march from the villages of the Mohawks, which were well fortified after the usual Indian manner, and would be resolutely defended. Under these circumstances he resolved upon a retreat, and on the 12th of February put his little army in motion on its return. The Mohawks despatched a body of warriors in pursuit, but so rapidly did the French retire, that they had to rest satisfied with the capture of three stragglers from the main body, and the scalps of five men who had perished from hunger and cold.\* Before, however, the shelter of the nearest friendly fort on the Richelieu was reached, sixty more men of Courcelles' force became the victims of that terrible winter march.

But, although this expedition failed in its object of surprising the Mohawks, and of inflicting a severe chastisement on them while unprepared to defend themselves, the hardihood and courage which it displayed made a salutary impression on the confederate tribes. They no longer felt themselves safe from attack; and feared that the evils of invasion and plunder, which they had so often inflicted on the Canadians, would now be retaliated on themselves. The statements of the prisoners captured by the Mohawks strengthened this supposition; and in the following May deputies again arrived from the three western tribes to demand a continuance of peace. The Oneidas speedily resolved to follow this example, and used their influence with the Mohawks to send deputies also to Quebec to make peace with "Ononchio." But these haughty warriors refused to become suitors in this way. The Oneidas, they said, might represent them, and they would be bound by their acts, but this was all they would concede. At the same time, they took the most effectual method of preventing the conclusion of peace. One of their scouting parties massacred three officers, among whom was a nephew of Tracy, in the vicinity of Fort Anne, recently erected on an island in Lake Champlain, and captured some prisoners. To punish this outrage, Captain de Sorel promptly collected a force of three hundred men, and led them by forced marches towards the villages of the Mohawks. The latter were speedily acquainted with this movement, and feeling themselves unable singly to oppose the French, resolved upon submission. Two deputies were despatched to meet Sorel. These took the prisoners with them, and were instructed to offer reparation for the murder of the three officers.—The deputies met the French while still distant sixty miles from

\* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i, p. 71. Heriot's His. Can, p. 117.

their villages, and their protestations so appeased Sorel that he returned, and had them conducted to Quebec. Here they were treated with no small consideration, and the second day after their arrival were invited to dinner with the viceroy. The conversation chancing to turn on one of the murdered officers, a Mohawk warrior boasted that it was he who had killed him. In a transport of rage Tracy told him he should never kill another, and, forgetful of his character as an ambassador, ordered him to be immediately strangled.

There was no course now left open to the viceroy but that of a prompt and vigorous invasion of the Mohawks in their own country. The death of their chief could only strengthen their enmity towards the French, and Tracy's policy was, therefore, to extirpate them if possible, or, at all events, to so weaken their power that their hostility in future would not endanger the repose of the Colony. Preparations for an expedition into the Mohawk country, on a larger scale than ever, were at once undertaken, and so vigorously were they prosecuted, that by the end of September 1666. a force of 1200 soldiers and militia, and 100 Indians, rendezvoused at Fort Anne.

The main body of this force was commanded by Tracy in person, although he was now sixty-seven years of age : Courcelles led the vanguard. During the march provisions fell so short that the troops were on the eve of mutiny ; but fortunately a chesnut grove enabled them to appease their hunger, and the deserted villages of the enemy, who fled at their approach, soon after supplied them with abundance of food.

Hitherto the Mohawks had waged war for many years without having had their villages desecrated by a foe, but they were now subjected to a misfortune which they had so often inflicted on others. Overpowered by a superior force, they were compelled to behold their homes, much more comfortably constructed than those of the other native tribes, given one after another to the flames ; and the stores of corn, which they had prudently collected, plundered or destroyed by their invaders. One stronghold they resolved to defend. It was protected by a triple line of palisades twenty feet in height, flanked by bastions at the angles, and contained large stores of provisions. But, as the French approached with two fieldpieces to the assault, their courage failed them, and they fled into the recesses of the forest, leaving a few old men and women to the mercy of their foes.\*

Famine was now the fiercest enemy which the Mohawks could have to deal with. They must either await its destructive ravages in their own country, or scatter themselves among the other Iroquois to obtain sustenance during the coming winter. In both cases they would be powerless for offensive operations : so Tracy, satisfied with the success he had achieved, put his troops in motion on their

\* Doc. Hist. New York York, vol. i. p. 70. Smith's His. Can. vol. i. p. 53.

return. After suffering from a storm on Lake Champlain, in which eight men were drowned, they arrived in Canada, where they were welcomed by the acclamations of a grateful people and a *Te Deum* in the cathedral of Quebec.

The viceroy now strengthened the settlements on the St. Lawrence, as the surest way to repress the future incursions of the Iroquois. At the same time an attempt was made to carry out a royal edict, directing the inhabitants to collect as much as possible in villages, so as to act in concert in case of attack. This was, 1667. however, found to be impracticable, owing to the scattered manner in which the clearings had already been made. One of the last acts of the viceroy, before his departure, was to confirm the West India Company in all the privileges previously appertaining to the Company of One Hundred Associates; and thus Canada was again subjected to a monopoly, which operated most injuriously to its prosperity.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE COURCELLES.

The departure of Tracy placed the chief authority of the Colony in the hands of Courcelles under most favourable circumstances.—

The Iroquois earnestly sued for peace, which was now 1668. established with better prospects of continuance than ever before. In civil affairs the Governor had an able coadjutor in Talon, who lost no opportunity to serve the Colony, and develop its resources. This prosperous condition of matters induced the greater part of the officers and men of the regiment of Carignan 1669. to settle in the country. To supply the latter with wives the government sent out several hundred women from France. Many of these were not of the purest reputation, yet so great was the matrimonial demand that the whole cargo was disposed of in a fortnight after its arrival.

In 1670 the peace which had so happily been established was seriously menaced. The robbery and murder of an Indian chief, while on his way to dispose of his furs, by three French 1670. soldiers, and some quarrels between the Senecas and Ottawas, threatened to again deluge the Colony with all the horrors of warfare. The Governor promptly proceeded to Montreal, and there had the soldiers tried, and afterwards executed for the murder in the presence of the assembled Indians, whom he declared he would punish with the same severity if they disturbed the public peace. By this impartial conduct, as well as by his prudent representations, he induced the Ottawas and Senecas to send deputies to Quebec, where all their disputes were satisfactorily arranged.

But a more destructive foe than even the Iroquois was now about to afflict the hapless red men of Canada. The small-pox made its appearance amongst them with the most fatal virulence. Some of the small tribes resident north of Quebec were almost wholly swept

away. Tadousac, where 1200 Indians annually assembled to barter their rich furs, was completely deserted ; and Three Rivers, once crowded with the Algonquins, was now never visited by a red man. Time did not abate the ravages of this fatal disease. A few years later on it attacked the Indians of Sillery, and out of 1500 souls scarcely one survived.

The salutary dread with which the French had inspired the Indians, enabled Courcelles to interpose effectually between the Senecas and the Pouteouatamis, a western tribe, for the 1671. preservation of peace. At the same time, the religious and political zeal of the Jesuit missionaries was fast building up an influential French party among the Onondaga and Cayuga Iroquois. Many of the converts had already come to reside in Canada. These were now separated from the Huron Christians, and established in a distinct settlement of their own at Caughnawaga, an island at the Lachine Rapids. French influence was also strengthened among the distant tribes of the north-west by the mission of Nicholas Perrot, an experienced traveller, who had embraced the service of the Jesuits from necessity. This bold adventurer penetrated among the tribes dwelling on the borders of the upper lakes, took possession of their country in the name of his sovereign, and speaking their language fluently, readily persuaded them to consider themselves under the protection of the governor of Canada, and to send delegates to the Sault St. Marie, at the foot of Lake Superior, the great point of rendezvous for the upper lake tribes. Here they were met by the representative of Courcelles, acknowledged the sovereignty of his king, and witnessed the erection of a cross bearing the royal arms of France, as an evidence that he had taken possession of their soil.

Although the Iroquois were at peace with the French and their native allies, they were far too restless not to carry their arms in other directions. On their southern borders they terminated a long and fierce struggle with two tribes, by a final defeat and incorporation with themselves. Of this event Courcelles was duly made aware, and he at once saw the necessity of imposing new barriers to their future forays into Canada. A fort at Cataraqui, situated at the foot of Lake Ontario, and at the head of the St. Lawrence, would form an excellent base for operations at any time against the western Iroquois, as well as a valuable trading post. Here he accordingly met their deputies, explained to them that he wished to establish a trading post in their neighbourhood, and obtained their consent. Gratified at the success of his plans thus far, he returned to Quebec, to find his successor already arrived in the person of Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac.

His failing health had previously compelled Courcelles to solicit his recall, and he returned home followed by the regrets of the majority of the inhabitants, to whom his chivalrous courage and prosperous administration had endeared him. With the religious orders, now becoming a most important element in Canadian society,



he was far from popular ; and the Jesuits, whose views he especially thwarted, regarded him with positive dislike. Wisely leaving the chief burden of the civil administration to Talon, the Colony flourished greatly under his rule, taking the exactions of French monopoly into consideration. The Iroquois feared him for his courage, and respected him for his love of justice and moderation, qualities which also won for him the sincere respect of the Indian allies of the French. He sincerely desired the prosperity of Canada, and prior to his departure other cares did not prevent him from impressing upon his successor the necessity of building a fort at Cataraqui to insure its continuance.\* Well, however, as Courcelles had governed, the population of Canada hardly equalled that of a good sized village, and was only 3,418 souls. Quebec had 555 inhabitants, Montreal 584, and Three Rivers 461.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE FRONTENAC.

The Count de Frontenac was of an ancient and noble lineage. His father held a high position at the French court, so Louis 1672. XIII became the god-father of the son, and gave him his own name. Frontenac was born a soldier. At the age of fifteen he served in Holland ; and during his minority was constantly engaged in one military operation after another. At the age of twenty-three he rose to the rank of colonel, and at twenty-six became a brigadier-general. In 1648 he married a beautiful girl of sixteen, who ultimately became one of the leaders of Parisian fashionable life, and exercised no small influence at court. She was a woman of high and exacting temper ; and her husband being cast in the same mould they soon became estranged. They had one son, who entered the army, and was killed in battle at an early age. Frontenac had never been a rich man, and being fond of grand living soon wasted his patrimony. In 1669, on the recommendation of Marshal Turenne, he was appointed to command the Venetian army in Candia ; and, although ultimately beaten by the Turks, added largely to his reputation for ability and courage. Three years later Frontenac, now at the age of fifty-two, was appointed governor and lieutenant-general for King Louis over all New France. "He was," says the Duke de Saint Simon, in his memoirs, "a man of excellent parts, living much in society, and completely ruined. He found it hard to bear the imperious temper of his wife, and he was given the government of Canada to deliver him from her, and afford him some means of living." His wife declined to follow him to this country, but, nevertheless, constantly used her influence for his benefit ; and thus enabled him to overcome many difficulties.

Brave, talented, and possessed of most of the virtues of the old nobility of France, Frontenac likewise inherited many of their

\* Heriot's Hist. Can. vol. i. p. 293. Smith's Hist. Can. pp. 62, 63.



vices. He was at once haughty and overbearing : fiery of temper as any Gaul could well be, and perversely head-strong. Transported, as it were, from the gorgeous centre of European civilization to a land of savage hordes and boundless forests—of rough hunters and traders, blanketted Indians and wild bush rangers, he nevertheless wasted no time in idle regrets, and, with the wonderful versatility of his race, at once proceeded to adapt himself to circumstances, and make the most of his new position. His first impressions of his seat of government were most favorable ; and he was delighted with the magnificent scene which burst upon his view, as he emerged from the fogs and dreary scenery of the lower St. Lawrence into the basin of Quebec. “I never,” he wrote the minister Colbert, “saw anything more superb than the position of this town. It could not be better situated as the future capital of a great empire.” For years already Canada had been the favourite colony of France, and much had been done for its prosperity.—While Acadia had been almost wholly neglected, shiploads of emigrants had been annually sent to Quebec, and all its environments were now full of future promise. The intendant Talon wrote, for the information of the young king, that “this part of the French monarchy is destined to a grand future ;” and then he exultingly rehearsed how the English colonies dreaded the progress of New France ; and how effectually they had been restricted to the narrow strip of sea-board, from which they dare not extend themselves except at the peril of war for unlawful intrusion.

Like many of the old nobility of that period, Frontenac was favourable to the ancient municipal franchises of his country, and was desirous to establish matters in Quebec on a similar basis.—But his efforts in this direction were coldly regarded at the French court, where the policy of an imperial centralising despotism was now fully determined on ; and Colbert wrote him that he must not give a corporate form to the people of Canada, that even the office of syndic should be abolished, and that each man should speak for himself and no one for all. In short Canada was to be a royal colony, despotically governed for the crown. This lesson was not lost upon Frontenac, a man of ready wit and quick perception ; and while determined to do all he could for the Colony, he also resolved to repair, as far as possible, his own ruined fortunes, for which the fur trade and other sources of emolument, opened to him by his position, afforded abundant opportunity. But in this direction Talon stood in his way, and there the signs of approach- 1673. ing difficulty soon appeared, to be allayed, however, by the departure of the intendant for France. Frontenac, in accordance with the views of Colbert, who was anxious to avoid trouble, was left, by way of trial, to rule alone. But he was soon confronted by another source of disquietude, in the great influence now exercised by the Jesuits ; and he complains to Colbert “that they hold all the other clergy in complete dependence ; that they had spies in town and country ; that they abused the confessional, intermeddled in

families, set husbands against wives, and parents against children ; and all as they say for the greater glory of God. And," he added, " they will not even civilise the Indians, so as to keep them in perpetual wardship, think more of beaver skins than of souls, and their missions are pure mockeries." The Jesuits soon acquired a knowledge of these despatches, and determined to be revenged ; but found it necessary to proceed with the utmost caution owing to Frontenac's great influence at court. A bitter war was now fairly in embryo.

Courcelles' plan for the erection of a fort at Cataraqui was favourably regarded by Frontenac, and the more so as La Salle, and other friends of his, pointed out to him that it would be an admirable point for conducting the fur trade with the western tribes ; while, at the same time, it must prove a valuable restraint on the Iroquois in the event of war. The merchants of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, were much opposed to the project, as it would divert a large amount of the fur trade from themselves ; but their objections had little weight with Frontenac. In the month of June he collected, at Montreal, a force of four hundred Canadians and Christian Indians, with a hundred and twenty canoes, and two large batteaux armed with cannon ; and after a two weeks' journey up the St. Lawrence found himself on Lake Ontario. He had previously sent La Salle to Onondaga to ask that Iroquois deputies meet him at Cataraqui, and found a number of them awaiting his arrival. On the following morning, amid the beating of drums, presenting of arms, and all the other military pomp and ceremony possible, Frontenac and his staff, arrayed in their most brilliant uniforms, held a grand council with the Iroquois. Declining to address them as brothers, the usual Indian formula on these state occasions, Frontenac called them his children, stated that he was glad to see them ; that they did well to obey his commands to come to meet him, and that his words to them would be full of peace and tenderness. And he then magnified the power of the French, pointed to his cannon and gaily painted batteaux, as part of its emblems, and told the benefit they would derive from the establishment of a trading post on Lake Ontario. Although the pride of the Iroquois was touched by Frontenac's commanding demeanor and language, they were awed into silence by his imperious bearing, and the splendor, to them, of his surroundings, and so gave their consent to have the fort built. Presents were then given, and a grand feast followed, which lasted for days. Meanwhile the construction of the fort went on. In less than a fortnight it was almost completed ; and, leaving a force under La Salle to garrison it, Frontenac descended to Montreal, which he reached on the 1st of August. He had accomplished two important objects in the most masterful way. He had taught the Iroquois to regard him with mingled fear and respect ; and had formed the connecting link with the great lakes.

Being well aware of Frontenac's love for personal power and au-

thority, Talon, who had directed the whole civil administration of the Colony during Courcelles' government, was unwilling to have his influence diminished, and had requested his recall some time before the Governor's arrival, but had been prevailed on by the king to remain at his post until its affairs should be placed on a more permanent footing. Flattered by the compliment his sovereign had paid him, the zeal of Talon was stimulated to renewed exertion in his service; and early in 1673 he despatched Father Marquette, and Joliet, a geographer of Quebec, to search for the great river which the Indians had so often described as flowing towards the south. Accompanied by six Canadian boatmen, these adventurous discoverers boldly navigated Lake Michigan in bark canoes, ascended Fox River, and finally struck the Mississippi in 42, 30 north latitude. They descended the great river until they fully satisfied themselves that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and then retraced their course. Marquette subsequently decided to remain for a time among the western Indians, \* but Joliet descended to Quebec to inform Talon of the 1674. gratifying result of their arduous journey; but found that the intendant had already departed for France.

While these events were in progress a bitter quarrel arose between Frontenac and Perrot, the governor of Montreal, who had married a niece of Talon, to whose influence with the Sulpitians he owed his appointment in 1669. But Perrot, to make himself independent of the priests, got a new commission from the king, and having thus securely intrenched himself at his post, proceeded to utilise it for his personal profit; and soon diverted from Quebec a large part of the fur trade. In order to provide suitable agents among the Indians, Perrot winked at the desertion of his own soldiers; who fled into the depths of the forest, became *couvreurs de bois*, or bush rangers, traded with the natives in their villages, and shared their gains with him. He also made himself the protector of forest rangers, already out-lawed by royal edicts, so long as they turned the trade in furs in his direction. The journey, in those days, from Quebec to Montreal frequently took a fortnight for its accomplishment; and so Perrot was virtually left as the supreme authority in his own settlement. Relying, also, on his royal commission, the protection of Talon, and his connection with other persons of influence, he came to regard himself as perfectly safe in his position, and began to play the tyrant. Confiding in his protection, some bush rangers had been guilty of such serious disorders that the judge of Montreal, and several of its principal men, waited on him to procure redress. Perrot received them with a torrent of abuse, and sent the judge to prison for daring to remonstrate with him. This arbitrary act was soon followed by others of a similar character, with the view to prevent all opposi-

\* During this year the West Indian Company failed. As this was mainly owing to war expenses the king discharged its debt, and revoked all his concessions to it.

tion to his plans to enrich himself. And the priests of St. Sulpice, who now also received their full share of abuse, bitterly repented of having chosen him as their governor.

Frontenac was soon apprised of what had taken place at Montreal; and rendered sore by the manner in which Perrot had diverted the fur trade from Quebec, and so diminished the profits of his own friends, now determined on active interference. He had received strict orders from the king to arrest all the bush rangers; but as he had scarcely a soldier at his command outside of his own body guard, he found this most difficult of accomplishment. Now, however, his zeal to capture them promised to surmount every obstacle, and he sent orders to the judge at Montreal to seize all the *coureurs de bois* he could lay hands upon. The judge learning that two of these, leaders among their fellows, were staying with a lieutenant named Caron, sent a constable to arrest them. But Caron refused to give them up, assisted them to escape, and maltreated the constable. Perrot took the part of his lieutenant, and told the judge that he would put him in prison, in spite of Frontenac, if he ever attempted such an arrest again. Frontenac sent a lieutenant and three of his guardsmen to arrest Caron, and bring him to Quebec. But Perrot turned the tables on the Governor by arresting his deputy, and incarcerating him in gaol.— But getting alarmed, however, at his own illegal proceedings, he afterwards consented, on the advice of a young priest named Fenelon, to comply with Frontenac's order to proceed to Quebec to answer for his conduct; and there speedily found himself a prisoner closely guarded. A new governor was appointed for Montreal, who soon changed the aspect of affairs, and captured several of the bush rangers, one of whom was sent to Quebec, and hung there as an example to the others; and Perrot's fur trade disappeared down the river for the benefit, as their enemies asserted, of Frontenac and his friends. But the Sulpitians were far from being satisfied at the turn matters had taken. Frontenac had appointed a governor of Montreal without their consent; and Fenelon now complained that the conditions on which he had induced Perrot to go to Quebec, had been violated by his imprisonment, and ill-treatment otherwise. High words had already passed between the fiery young priest and the fiery Frontenac on this head; and when the former returned to Montreal he vented his feelings in a sharp sermon plainly levelled against the count. Fenelon was accordingly summoned to Quebec, and there arraigned before the council, at the head of which sat Frontenac, for traducing the king's representative. But Fenelon treated the court with contempt, refused to take off his hat before it, and maintained that as an ecclesiastic he was not amenable to a civil tribunal. Frontenac accordingly placed him under arrest; but the ecclesiastical storm now rose so high that the councillors refused further action in this matter; and finally, to solve the difficulty, both Fenelon and Perrot were sent to France to be dealt with by the king. The final result of the matter

was, that Fenelon, although sustained in his claim to be judged by an ecclesiastical tribunal, was nevertheless prohibited from returning to Canada ; while Perrot, who found a good friend in Talon, after undergoing three weeks' imprisonment in the Bastile, to vindicate the king's authority, and placate Frontenac, was restored to his government. He had, however, learned wisdom by experience, and there were no more fur trade squabbles between him and his superior officer. Fur trade matters were afterwards amicably arranged between them.

Colbert and the king, however, now determined to restrict the authority of Frontenac within narrower bounds, and filled the vacant post of intendant with Duchesneau, who was not only to manage the details of the civil administration, but also instructed to watch the Governor, keep him within prescribed limits, and report his proceedings to the minister. Hitherto Frontenac had been able to keep the Jesuits and the other clergy in a subordinate position, but Duchesneau at once threw himself into their arms, and many and bitter were the quarrels that now ensued, which the king and Colbert vainly essayed to assuage. To make matters still worse, Duchesneau soon engaged indirectly in 1675. the fur trade, so the bush rangers again commenced active operations ; and increased corruption and confusion were the result. Complaints and mutual recrimination, by the Governor, on the one hand, and Duchesneau and Laval (who had at length been created Bishop of Quebec after much importunity) on the other, were now constantly forwarded to the French court ; and Colbert was almost at his wits' end what to do.

Frontenac had still great influence, through his friends, with the king ; and the Jesuits were untiring and persistent in the support of Duchesneau ; so Colbert had to trim his course as best he could to meet one difficulty after another. Now Frontenac is admonished to be more moderate and careful ; and now Duchesneau is seriously cautioned, and now an effort is made to abate clerical pretension ; but the quarrel goes on all the same.

Fortunately for Canada, at this period, it enjoyed a long interval of repose from Indian warfare. Frontenac had come to be greatly respected and feared by all the native tribes ; and already exercised a personal influence with them, which none of his predecessors had ever possessed. To this cause, as well as to the salutary punishment inflicted by Tracy, may be ascribed the long peace with the Iroquois, in whose eyes Frontenac was by far the greatest of all the Ononthios, or governors, of Canada. The savage allies of the French were of the same mind ; and their respect for the Great Father, as they termed him, was never seriously impaired, even by his bullying them occasionally for purposes of extortion.

The departure of Talon, and the death of Father Marquette, had hitherto prevented the prosecution of fresh discovery and settlement on the Mississippi. In 1676 this project was 1676.



again resumed by the *Sieur de La Salle*, a young man of good family, who had come to Canada a few years before to discover, if possible, some route to China and Japan ; or, in other words, a north-west passage by land so long fruitlessly sought after at sea. With the aid of *Courcelles* and *Talon* he had established a post for the fur trade at *Lachine*, near *Montreal*. He soon won his way into the favor of *Frontenac*, who found in him a kindred spirit ; and gave him the command of the fort at *Cataraqui*, which he had called after himself. *La Salle* visited France, and laid his plans before the king, with the strong recommendations to royal favour which he had received from *Frontenac* ; and met with the greatest success. The king ennobled him ; bestowed on him the seigniory of *Cataraqui*, including *Fort Frontenac*, of which he was made proprietor, on the single condition that he rebuilt it with stone ; invested him with the privilege of carrying on a free commerce ; and authorised him to resume the discoveries on the *Mississippi*. Open alike to schemes of adventure and profit, the representations of *Joliet* fired his imagination, and *La Salle* now resolved to explore the great river to its mouth. After several months passed in preparation he again sailed for Canada, bringing out with him thirty workmen  
1678. and pilots, and arrived at *Quebec* on the 15th of September.

After a brief stay there he ascended to *Fort Frontenac*, which he promptly rebuilt with stone. Among his followers were *Henri de Tonti*, an Italian officer of resolution and fidelity ; *Father Hennepin*, a courageous *Recollet* friar, filled with an ardent passion for travel and adventure ; and the *Sieur de Lamotte*, a man of intelligence and ability.

While building the fort *La Salle* had two barques of ten tons each also constructed, on one of which *Lamotte*, *Hennepin*, and sixteen others, sailed, on the 18th of November, for *Niagara*, which was reached on the 6th December. *Hennepin* afterwards wrote a graphic, though somewhat exaggerated, account of the wonderful Falls, which he now saw for the first time. *La Salle* had sailed a few days after *Lamotte* in another vessel, but was wrecked a short distance from the *Niagara River*. During the winter, amid the greatest suffering and privation, the *Griffin*, of forty-five tons burthen, was constructed above the Falls, and armed with five small cannon. In this vessel, on the opening of navigation,  
1679. *La Salle* sailed to *Mackinaw*, where a *Jesuit* mission had already been established. On the return voyage down the lakes, with a cargo of furs, the *Griffin* must have foundered, in an autumnal storm, as she was never heard of afterwards.—Wearied of waiting for her return *La Salle* resolved to explore the interior ; and finally, after suffering many hardships, gained *Lake Peoria*, in the heart of the country of the *Illinois Indians*, then very numerous. Here, despite the mutiny and desertion of a part of his followers, he built a fort, and commenced the construction of a vessel, of forty tons burthen, in which to descend the *Illinois*  
1680. River, and afterwards the *Mississippi*. Leaving *Tonti* in



command of the fort, and accompanied by three of his own men and one Indian, he set out on foot, on the 2nd of March, on his journey homewards to Fort Frontenac, which he reached about the middle of April, after having suffered the most intense hardships. Bad news awaited him. His agents had plundered him in his absence, his property had been seized for debt, and a ship from France, laden with a valuable cargo of goods consigned to him, had been lost in the St. Lawrence. Still his courage rose above his many misfortunes, and obtaining fresh supplies and help from Montreal he prepared to return to Illinois. But on the eve of his departure he was again fated to hear bad news. Two voyageurs reached Fort Frontenac, who brought a letter from Tonti telling him that his garrison had mutinied, plundered the stores, destroyed the fort, threw the arms and other effects they could not carry away into the river, and then made their way to Mackinaw. There they seized La Salle's furs, and afterwards plundered his posts on Lake Michigan and the Niagara river. Part of the mutineers deserted to the English at Albany, while the remainder, twelve in number, were advancing towards Fort Frontenac with the object of capturing it and murdering its owner. With nine trusty men La Salle intercepted the latter, killed two of their number, and brought the remainder prisoners to the Fort.

La Salle's prospects of discovery in the Mississippi seemed to be now hopelessly destroyed under the avalanche of ruin and misfortune which had so pitilessly descended upon his fortunes. His wonderful resolution and courage did not, however, desert him; and with twenty-five men he set out, on the 10th of August, to seek Tonti. On reaching Lake Peoria he found that his fort no longer existed; and that the large Illinois town in its neighbourhood, containing several thousand inhabitants, had been wholly destroyed by the Iroquois, and was now a scene of horrid desolation, ruin, and massacre, almost impossible to describe. Men, women and children, had been slaughtered by the ruthless Iroquois; and Tonti and his little band of five men had escaped with difficulty to Lake Michigan, and were there found, at the post of St. Joseph, by La Salle on his return from Illinois.

While these events were in progress, Father Hennepin, with two men, descended the Illinois River to its junction with the Mississippi, and then turned up the course of the latter river, pursuant to the instructions of La Salle, in order to explore it towards its source.—He ascended it far above the Falls of Minnehaha, which he named after Saint Anthony of Padua, and was eventually captured by the Sioux Indians. After many adventures, and suffering much hardship, he and his companions made their escape, and returned safely to Quebec to tell the story of their important discoveries.

La Salle spent the ensuing winter in Illinois, organising a confederacy of the western tribes as a barrier against the Iroquois; and in the spring descended to Fort Frontenac to 1681. complete his final arrangements for exploring the Mississippi.

By mortgaging anew his seigniory of Cataraqui, he obtained fresh supplies of goods, arms and ammunition. Accompanied by Tonti, twenty-three Canadians, and eighteen Indians, he commenced his voyage, in canoes, down the tranquil current of the Illinois, and on the 6th of February reached the Mississippi. The savage tribes along its course were either awed by the white men or conciliated with gifts : and on the 6th of April the heaving billows of the Gulf of Mexico met the enraptured view of La Salle. He had won a new empire for the king, his master, and with all the pomp and religious ceremony at his command, proclaimed the sovereignty of Louis XIV over the vast country of Louisiana, extending from the sources of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico—from the Rocky Mountains to the Alleghanies.

La Salle returned to Canada to find that fresh misfortunes awaited him. His fast friend Frontenac had been recalled, and the new Governor, La Barre, instigated by his rivals in the fur trade, had seized his seigniory, superseded his authority, and summoned him to Quebec to answer charges which had been preferred against him. He hastened to France to defend himself ; and easily convinced his sovereign of his innocence. He had wholly wasted his fortune by his various expeditions, but still his love of adventure impelled him to fresh hazard. He now dazzled the king by a gigantic scheme. It was to erect a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi, organise a strong force of savages, attack the Spaniards, and seize the rich mines of Mexico. Louis weakly yielded to the temptation ; placed four ships at La Salle's disposal ; and on the 1st of August the ill-starred expedition, numbering two hundred and eighty souls in all—soldiers, sailors and settlers, set sail from the port of Rochelle. After a tedious voyage, during which many became sick, the expedition reached St. Domingo, to remain there a month, owing to La Salle being delirious from fever. Unfortunately the latitude of the Mississippi had not been correctly ascertained, the little fleet sailed some three hundred miles too far southward, and in attempting to enter Matagorda Bay, on the Texan coast, his principal storeship, the *Aimable*, was lost on a sand-bar. A rude redoubt and a few wretched hovels were built upon the inhospitable shore. After a miserable residence there for months, and a vain endeavour to discover the Mississippi, La Salle, as his last resort, determined on an overland journey to Canada. But his followers, now growing mutinous, resolved to murder him and his nephew, and join some of the neighbouring Indian tribes ; and succeeded in accomplishing the crime. La Salle's naked body was basely left to become the prey of the wolf and buzzard. His tragic death wholly ended the settlement. His assassins perished by mutual slaughter, or by the hostile Indians, or were encountered by the Spaniards and sent to labour in the mines. Out of the whole expedition only a Recollet friar, Jean Cavalier : a priest, La Salle's oldest brother ;

and five men, seven in all, made their way back to Canada by the Mississippi, the Illinois and the lakes, to tell the story of their terrible hardships and misfortunes. At a later period the Spaniards of Mexico got tidings of the expedition, and sent a force to drive out the French intruders from their territory. They discovered the fort, but no sentry challenged their approach. The solemn silence of death was everywhere. From a soldier of La Salle, who had been adopted into a neighbouring tribe, they learned how the wretched colonists, after being first wasted by small-pox and famine, had been massacred by the Indians. And thus ended the chequered and pitiful career of La Salle, abounding with extraordinary and unusual misfortunes, and a courage and resolution, under repeated calamity, which have never been surpassed. His brave lieutenant, Tonti, in command of Fort St. Louis, in Illinois, made an earnest attempt to succour his commander. But the desertion and mutiny of his followers baffled his generous efforts, and, after being deprived of his position by La Barre, he died in obscurity.

## CHAPTER IV.

WE have now to turn the dial-hand of our history backwards for half a decade, to the summer of 1682. Nearly ten years had elapsed since Frontenac's accession to the government of New France. Still the lapse of time had not diminished his failings, and he was as haughty and unbending as ever. Between him and Duchesneau there had been no cessation of hostilities ; and they bitterly hated one another. Both had their partisans at the French court ; and while the numerous complaints against the Governor had weakened the hands of his friends, the active intrigues of the Jesuits gradually placed Duchesneau in the better position, till he came to be regarded as the aggrieved party. With the returning ships of the autumn of the preceding year, Duchesneau had sent specific charges against Frontenac, La Salle, Perrot and others ; and they also carried home the usual budget of the count's complaints of the intendant, and that official's particular friends, the Jesuits, whom he accuses of seeking to grasp all temporal as well as spiritual power, and even of trading with the heretic English of New York, contrary to the express commands of the king.\* Frontenac also declared that between the Jesuits, the Sulpitians, the Seminary, and the bishop, the religious orders held two-thirds of all the best land in the settled parts of the Colony, and waxed rich while the people remained poor.

Wearied with these continual complaints, the king at last determined to carry out his repeated threats, and so both Frontenac and Duchesneau received their recall. When the Governor sailed for France it was a day of rejoicing to half the fur traders of Canada, who were delighted to get rid of one who had so largely interfered with their business, and their profits. Among the clerical orders the Recollets were Frontenac's only friends ; while the Jesuits greatly rejoiced over his fall as being largely of their own procuring, and as a long step for themselves in the ascending

\* The Jesuits engaged in the fur trade of the Colony at an early period. La Salle states that at Mackinaw they had a large stock of beaver skins.—They also entered into other branches of trade, and were exempted from the payment of duty. In 1674 they were allowed to build mills, and keep slaves, apprentices, and hired servants.—Parkman's *Old Regime*, p. 328.

ladder of colonial influence. Frontenac, however, had one consolation. He did not leave Canada quite as poor a man as he had come to it.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE LA BARRE.

Frontenac's successor, Lefebvre de La Barre, a marine officer of some merit, accompanied by De Meules, the new intendant, arrived at Quebec in the month of August. Misfortune stared them in the face as they landed from their ship. With the exception of a solitary house all the Lower Town was in ashes, owing to a furious fire which had taken place a few days before, and which destroyed fifty-five buildings, and an amount of merchandise, greater in value than all that remained in Canada. In other respects, too, La Barre entered upon the duties of his government at a critical period.—The transfer of the Dutch settlements in the State of New York to Great Britain, had placed a powerful and energetic rival in immediate communication with the Iroquois and the other Indian tribes. Trade had already taught the red man, who had intercourse with Europeans, to discriminate between the relative values of similar merchandise, and he soon discovered that the English traders sold much cheaper than the French. The Iroquois, who still cordially disliked the latter, were not slow to avail themselves of this circumstance to their disadvantage, and endeavoured to divert the current of trade from Canada to their own country. Nor were these politic people, who at this period scarcely merit the name of savages, by any means unsuccessful. They introduced the English traders among the western tribes, weakened French influence with the Ottawas and others of the north-west Indians, and thus gave a serious blow to the Canadian fur-trade at its very source. The murder of a missionary friar by the Senecas, isolated collisions with French trappers, and occasional forays into the hunting-grounds of tribes friendly to France, displayed additional ill-feeling on the part of the Iroquois. Time had weakened their dread of "Ononthio," and although they were still unwilling to come to an open rupture, but little provocation was necessary to rekindle the flame of savage warfare along the St. Lawrence.\*

In pursuance of his instructions from the king,† La Barre promptly applied himself to place public matters in a better position. He summoned a council of the chief men of the Colony, whom he instructed to report on the causes which had produced the existing condition of affairs, and to state the remedies necessary to restore prosperity. This report, after showing the crafty and selfish policy of the Iroquois, proved the necessity of additional reinforcements of troops and emigrants before offensive operations could be undertaken against them with any prospect of success ; and that money

\* Doc. His. New York, vol. i. p. 96.

† Heriot's Hist. Can. pp. 161, 162. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i, pp. 93, 64.



also was wanting to build vessels to navigate Lake Ontario, to erect magazines for provisions, and to cover the general expenses of a new war, for which the resources of the Colony were wholly inadequate.

The report met the approval of La Barre, who promptly forwarded it to France. Louis, now aware of the critical condition of his Canadian possessions, obtained, as a first step in their favour, an order from Charles II. to Colonel Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, to maintain a friendly understanding with La Barre. The good offices of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and the patron of the colony which bore his name, were also solicited to make matters more pleasant for New France. Dongan was an Irish Roman Catholic, nephew to the famous Earl of Tyrconnell, and presumptive heir to the earldom of Limerick. He had served in France, spoke its language fluently, and thought well of its king. But he thought more of the interests of his own colony, and did not feel disposed to jeopardise them to any serious extent. A correspondence ensued between the two governors; which, apart from courteous professions of mutual good-will, did not lead to any very amicable results. Dongan was too desirous to retain the western fur traffic, now very lucrative, at New York, to pay much attention to the orders even of his sovereign.

Meanwhile La Barre, who designed to enrich himself as soon as possible, and so make hay while the sun shone, had become associated with a special partner, and vigorously embarked in the fur trade. He had allied himself, soon after his arrival, with the enemies of Frontenac; whose friends were dismissed from their posts, under one pretext or another, to make room for his own favourites. La Salle, by his newly built fort at St. Louis, had established a most profitable fur trade with the Miamis and all the

Illinois tribes; and had united them in a strong confederacy 1683. against the Iroquois. In the spring La Barre despatched the Chevalier de Bangis, lieutenant of his guard, with a considerable number of canoes and men to seize La Salle's fort; and later in the season sent an expedition of his own consisting of fourteen voyageurs, with a valuable supply of goods, to trade with the Indians of that region. La Barre had told some chiefs of the Iroquois that they were welcome to plunder the canoes of La Salle, as he was engaged in an unlawful trade; and they finished by seizing his own, to his infinite disgust. The intendant Meules, who now became cognisant of La Barre's plans to enrich himself, mainly through his trade partner, La Chesnaye, waxed indignant over the situation, and made a full report of the condition of affairs to the home government. He accused the Governor of building lake vessels for his own trade at the king's expense; and of using his position, in every possible way otherwise, for his personal profit.

But not content with seizing La Barre's canoes, distributing their valuable contents among themselves, and making prisoners of his men, the Iroquois attacked Fort St. Louis. Perched on a

rock the post was strong, and Bangis easily beat them off, but did nothing to succour the Illinois tribes, now hotly pressed by the Senecas and Cayugas, who had again invaded their country.—When La Barre heard the news of this act of open war he was furious ; and trembled for the safety of the large quantities of goods which he and his fellow speculators had sent to Mackinaw, and to the other lake posts, to exchange for furs. He was made still more unhappy by the intelligence that the Iroquois were secretly preparing for another descent on Canada, and had sent messengers to the Virginian Indians with the view to prevent attack from that direction.

La Barre saw, that in order to protect his own interests, there were now only two courses open to him ; one to attack the Iroquois in their own country, the other to compel them to 1684. make a peace, and thus prevent them from interfering with his fur trade in the west. A small vessel, lying at Quebec, was despatched to France with urgent appeals for immediate aid, which, however, could scarcely arrive in time. La Barre wrote the king that extreme necessity, and the despair of the people, had forced him into war ; that only two thousand men in all Canada were capable of bearing arms ; that in the preceding year he had only been sent a hundred and fifty raw recruits ; and that at least seven hundred good soldiers were required to meet the emergency.—“Recall me,” he concluded, “if you will not help me, for I cannot bear to see the country perish in my hands.” La Barre, on the 15th June, also wrote Dongan, complaining that the Iroquois had plundered French canoes, and assaulted a French fort ; that he was about to attack them in consequence of these acts, and asking that the Dutch and English traders should be forbidden to supply them with arms and ammunition. Dongan was holding a council with the Iroquois, at Albany, when he received this letter, and told their sachems of La Barre’s complaints. They retorted by accusing the French of aiding their enemies, the Illinois and Miamis. The Iroquois, however, were much disturbed by La Barre’s threat of attacking them. They, accordingly, listened the more readily to the representations of the Jesuit missionaries ; who strongly advised them in favour of peace, and to send deputies to meet La Barre at Fort Frontenac, to agree on its conditions.

On the 9th of July La Barre wrote Seignelay, now French minister, Colbert having died in the preceding year, that he was about to advance against the Senecas with seven hundred Canadians, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred mission Indians. And he also wrote the king that he was determined to exterminate the Senecas, as there were no hopes of peace with them. “I pray you do not abandon me,” he added, “and be assured I shall do my duty at the head of your faithful colonists.”

Meules thoroughly understood La Barre : and fully realised that he had made all his warlike preparations with the view of terrifying the Iroquois into a peace, and so protecting his own interests.

He told Seignelay of how matters stood ; that there was a divided empire between the king and the Governor, and that the latter was getting the larger share. "The persons," he added, "whom Monsieur La Barre has sent, this year, to trade at Fort Frontenac, have already shared with him from ten to twelve thousand crowns." Meules did everything he could to make La Barre fight, and so get a favourable peace for the Colony, as a consideration for the large expenditure which had been already incurred, and for the loss sustained by the peasantry in being taken away from their farms. But, at the same time, he wrote the minister, that La Barre did not intend to fight ; and that after he had got time to protect his own interests he would somehow patch up a peace. Meanwhile La Barre sought to weaken the Iroquois by endeavouring, although fruitlessly, to persuade the Mohawks, the Oneidas, and the Onondagas to remain neutral in the event of war. Their mediation between the French and the Senecas, in the present emergency, was all these tribes would concede. If this were refused they avowed a determination to make common cause with their confederates, and stated that in this event they had received assurance of ample support from New York.\*

The trading posts established at different points among the Indians of the north-west, gave the French so much influence in that direction that a body of 500 warriors was speedily drawn together to co-operate with the force, 1000 strong, consisting of militia, soldiers, and Indians, under the command of La Barre, which moved upwards from Montreal on the 21st July, *en route* for Niagara, where it was intended to penetrate into the Seneca country. But sickness among his troops, owing to encamping on a flat and damp plain, and the want of provisions, detained the Governor in the neighbourhood of Fort Frontenac, where he patched up a humiliating peace with the Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga Iroquois ; one condition of which was that he should retire on the ensuing day. This he complied with, leaving the north-west Indians, much to their disgust, to return home from Niagara.

On the Governor's arrival at Quebec, he found that a reinforcement of troops and supplies had arrived from France, as well as despatches which placed him in an awkward predicament. The king supposed he was waging a successful war against the Iroquois, and that the 300 additional troops he now sent out would enable him to utterly extirpate them : or, at the least, to punish them so severely that they would be glad to seek peace on whatever conditions he might think proper to impose. He instructed the Governor "that as the Iroquois were stout and robust, and would be useful in his galleys, to make a great many of them prisoners, and have them shipped to France by every opportunity." Great, therefore, was the surprise of Louis, when he learned the true state of affairs from the account given by La Barre himself, as well as from a

\* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i. pp. 109-139. Conquest of Can. vol. i. p. 309.

lengthy report supplied by the intendant, who placed the Governor's conduct in the most unfavourable light. La Barre was immediately pronounced unfit for his post, and the Marquis de Denonville, an active officer, appointed to supersede him. At the same time, the Chevalier de Callieres, a captain of the regiment of Navarre, was appointed governor of Montreal. His command was described as extending to Lake St. Peter. He proved an able and judicious officer, and soon came to be regarded by the colonists with very great respect.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE DENONVILLE.

Denonville embarked at Rochelle, and took with him his wife and part of his family. He was a colonel of dragoons, who had seen some thirty years' service, and was in high repute for probity and honour. He was devoted to the Jesuits, who loudly praised his piety, and pointed to him as an exemplar of everything good.—Saint Vallier, the prospective bishop of Canada, in succession to Laval, who came out with him, declared that while on ship-board he spent nearly all his time in prayer, and in the reading of good books. Much was expected from him; and he was sent out to restore the Colony to peace, strength and security. In the same squadron that carried him to Quebec came out five hundred soldiers, whose sanitary condition was so uncared for, that a large number of them died during the voyage, and the nuns of the Hotel Dieu were overwhelmed with their sick. "Not only our halls," wrote one of the sisters, "but our church, our granary, our hen yard, and every corner of the hospital, where we could make room, were filled with them. The voyage had been long and boisterous, \* yet impressed with the urgency of affairs Denonville only 1685. allowed himself a few hours' repose at Quebec till he depart-

\*During this year Bishop Laval resigned, owing to several disputes with the king and his minister, who had both come to regard his influence, and that of the Jesuits, in the Colony, as altogether too great. To counterbalance this influence, Talon advised that the Recollet order should be permitted to again establish themselves in Canada. In 1681 four fathers of that order were at first sent out, and their number was afterwards gradually increased. "The more Recollets we have," said Talon, "the better will the too-firmly established authority of the others be balanced." The Roman Catholic system of moveable cures, now so generally adopted throughout the United States and Canada, by which the bishop, like a military chief, could compel each member of his clerical army to come and go at his bidding, was from the first disliked by Louis XIV, who could not brook any other autocrat within his influence beside himself. On the other hand, Laval clung to this system with his usual tenacity of purpose. Colbert denounced it as contrary to the laws of the kingdom. Repeated orders had been sent to the bishop to conform to French law and usage, and establish his cures permanently in their own parishes. But he either ignored these orders altogether, or evaded them in one way or another. Serious trouble also arose between the king and the bishop regarding the sale of brandy to the Indians. The bishop contended for total prohibition, but the king, disliking to diminish his

ed for Fort Frontenac. On arrival there, he sedulously applied himself to learn the true state of matters with regard to the Iroquois, and the other Indian nations. The long and lucid reports which he furnished to the French court on this head display equal industry and ability, and possess much value as historical documents. He faithfully depicted the condition of affairs, and stated it would be more to the advantage of the Colony to maintain peaceable relations with the Iroquois ; but that their recent insolence of tone rendered war a necessary evil. To enable this to be carried on successfully, he strongly recommended the strengthening of Fort Frontenac, as the *point d'appui* of offensive operations ; and the construction of another fort at Niagara, to be garrisoned by 500 men, which would give the French the complete command of Lake Ontario, keep the Senecas, the most powerful of the Five Nations, in check, and prevent the Indian and Canadian trappers of the north-west from trading with the English. As the cost of maintaining this post would possibly be an objection to its construction, he proposed that it should be rented. The merchants of Quebec highly approved of the marquis's plan, and offered to supply the proposed fort with merchandise for nine years, and to pay an annual rental therefor of 30,000 francs.

The extensive preparations for war proposed by the Governor, as

revenue, and throw the fur trade besides into the hands of the English, supported the principle of regulation and license. The truth of the matter was that neither plan could be effectually carried out, owing to the circumstance that no proper control could be established as regarded the liquor traffic with the Indian tribes. The large number of *coureurs de bois*, and other lawless whites, who were constantly in immediate contact with them, set all laws but those of their own will completely at defiance.

While these disputes were still at their height Laval went to France, appeared at court, was coldly received, and so piqued at his reception, that he asked permission to resign the active duties of his office, on the score of failing health. The king at once granted his prayer, and nominated De St. Vallier, one of his own chaplains, as his successor. Laval created him his vicar general on the 8th of May, 1685, and he shortly afterwards proceeded to Canada, where he arrived on the 30th July. St. Vallier promptly took steps to reorganise the cures as a resident parish priesthood ; and was at first met with much opposition, and his recall was demanded ; but the will of the king prevailed. He returned to France in November, 1687. and was consecrated (on the final resignation of Laval) bishop of Quebec in January of the following year. In 1685 Laval was about to return to Canada, but was prevented by the king, who feared he would obstruct the desired changes, and compelled to remain in France for the ensuing four years. But promising to give no trouble he was at length permitted to return to his beloved Canada, where his estates, consisting of the Seigniories of Petite Nation, the Isle Jesus, and Beaupre, had now become very valuable, and with which he afterwards endowed the Seminary he had founded. He died at Quebec on the 6th of May, 1708, at the great age of eighty-six, and was buried near the principal altar in the cathedral.

But despite his differences with Laval, the king took care that his bigoted Huguenot policy, as developed in the repeal of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, should be fully enforced in Canada. His orders, however, in that direction were needless ; and Denonville replied, "Praised be God there is not a heretic here." No Huguenot was now permitted to remain in the Colony.



well as a demand for additional troops from France, would naturally lead to the supposition that he was about to attack a very numerous foe. Such was not the case. The population of a small Canadian town at the present day would outnumber the whole Iroquois nation, which scarcely amounted to 7,000 souls. The Mohawk tribe could only muster 200 warriors, the Oneida 150, the Onondaga 300, the Cayuga 200, and the Seneca 1,200. But these were no ordinary men. In intelligence they were far superior to the uneducated peasantry of civilised Europe, while in their love of country, their natural eloquence, and their indomitable courage, they rivalled the chivalry of antiquity. If they wanted the discipline of the French, and could neither march in column, nor deploy into line with mathematical precision, they could use the musket far more dexterously, were infinitely better shots, and every way superior in desultory warfare.\*

As the plans of Denonville met the approbation of his sovereign, the following year saw him busily engaged in making the necessary preparations to carry them out. Governor Dongan had already heard from Albany a rumour of the proposed fort at 1686. Niagara, and this circumstance, in connection with the collection of extensive supplies of provisions at Fort Frontenac, convinced him that the Iroquois were about to be attacked, and the trade of his people with the west seriously interrupted. He promptly remonstrated with the marquis, claimed the Iroquois as subjects of Great Britain, and expressed a hope that nothing would be done to disturb the amicable relations between their respective governments. The latter replied by denying the claim of Great Britain to the sovereignty of the Five Nations; asserting that the French had possession of their country long before the British acquired New York. To disarm suspicion he added that the provisions collected at Fort Frontenac were intended for the supply of the garrison, without any view to a war with the Iroquois.

Dongan was too well acquainted with the policy of the Canadian government, and saw too clearly its ambitious designs, to place any dependence on Denonville's pacific assurances. Although obliged to act with extreme caution, owing to the new instructions of James II, now king of England, and the pensioner of Louis, to preserve a good understanding with the French, he resolved, if possible, to maintain British supremacy among the western Indians, and to retain a firm grasp of the fur-trade, in which freedom from monopoly had already given the New York and Albany merchants an immense advantage. He accordingly assembled at New York the principal chiefs of the Five Nations, and laid before them the line of policy he desired them to pursue. They were to cease all intercourse with the French, and make peace with the Hurons, and other north-west tribes, and induce them to trade with the British. They were further to aid him in establishing a post at Mackinaw,

\* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i. p. 231.

where the waters of Lake Michigan mingle with Lake Huron ; to recall the Christians of their people living at Caughnawaga ; to compel the Jesuits to withdraw from amongst them ; and to receive the missionaries he would send them. If they complied with these demands, and were attacked by the French, Dongan promised his assistance. The politic chiefs did not entirely commit themselves to these measures. They were loath, as yet, to break wholly with the French ; but, at the same time, they fully satisfied the English governor of their desire to aid him in the greater part of his plans.

The return of the Onondaga chiefs from this council put Father Lamberville, a Jesuit missionary to their tribe, in full possession of the demands of Dongan, which he promptly communicated to Denonville. The latter was thoroughly incensed, and prosecuted his preparations for war with additional vigour, being resolved to prove to the British, that even their support would not prevent

him from punishing the Iroquois. By way of retaliation, 1687. one of his first operations, in the spring, was the capture of

nearly all the English trading posts at Hudson's Bay, with the exception of Port Nelson.\* This act of hostility was perpetrated in open violation of a treaty, just then entered into between the French and English governments, to the effect " that whatever might occur between the mother countries the American colonies should always remain at peace." Unfortunately the force of national prejudices, and the clashing of mutual interests, rendered this enlightened provision totally fruitless.†

Having received the expected reinforcements from France, and made every necessary preparation for war, Denonville was guilty of an act of treachery which places his character in a very unfavourable light. Availing himself of the influence of Father Lamberville with the Onondagas, and that of the Jesuit missionary to the Oneidas, he induced several chiefs of these tribes and their immediate followers, to meet him at Fort Frontenac to settle all disputes by a peaceable conference. These, on their arrival, to their utter astonishment, he caused to be seized, put in irons, and forwarded to Quebec, together with a number of other Iroquois, who lived a little way from the fort, and had supplied the garrison with game, who had also been made prisoners, with orders to the commandant there to ship them all to France to labour in the galleys, in obedience to the wishes of his sovereign. The rage and indignation of the Iroquois, when they heard of this outrage, were without bounds. The Oneidas seized their missionary, and condemned him to expiate his own presumed treachery, and that of his

\* The English recovered their factories seven years afterwards ; but the French soon got possession of them again. In 1696, two English men-of-war re-took them. In Queen Anne's war they were again taken by the French ; but by the peace of Utrecht were ceded to the British.—*Smith's His. Can.* vol. i. p. 75.

† *Her. His. Can.* p. 207. *Conquest of Can.* vol. i. p. 311.

nation, in the flames. He was saved at the last moment by a Christian matron who adopted him as her son. The chiefs of the Onondagas hastily assembled in council, and summoned Lamber-ville before them. When he saw the intense rage that was pictured in their faces, he thought his doom was sealed. But these red men of the forest, rude and uncultivated as were their understandings, proved themselves superior to the passions of the hour, and showed by their conduct, how much more nobly they could act than the pious, courtly and polished Denonville. "There can be no question," said a chief, addressing himself to the terrified missionary, "that we are now in every respect authorised to treat thee as an enemy ; but we cannot resolve to do so. We know thee too well not to be persuaded that thy heart had no share in this treason, of which thou hast in some degree been the cause ; and are not so unjust as to punish thee for a crime of which we believe thee innocent." Apprehensive lest some of their warriors, in a moment of excitement, might do him injury, they compelled the Jesuit to depart immediately, directing the guides, whom they gave him, to conduct him by unfrequented paths, and not to leave him till he was out of all danger.

Having collected his force, composed of 2,000 regular troops and militia and 600 Indians, at Montreal, Denonville pursued his march westward on the 11th of June. His principal object was to crush the power of the Senecas, and embarking his army in boats and canoes, in two divisions, at Fort Frontenac, arrived safely at the Genesee River, where he was joined by Durantaye with five hundred western Indians and *coureurs de bois*. Here, an intrenchment was hastily constructed to protect the stores and provisions, and a detachment of 440 men left to garrison it. From this point the French and their Indian allies, with a supply of provisions for fifteen days, marched forward on the 12th July towards the Seneca villages. During the first day the march was pursued, without interruption, through a comparatively open country. On the succeeding day they were not so fortunate. After being permitted to pass through two defiles in safety, the vanguard was vigorously attacked, while marching through a third, by a strong body of the Senecas ; three hundred of whom boldly held the French in check, and threw their best troops into disorder, while 200 others, after delivering their fire, took them rapidly in flank. The Indian allies of the French, however, promptly checked this movement, and the Senecas were finally repulsed with a loss of forty-five killed and sixty wounded. On the side of the French six were killed and twenty-five wounded. In this engagement the Iroquois Christians particularly distinguished themselves, and were it not for them and their other Indian allies, who restored the battle in their favour, it must have gone much harder with the French, as they were completely taken by surprise. A few of the north-west Indians from Mackinaw, who had effected a junction with the invading force, proved themselves genuine

savages, by devouring, after the battle, the bodies of the slain Iroquois.

Finding themselves unable to offer further opposition to the French, the Senecas, after destroying their villages, withdrew into the recesses of the forest. The greatest injury that could now be inflicted on them was the destruction of their crop of growing corn, and this Denonville caused to be done in the most effectual manner. He likewise directed the destruction of a large number of hogs which the Senecas possessed.

Having thus accomplished, as far as possible, the objects of the campaign, the Governor proceeded to the Niagara, where he erected a wooden fort, in which he left a garrison of 100 men, under the command of the Chevalier de La Troye. Scarcely, however, had the army disappeared when this post was blockaded by the Senecas, who, thoroughly enraged at the losses they had sustained, missed no opportunity of revenge. Incessantly harassed by the enemy, the garrison had to keep themselves behind their defences, or run the risk of being murdered. Continual watching and fatigue produced disease, to which was soon added the horrors of famine, with abundance of fish in the waters near them, and the forests abounding with game. Ten men alone of the 100 survived; hunger and sickness carried off the remainder in a few brief months, and the post had to be abandoned.\*

Governor Dongan was soon made aware of the disasters suffered by the Senecas, and an angry correspondence ensued between him and Denonville. He assured the latter that the Five Nations would never make peace with the French, save on condition that the Indians sent to the galleys, and the Caughnawaga proselytes, were restored to their tribes, the forts at Niagara and Frontenac demolished, and the Senecas compensated for the damage they had sustained.† Nor was Dongan content with simple remonstrances. He clearly foresaw from the formal manner in which the French had taken possession of the territory of the Senecas, that they sought to create a claim to its permanent sovereignty, while their acts otherwise taught him that they only wanted the power, not the will, to establish their supremacy throughout the whole country. He felt that the time had now come for the British colonies in the north to strike for their very existence. His assurances of support raised the drooping spirits of the Iroquois; and, after supplying them abundantly with arms and ammunition, he incited them to revenge the injuries they had sustained. Dongan's hands were presently strengthened by the assumption by James II. of the Iroquois as his subjects, and directing that for the future they should be protected by force of arms if necessary.

Meanwhile, a terrible malady swept over Canada, and carried

\* Doc. His. New York, vol. i, pp. 237-277. † Smith's His. Can. vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

† Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1, p. 80.

death and mourning in its train. It prevented the Governor from making, during the summer, a second expedition against the Senecas, which he had planned; and compelled him to remain nearly inactive, while he felt that a dangerous crisis was rapidly approaching. In November the Mohawks appeared before Fort Chambly; and, although the garrison beat them off, they could not prevent them from burning the farm-houses in the neighbourhood, and carrying the inmates into captivity. The French blamed Dongan for causing this inroad. No sooner had the latter learned their suspicions than, dreading reprisals, he caused Albany to be put in a better state of defence, and retained, during the winter, a strong body of Indians in the neighbourhood to cover it from attack.

The following spring found the confederates thoroughly united in their hostility to the French. Still, they determined that if peace could be procured on the terms proposed by Governor 1688. Dongan, of which they highly approved, they would not reject it. The mistaken policy of James II., who was anxious to conciliate Louis, compelled Dongan himself, at this time, to seek a peaceable result to the quarrel, if at all practicable; and, in obedience to the orders of his sovereign, he now counselled the Iroquois to come to terms with the French, provided they could do so with justice to themselves. They accordingly proceeded to Canada, prepared alike for peace or war. One thousand warriors established themselves at Lake St. Francis, within two days' march of Montreal, whence they sent deputies to demand an audience of Denonville, and to offer peace on the conditions proposed by Dongan, for the consideration of which four days only were allowed.

The Iroquois backed this high-handed diplomacy by warlike demonstrations of the most formidable description. Besides the force at Lake St. Francis, whose neighbourhood filled the colonists with the direst apprehensions, a body of 500 men swept the open country around Fort Frontenac, burned the farm-stores with flaming arrows, killed the cattle of the settlers, and finally closely blockaded the garrison. The French bowed before the storm they were unable to resist. The humiliating terms offered by the Iroquois were accepted, and Denonville was under the necessity of expiating his treachery, by requesting the authorities in France to return the captives, sent to labour in the galleys, to Canada, that they might be restored to their friends. Deputies from all the Iroquois tribes were to ratify this treaty, which, it was stipulated by Denonville, should also secure peace to the Indian allies of the French.

A cessation of hostilities immediately took place, and the Iroquois consented to leave five hostages at Montreal, to insure the safe arrival of a convoy of provisions at Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which were already threatened with famine. It was further agreed upon, that if any hostile skirmishes should occur during the progress of the pending negotiations, no change, nevertheless, should be made in the conditions which had been stipulated.—



Meanwhile Louis had demanded Dongan's recall, and king James weakly yielded. Dongan got a regiment of cavalry, and was created major-general by way of consolation, and Sir Edmund Andros ruled in his stead. Denonville found him equally intractable.

The Abenaki, who inhabited part of the present state of Maine, and the most inveterate of all the enemies of the Iroquois, refused to be a party to this truce. While the Governor was busy in his pacific projects, they advanced to the River Richelieu, surprised and defeated a body of Iroquois and their Mohigan allies, and pushed on to the English settlements, where they killed and scalped several of the inhabitants and burned their homesteads. But of all the Indian allies of the French, the western Hurons were the most indisposed to a peace with the Iroquois. They had engaged in the war on the condition that it should not terminate until the total destruction of the Five Nations had been effected ; and now when they found that a peace was about to be accomplished without even consulting them, they were indignant in the extreme.— Their principal chief, Kondiaronk, was not slow to perceive that his nation, left to themselves, must feel the full revenge of the Iroquois, and be thus sacrificed to benefit French interests. He promptly resolved to interrupt the negotiations, and secure the continuance of the war, and took the most effectual measures to accomplish his object. About thirty miles above Montreal, he awaited the arrival of the Iroquois deputies, at a point where the rapids would compel them to land. Here their party, consisting of forty warriors, were either killed or captured on disembarking from their canoes. When his prisoners were all secured, Kondiaronk informed them that it was the French Governor who had ordered their attack. The Iroquois, shocked at this supposed second act of perfidy on the part of Denonville, stated the object of their mission to the Huron, who then craftily expressed his regret for the act of turpitude of which he had been made the instrument. Releasing his prisoners, he supplied them with arms and ammunition, and bade them return and inform their countrymen of the perfidy which had been committed. One prisoner alone he retained to replace a Huron warrior who had been killed. This man, on his return home, he handed over to the French commandant at Mackinaw, who, ignorant of the truce, ordered him to be put to death ; a fact of which the Huron chief caused the Iroquois to be apprised, in order to inflame their hostility still more.

No sooner had Denonville been informed of the manner in which the deputies of the Iroquois had been treated, than he disclaimed all participation in the act, and assured the confederates that he would hang the Huron chief the moment he laid hands upon him. He expressed a hope, at the same time, that what had occurred would not prevent the progress of negotiations, and that they would send other deputies to conclude a peace. Meanwhile, the success of the revolution which placed William III. upon the throne of England, had released the governor of New York from

the unwise restrictions imposed upon him by James, and he now instigated the Iroquois, the majority of whom were only too willing of themselves to avenge their injuries, to retaliate on 1689. the French. On the 26th of July 1,000 of their warriors landed on the Island of Montreal, and dividing into small parties laid waste the country in every direction. Men, women, and children were ruthlessly massacred ; a detachment of one hundred soldiers and fifty Indians, sent to attack them, were nearly all killed or captured ; houses were burned ; every possible injury perpetrated ; and they finally quit the island laden with plunder, and carrying away many captives, having sustained in this successful irruption a loss of only three men. This terrible catastrophe filled the minds of the colonists with the greatest terror, a feeling which extended itself to the garrison at Fort Frontenac, who hastily deserted their post, and lost several of their number in shooting the rapids of the St. Lawrence, their precipitate retreat preventing them from taking the proper precautions to avoid accidents. — The Iroquois promptly seized the deserted fort.

Thus closed in disaster and disgrace the government of Denonville. Its commencement was signalised by an act of perfidy and partial victory ; its termination by misfortune and certain defeat. His sovereign, who had looked for the complete subjection of the Iroquois, and expected to see his galleys manned by their chivalry, chafed at his want of success, directed him to be recalled, and cast about him for a suitable officer to succeed him.

#### THE SECOND GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE FRONTENAC.

The increasing influence of the British colonists with the Iroquois, became at this period a source of considerable alarm to the Canadian authorities. The revolution in England, which placed that country in a hostile position to France and her colonies, added not a little to this feeling. The Chevalier de Callieres, who commanded at Montreal, had long been convinced that the security and tranquillity of Canada could only be preserved by crushing the power of the Five Nations ; and as the English of New York openly avowed their alliance with them, he conceived the idea of first capturing their settlements. The chevalier departed for France in the fall of 1688, to lay his plans before its government, by whom they were approved, and instructions given by the king to carry them out. Callieres proposed that he should have the command of 2,000 regular troops, with whom he would march, by the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, into the country of the Iroquois, with the apparent purpose of attacking them, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of Albany, when he would suddenly assault and capture that place. He stated that Albany was about the same size as Montreal, and, in addition to a garrison of 150 men, had 300 inhabitants able to bear arms. It contained about 150 houses, and was defended by an earthen fort, mounting a few pieces of

cannon, and wooden palisading. After capturing Albany, the chevalier proposed to descend the Hudson and possess himself of New York, which he described as an open town, defended by a fort, and containing about 200 houses, with 400 men capable of bearing arms. As an additional inducement to the adoption of his plan, Callieres urged that it would put the French in possession of the finest harbour in America; that it would prevent the Iroquois from getting further supplies of arms and ammunition, and thus effectually cripple them; and that, although a treaty of neutrality as far as regarded the colonies existed, the fact of the settlements in question being chiefly Dutch and Protestant would lead them to join the Prince of Orange. He added, that if the present favourable opportunity were neglected, the Iroquois would soon destroy Canada, which must entail the loss of the posts at Hudson's Bay, the beaver and peltry trade, Acadia, and the Gulf and Newfoundland fisheries, which produced several millions of livres annually to France.\*

The flight of James, and his subsequent determination to make a final effort in Ireland for the throne he had so cowardly abandoned, speedily involved England and France in a war, which removed whatever scruples might have been entertained by Louis and his ministers relative to the capture of Albany and New York.—The prospective control of these settlements was given to Callieres, to reward him for his plan of their capture, and his meritorious service otherwise. He was directed, when established in his new government, to allow the English Roman Catholics to remain, and to banish the other English and Dutch inhabitants to Pennsylvania and New England, and in such a manner that they could not combine to recover their property or their country, while the French refugee Huguenots were to be sent to France. That the conquest might be made as secure as possible, the nearest settlements of New England were to be destroyed, and a wide swathe of ruin created to bar future attack from that side. And thus Louis XIV. deliberately, and without compunction, ordered that some eighteen thousand unoffending people should be stripped of all they possessed, and driven from country and from home. But his commands had neither sufficient ships nor men behind them; and the impracticable project could only be entertained by a man blinded by a long course of success, and a lust for despotic power. Carried into effect his project would have been a fitting sequel to the burning of the Palatinate, and his persecution of the unfortunate Huguenots, the foundation of so many future woes for France—of so much prosperity for England and every other country which gave refuge to these afflicted people. But the sun of Louis had already reached its meridian, and its noon-day splendour was even now on the decline. The mortal enemy of France sat upon the throne of England, and there his

\* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i. pp. 285–291. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. pp. 84–85.

unconquerable genius found new and more potent elements for its destruction. Richelieu had laid the foundation for the despotic power, and personal grandeur, of the Bourbon monarchy ; but his Huguenot policy planted, in part, the incipient germs of decay at its root, and William of Orange battered and defaced the imposing structure he had reared. Versailles as yet gave no visible sign of waning glories, and was still magnificent and gorgeous beyond description. But amid its gay and dazzling throngs the king had grown grave under the burdens which he had created for himself, by his extravagance and ambition. Instead of mingling with his courtiers, and sharing their amusements as in former days, he now spent most of his time closeted with his ministers, devising ways to meet his difficulties. Recent news from Canada, for which he had done so much, had descended from bad to worse ; and Denonville's letters had lately been full of evil tidings. In this new difficulty he turned, as his *dernier ressort*, to Frontenac, who since his recall had lived about the court, become needy again, was still out of favour, an old man of seventy years, and sent him out to Canada to redeem its fortunes, and carry out the plan for the capture of New York. " I know you will serve me as well as you did before," said the king, " and I ask nothing more of you." But with all Europe, almost, now rising against France, Louis could give him little help, either in men or money ; and Frontenac was sent to fight two enemies, the Iroquois and the English, with a force that had proved no match for one of them alone. But the old count had an abounding faith in himself, and a courage which years had not weakened ; so he undertook the difficult task. Their recent misfortunes, in Canada, had somewhat abated there the Jesuits' lust for power ; even old France did not take kindly to their sway ; so they submitted in silence to the second reign of Frontenac, unpalatable as it was to them. But secretly they were still as much opposed to him as ever, made a virtue of necessity, and abided their opportunity to do him fresh mischief.

The Count de Frontenac sailed, in the month of July, 1689, a second time for Canada, in one of the ships sent to operate against New York by sea, while a French army assaulted it by land. He carried out with him some troops and stores, and departed in high spirits to establish French supremacy in North America, and to crush for ever the power of the Iroquois. But Frontenac was not insensible, high as his own hopes and those of his sovereign were, of the caprices of fortune. Riper years had given him ripened wisdom, and he sedulously cultivated the friendship of the chiefs of the captive Iroquois, fifteen of whom returned in the same ship with him. One of these, Oureouhare, charmed by his manners, remained ever afterwards his steadfast friend, and was of the greatest use to him in future negotiations with his countrymen.—His arrival at Quebec, on the 12th of October, after a long and unpleasant voyage, confirmed the wisdom of this course. The first intelligence he received was the terrible irruption of the Iroquois

on the Island of Montreal, the loss of his favourite fort, named after himself, at Cataragui, and the abandonment of Niagara ; reverses that were only partially counterbalanced by the fierce inroads of the Abenaki, urged on by their Jesuit priests, in New England, and the success of Iberville in Hudson's Bay.

Offensive operations were now out of the question. Apart from the lateness of the season, Frontenac saw he must be content for a while to act on the defensive, and shortly after his arrival departed for Montreal, where his presence was necessary to revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants, and regain the confidence of the Indian allies of the French, many of whom were now inclined to attach themselves to the Iroquois and the English. The Ottawas, one of the principal tribes of the north-west, even went so far as to send ambassadors to the Senecas to proffer peace and amity, and to restore the prisoners they had captured during the war. The French agents and missionaries strongly remonstrated against these proceedings, but without effect. The Ottawas replied, that they had already placed too much reliance on the protection of "Ononthio." They taunted the French, at the same time, with the tame manner in which they had borne their recent defeats ; told them that instead of avenging their injuries like true warriors, they craved a dishonourable peace, to gain which they would even sacrifice their Indian allies ; that their commerce was far less beneficial than that of the English ; and that they sought to secure benefits by a peace which they were unable to retain in war.

No sooner had Frontenac become aware of this formidable disaffection, than he boldly determined to strike a blow at the English colonies that should restore the military reputation of the French with the native tribes, lead the Iroquois to accept the peace 1690. which he proffered them, and disturb the intrigues of the

Ottawas and others who wavered in their alliance. He accordingly organised, in the month of January, expeditions at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, to invade the British settlements at different points ; and sent instructions, at the same time, to Durantaye, who commanded at Mackinaw, to assure the Ottawas and Hurons that in a short time the French would recover their ancient supremacy, and affairs be altered for the better.

The expedition organised at Montreal, consisting of about 200 men, half French—half Christian Indians, under the command of St. Helene, a Canadian born officer, was destined for the capture of Albany. This force departed in the beginning of February, and after marching for five days a council was called to determine on the plan of operations. The Indians now ridiculed the idea of attacking Albany with such a small body of men, and advised instead an assault on the village of Schenectady, which was slenderly guarded in comparison. They arrived close to this place about eleven o'clock, on the night of the 8th February, without being discovered, and at first resolved to defer the assault until two next morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay, and



they entered the village through the gateways, which the unfortunate inhabitants, in fancied security, had left open and unguarded. Anxious fathers slept; loving mothers had hushed their nestling babes to sleep, and slept also; and the silence of happy homes was undisturbed save by the monotonous breathings of peaceful repose. Presently the wild war-whoop of hostile Indians ring through that recently peaceful hamlet, and carries terror and dismay into its every dwelling. Startled mothers grasp their little ones in despair, or fall upon their knees to ask the protection of that Power which now alone could aid them; agonised fathers seize the first weapon at hand, and stand, like the lion rudely aroused from his lair, at bay, to defend their families. But the general defence was feeble in the extreme. A small fort at one end of the village was speedily carried by storm, and sixty men, women, and children were cruelly butchered in cold blood. Twenty-eight were carried away into captivity; and the settlement, which had eighty well-built houses, reduced to ashes. The French, laden with plunder, rapidly retired the ensuing day, after releasing the more helpless of their white prisoners, and twenty Mohawks whom they had also captured, it being their policy to convince this people that the expedition was made wholly against the English. But the Mohawks were not so easily satisfied: and promptly essayed to restore the drooping spirits and revive the courage of their old neighbours. "We will avenge your wrongs," said they, "and not a man in Canada shall dare to go out to cut a stick." Succour soon arrived from Albany, and, inclement as the season was, a body of Mohawks and a few troops were despatched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, who had twenty-five of their stragglers killed, and were followed almost to the gates of Montreal. The French and their Indians suffered severely from want of food, and were it not that they had captured some fifty horses, on which they subsisted as they found need, many of them must have perished from famine.\*

The party from Three Rivers, led by Hertel, consisting of but fifty-two men, of whom the half were Indians, turned to the left from Lake Champlain, and surprised the village of Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua. After a bloody engagement they defeated its inhabitants, burned the houses and the cattle in the stalls, and retired with fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children, whom they carried off despite the people of a neighbouring settlement, who had gallantly come to their rescue.

Returning from this expedition Hertel encountered a third party which came from Quebec, and proceeded with it to attack a fortified English post at Casco Bay, on the sea-shore of Maine, which was captured after having first drawn fifty men of its garrison into an ambush, nearly the whole of whom were either killed or taken prisoners.

\* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i. p. 297.      Smith's Hist, Can. vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

But Frontenac, who was little disturbed by the horrors of the massacres at Schenectady and Salmon Falls,\* was fully sensible that something more must be done to regain the confidence of the north-west Indians, than simply re-establishing the military reputation of his nation in Canada. The great point was to render those Indians independent of English commerce, and to turn the current of the fur trade once more down the St. Lawrence. On the 22nd of May a convoy of goods, guarded by 143 soldiers and a few Indians, was forwarded from Montreal to Mackinaw.—Louvigny, who commanded the detachment, was intrusted with presents for the Ottawas and Hurons, and instructed to supersede Durantaye, in command of the frontier posts, who was recalled, it was said, for no other reason than because he was too favourable to the Jesuit missionaries, against whom the Governor still entertained his old grudge.

On the second day, after leaving Montreal, the convoy was fiercely attacked by a party of ambushed Iroquois, who were only repelled with the greatest difficulty. It finally reached Mackinaw in safety, just as the deputies of the Ottawas were about to depart to conclude a treaty with the Iroquois. The strength of the detachment, the large quantity of merchandise, the valuable presents to themselves, and the account of the recent successes of the French, had a powerful influence on these politic savages, and they hastened to give proofs of their renewed attachment to "Ononthio." One hundred and ten canoes, bearing furs to the value of 100,000 crowns, and manned by 300 Indians, were soon after despatched to Montreal to propitiate the Governor in their favour. The latter, who chanced to be there at the time, received the escort in the most gracious manner, made them presents, and exhorted them to aid him in humbling their dreaded foe, the Iroquois. After renewing their former professions of friendship and regard for the French, they departed highly pleased with their reception.

Still, the terrible war-cry of the Iroquois was continually heard in the Canadian settlements. Scouting parties of these fierce warriors burst from the recesses of the forests when least expected, and fell upon isolated posts and villages with destructive ferocity. The growing crops were destroyed, the farmers murdered, and small detachments of troops surrounded and cut off.—This harassing mode of warfare, so well suited to the Iroquois, was a source of much uneasiness to Frontenac. "You must either not be a true friend, or powerless in your nation," he said angrily to Oureouhare, who still remained in Canada, "to permit them to wage this bitter war on me."

But a still greater danger now menaced the French possessions on the St. Lawrence. The British settlements, thoroughly aroused by the hostilities of the French and their allies during the past

\* De Frontenac stands conspicuous among all his nation for deeds of cruelty. Nothing was more common than for his Indian prisoners to be given up to his Indian allies to be tortured. *Colden*, vol. i. p. 441.

winter, resolved on the conquest of Canada. In April a small squadron sailed from Boston, which captured the greater part of the French posts in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and after the lapse of a month returned with sufficient plunder to repay the cost of the expedition. This success encouraged the people of Massachusetts, and their authorities issued circular letters to the nearest colonies, inviting their governments to send deputies to New York, to deliberate on measures for the general safety. On the 1st of May, 1690, this first American Congress assembled, and promptly determined on the invasion of Canada. Levies were ordered to be made, the contingents of the several colonies fixed, and general rules appointed for the organisation of the army. At the same time a fast sailing vessel was despatched to England, with strong representations of the defenceless condition of the frontier settlements, and requesting aid in the projected invasion of Canada. It was also asked that ammunition and other warlike stores might be supplied to their militia, and that a fleet of English frigates should co-operate with the colonial navy in the St. Lawrence.

But England was too intent at this period on her own domestic struggles to heed the calls for help from her transatlantic offspring. The bloody battle of the Boyne had still to be fought, Aughrim was yet to be won, and Limerick surrendered, before William could turn his attention to French ambition struggling for mastery in the New World. The British colonists thus thrown upon their own resources were not dismayed, and resolutely determined to carry out their projects of conquest. The plan of the campaign was simple, and carefully concealed from the Canadians. General Winthrop was to move upon Montreal with a force of 800 militia and 500 Indians, at the same time that a fleet of thirty-four vessels of various sizes, the largest of which carried forty-four guns, was to sail from Nantucket Road, near Boston, for the capture of Quebec. Nearly 1500 of the hardy sailors of New England manned this fleet, which had also 1300 militia on board under the command of Major Walley. The chief conduct of the expedition was intrusted to Sir William Phips, a man of humble birth, who had won his way to an exalted position among his fellow colonists, and now contributed largely from his own private fortune toward fitting out the fleet.

In the month of August Frontenac first received the intelligence of approaching danger. He was still at Montreal providing for the safety of the settlement there, when an Algonquin announced that an army of Iroquois and English were constructing canoes at Lake George, which boded some enterprise against Canada. The Governor immediately summoned the neighbouring Algonquins and Hurons, and also the Christian Iroquois, to his assistance; and with the tomahawk in his own grasp, old as he was, chanted the war-song and danced the war-dance, in their company, to animate their courage. But an incompetent commissariat paralysed

the advance of Winthrop's army. Want of provisions compelled him to retire from Lake Champlain to Albany, leaving Major Schuyler, who had pushed on in advance to the attack of Laprarie, unsupported. The fort at this point, defended by a few Canadian militia and Indians, was speedily captured, and its garrison compelled to retreat upon Chambly. Succour from this post meeting them on the way, they halted and faced their pursuers, when Schuyler was forced to retreat in turn with the loss of thirty men in killed and wounded.

The Indian spies of Frontenac soon put him in possession of the retreat of Winthrop's force. Thus assured of the safety of Montreal he was about to return to Quebec, although still ignorant of the danger with which it was menaced, when he learned that a faithful Algonquin, hurrying through the forests in twelve days from Piscataqua, had announced the approach of a hostile fleet from Boston. That fleet without pilots now sounded its way cautiously up the St. Lawrence, its officers and men, alike anxious for the result of the expedition against Montreal, watching wistfully the course of the winds, and hoping in the efficacy of the prayers for their success that went up morning and evening from the Puritan hearths of New England.

Had the land expedition succeeded in reaching Montreal, and thus compelled the Governor to remain there for its defence, or, had fair winds wafted the fleet a few days sooner up the St. Lawrence, Quebec must have been surprised and taken. But the inhabitants were already alarmed, and its commandant, Major Provost, vigorously applied himself to strengthen the defences against a sudden assault. After a brief pause at Three Rivers to direct the regular troops and militia to follow him as rapidly as possible, Frontenac arrived at Quebec on the 3rd of October, two days in advance of the fleet. The preparations for defence were now continued with unwearied industry. The militia of the neighbouring districts were directed to hold themselves in readiness to march as might be required ; a strong detachment moved down the river to observe the approaching fleet, and prevent a descent on the more exposed settlements ; and swift canoes were despatched to warn any French vessels coming up of the impending danger.—Over 4,000 regular troops, militia, and Indians soon manned the defences of Quebec, or covered its weakest points. There were nearly two to one against the men of New England ; an assault was therefore out of the question ; while a regular siege at that advanced period of the year was equally hopeless.

Early on the morning of the 5th of October,\* many an anxious look was cast from the ramparts of Quebec on the white sails of the British fleet, as vessel after vessel slowly rounded the headland of Point Levi, and crowded toward the village of Beauport, on the northern bank of the river. About ten o'clock the British took in

\* Hutchinson's Hist. Massachusetts vol. i. p. 399 ; and Major Walley's Journal of the Expedition.

sail, and dropped their anchors, when their vessels swung round with the receding tide. On the following day Admiral Phips sent a haughty summons to the French chief, demanding an unconditional surrender of the town and garrison in the name of King William of England. The messenger was conducted blindfolded into the presence of Frontenac, who awaited him in the council room, surrounded by the bishop, the intendant, and all his principal officers. The English officer read the summons, laid his watch upon the table, and told the count that he waited only one hour for a reply. The council started from their seats, surprised out of their dignity at a burst of sudden anger from their fierce old chief.—“I do not acknowledge King William,” said Frontenac the moment he could master his rage sufficiently to speak, “and well know that the Prince of Orange is a usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood and religion. I will answer your master by the mouth of my cannon.”

It was now resolved to assault the town at once, and accordingly at noon, on the 8th, the troops were landed without opposition, and advanced with spirit to the River St. Charles, where they were attacked by a body of 300 militia securely posted among the rocks and bushes. A part of the British line, galled by this unexpected fire, fell back for a moment, but the officer giving the word to charge they again rushed forward, and speedily cleared the ground.

In the afternoon four of the largest vessels moved boldly up the river and anchored within range of the town. They opened a spirited but ineffectual fire, their shot being directed principally against the lofty heights of the Upper Town, while a vigorous cannonade from the guns of the garrison replied with overpowering effect. Although his ships had suffered severely, Phips, with pertinacious courage, renewed the action at daybreak on the 9th, but with no better results. About noon he saw it was useless to continue the contest longer, the fire from the town being much superior to that of his fleet, and directing the anchors to be weighed, the receding tide floated his crippled ships beyond its reach. During the action his flag was shot away, and floating towards the shore was borne triumphantly to land by a Canadian, who boldly swam out into the current to secure it. Hung up in the parish church of Quebec, this precious trophy remained for many years a memento of Admiral Phips' defeat.

Major Walley placed his troops in battle array at daylight, but from some unaccountable cause, which he does not explain in his journal, did not move towards the town until the action with the squadron had terminated. Some severe skirmishing occurred during the day, which resulted generally to the disadvantage of the British, and next morning, at a council held on board the Admiral's ship, it was decided to abandon the enterprise altogether. On the night of the 11th, the army re-embarked in the greatest confusion, leaving five guns and a quantity of ammunition and stores behind.



Defeated by land and water—damaged in fortune and reputation, the British chief returned homewards. But disaster had not yet ceased to follow him. The dangerous shoals of the St. Lawrence and the storms of the Gulf wrecked nine of his ships. With the remainder shattered and weather-beaten, and his men almost mutinous from want of pay, he arrived at Boston, on the 19th of November, to find an empty public treasury, and to cause the first issue of colonial paper money.\*

Thus ended in disaster and defeat a well-planned scheme, which only required energy, ability, and military discipline in its execution to be successful. Had Winthrop's corps been led by a more skilful officer, or had the force which appeared before Quebec been directed by wiser heads and stouter hearts, the results must have been very different, and Wolfe would never have created for himself an imperishable memorial on the heights of Abraham.

Great were the rejoicings at Quebec when the British fleet disappeared from before it. With a proud heart the haughty old Governor penned the despatch which told his sovereign of the victory he had achieved, and of the gallant bearing of the colonial militia. In the Lower Town a church was built by the inhabitants, and an annual festival established, to celebrate their deliverance; while in France a medal commemorated the success of Louis XIV. in the valley of the St. Lawrence. To add to the rejoicing, vessels expected from France reached Quebec on the 12th November, having ascended the Saguenay, and thus escaped the British fleet.—Their arrival, however, with slender stores of provisions only tended to increase the scarcity, now pressing upon the Colony from an insufficient harvest, caused principally by the incursions of the Iroquois. This state of things necessitated, during the winter months, the distribution of the troops in those districts where food could be most easily procured. The inhabitants, however, grateful for the valour which had saved them from the dominion of the English, met this new burden on their slender resources with the utmost cheerfulness.

While the result of the movement against Canada was still undecided, and a probability existed that the British would obtain possession of the French colonies, the Iroquois warily held aloof, or only gave sufficient assistance to save appearances, which was one reason why Winthrop had retreated, eighty of their warriors only having joined him instead of the promised 500. The politic confederates, much as they hated the French, did not desire to see their power entirely crushed, as they began, at this period, to entertain apprehensions of the rapidly increasing population and strength of the British colonies. But the cowardly retreat of Winthrop, and the defeat of the expedition under Phips, convinced them that the French had really little to apprehend from the

\* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. pp. 91-108. Ban, Hist. United States, vol. ii. p. 831. Heriot's Hist. Can. pp. 255-262.

raw militia and ill-directed efforts of the provincials. Accordingly, in May, several hundred of their warriors again poured down upon the settlements near Montreal, and marked their progress with devastation and massacre. Smaller parties spread themselves along the fertile banks of the River Richelieu, burning the homesteads, and murdering the inhabitants. To repel these attacks the militia were hastily drawn together. One detachment of 120 men surprised a party of Iroquois on the Richelieu, and slew them without mercy, with the exception of twelve, who escaped into a farm-house. These defended themselves with the greatest courage, killed an officer, and wounded several of the militia ; and for a time it seemed as if the latter would be beaten by a few Indians posted in a ruinous dwelling. At length the building was set on fire, and the Iroquois as a last resource fiercely burst upon their enemies, and endeavoured to cut their way with their tomahawks, which five of them succeeded in doing. Of the remainder, two were killed and five taken prisoners. The latter were tortured after their own cruel manner in order to restrain the incursions of their nation in the future.

But this slight check only stayed the hostilities of the Iroquois for a brief period. In the latter part of July a strong body of their warriors, accompanied by some English militia and Mohican Indians, advanced upon Montreal with the intention of destroying the crops, the loss of which must have inflicted famine upon the Colony. After capturing an important post at Laprairie, by a sudden and unexpected assault, and slaying several of the defenders, they fell back into the forest, where they met and destroyed a small French detachment, and shortly after boldly faced a strong force under command of De Vairenes. For the full space of an hour and a half did these formidable warriors withstand the fire, and repel the charges, of the Canadian troops, on whom, although ultimately compelled to retire, they inflicted a loss of 120 men in killed and wounded.

No sooner had Frontenac received intelligence of this alarming inroad, than he promptly hastened to Montreal, where he found a despatch from the governor of New York, offering an exchange of prisoners, and proposing a treaty of neutrality, notwithstanding the war between France and Great Britain. But Frontenac mistrusting these proposals they were not productive of any beneficial results, and he shortly afterwards returned to Quebec, having first, however, witnessed the gathering of the harvest in safety.

Although the Iroquois had been forced to retreat, yet fully sensible of the heavy loss they had inflicted upon the French, they were not by any means discouraged. Led by a favourite chief, Black Caldron, they continued to make sudden inroads in every direction with various results, and heavy losses to the French as well as to themselves. On the other hand, the Abenaki and French ravaged the frontiers of Massachusetts, and revenged upon its hapless borderers the injuries suffered by the

Canadians ; while detachments of troops swept the favourite hunting-grounds of the Iroquois along the beautiful Bay of Quinte, and an expedition from Montreal, led by Mantel, did considerable injury to the Mohawks in their own country, but 1693. was severely harassed by the latter during its retreat. At the same time the coast swarmed with French privateers, which captured a large number of craft of all kinds, and even cut out vessels in Boston harbour.

This fierce and desultory contest rendered seed-time and harvest in Canada alike unsafe. Stone walls and armed fortresses alone gave security to the *habitants*, and the Iroquois' boast that 1694. "their enemy should have no rest but in their graves," was almost literally carried out. In the following year, however, these warriors appeared to grow weary of the long contest and to desire peace. The Onondagas, as usual, appeared most prominently in this friendly movement. and sent messengers to Montreal to ask Callieres, still commanding there, whether deputies from the Five Nations bearing pacific overtures would be received. These messengers got a favourable answer and returned home ; but the deputies did not make their appearance until the beginning of August, when little was effected towards the establishment of peace, owing to the intrigues of the Abenaki, and the desire of Frontenac, himself, to use his increasing power in crushing the Iroquois more effectually. The latter were not slow to comprehend the turn matters were taking, and endeavoured, by way of retaliation, to weaken French influence among their Christian countrymen of Caughnawaga, and partially succeeded.

Hostilities were again resumed. The Iroquois once more ravaged the open country at every undefended point, and when 1695. asked to renew their propositions for peace, haughtily demanded that the French, in turn, should now send deputies to treat at their villages, and cease hostilities in the meantime, not only against themselves, but with respect also to the English.—Frontenac resolved to repair and garrison the fort at Cataragui, as the best means to curb the Iroquois of the Lake, and to form a secure base for the offensive operations he had planned against them. He adopted this course contrary to the express commands of his sovereign, and the advice of some of his principal officers, who represented the great expense this fort had formerly entailed upon the crown, and the disasters it had originated. But to these representations the obstinate old count paid very little attention, and in the latter part of July despatched 600 men, one-third of whom were Indians, under the command of the Chevalier Crisasy, to Cataragui, to rebuild the fort. They fulfilled his orders with energy and skill, and Fort Frontenac once more menaced the Oneidas and Onondagas. The Iroquois retaliated by a descent upon the Island of Montreal, where, this time, owing to a timely warning of their approach, they found the inhabitants fully prepared to receive them, and were very roughly handled. Nor were they more

successful towards the west. Cadillac, the commandant at Mackinaw, had induced the Ottawas and Hurons to make an irruption into the Seneca country, whence they brought a number of prisoners. In that direction, also, the Five Nations sustained a severe defeat from a body of Miamis and French. On the other hand they formed a peace with the Ottawas and Hurons, who had become much dissatisfied with the high prices of French merchandise, and desired to participate in the benefits of English commerce.

This conduct on the part of his western allies was a source of considerable uneasiness to Frontenac, who used every endeavour to detach them from the Iroquois. His efforts met with only very questionable success, and to check this formidable disaffection he now resolved to carry out his project of invading the territory of the Five Nations, for which he directed immediate preparations to be made. While these were in progress, during the winter, a detachment was about to be marched into the Mohawks' 1696. country; but intelligence was received that this tribe, aided by their white neighbours, had placed their villages in a thorough state of defence, and the design was abandoned.

In the month of July, every preparation having been completed, Frontenac moved up the St. Lawrence, from Montreal, with a force of 1,500 regular troops, militia and Indians, *en route* for Cataragui, where he arrived on the 18th. The army rested at this place until the 26th, when it departed for Oswego, which it reached on the 28th. Dragging its canoes and batteaux up the Oswego river, it finally launched them on the Onondaga Lake, on the shores of which two bundles of cut rushes informed it that the Iroquois knew its number to be 1,434, so vigilant were their scouts. The army landed on the southern side of the lake, and an intrenchment, of felled trees and earth, was at once constructed, to protect the baggage and provisions, which 140 men were left to guard.— This duty finished, the French proceeded cautiously towards the fortified villages of the Onondagas and Oneidas, their centre led by Frontenac, now seventy-six years of age, who was carried in an arm-chair, while Callieres commanded the left wing, and Vaudreuil the right. But the Onondagas, satisfied that the invaders could not make a permanent conquest of their country, pursued their old policy of burning their villages on the approach of the enemy, and retreated into the recesses of the forest, whither they could not be pursued, leaving their crops of corn to be destroyed. A lame girl, found concealed under a tree, and a feeble old chief, whose infirmities prevented him from retreating with his tribe, were the only Onondaga captives made by the French. This gray-haired man, whom his own advanced years should have taught him to spare, Frontenac handed over to be tortured by his Indians. Bravely did the withered sachem suffer, and fierce were the epithets he hurled at his tormentors, whom he derided, amid his sufferings, "as the slaves of a contemptible race of foreigners." The French were more fortunate among the Oneidas, of whom they captured

thirty-five prisoners. But beyond the destruction of their crops and dwellings, very little injury was inflicted on either them or the Onondagas. Their loss in men was trifling, and the Cayugas and Senecas remained wholly undisturbed.

On the 12th of August the army returned to Oswego, and on the 15th arrived at Fort Frontenac, whence it shortly after descended to Montreal, while bands of the Iroquois hung on its rear, and cut off stragglers whenever an opportunity presented itself. Nor did these tribes afterwards cease their incursions into the French settlements, till they found the frontier so strongly guarded that they could not carry off any important plunder. Unlike 1697. former times, they were now unable to make any serious impression upon Canada ; and appeared disposed for peace, the negotiations for which were opened through Oureouhare, still faithful to Frontenac, whose death, however, interrupted them.

While these events were in progress at the west the French carried on the war with the greatest vigour and success on the sea board. A strong fort at Pemaquid, built for the protection of New England by Phips, mounting sixteen guns, and garrisoned by nearly a hundred men, under the command of Captain Chubb, was captured, by a force led by Iberville, after a brief siege, and levelled to the ground ; while a counter attack on a French post on the St. John ended in failure. Having procured reinforcements at Quebec Iberville sailed for Newfoundland, where he captured a number of fishing craft, destroyed several small posts, and finally took St. John and reduced it to ashes. But the treaty of Ryswick now terminated the war, in which Great Britain had engaged without policy and came off without advantage, and removed every difficulty in the establishment of peace between the French and English colonies and their allies. The English were the first who received intelligence of the treaty, and at once sent a deputation to Quebec to propose an exchange of prisoners, both as regarded themselves and the Iroquois. The Governor, however, preferred to negotiate separately with the latter, and thus impugn their assumed sovereignty by the British. Of this sovereignty he found the Iroquois to be not a little jealous, and did everything in his power to improve this feeling to the advantage of his countrymen.

While busily engaged in these transactions, and in taking measures otherwise for the benefit of the Colony, Frontenac died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, having to the last 1698. preserved the great energy of character which had enabled him to overcome the many difficulties and dangers of his most adventurous career. He died, as he had lived, loved by some for his courage and military virtues, hated by others for his cruel temper and proud and overbearing manners, but respected and feared alike by friend and foe, and with the credit of having, with trifling aid from France, supported and increased the strength of a Colony which he had found, on his re-appointment, at the



brink of ruin. He also died, as he had lived, in bad odour with the Jesuits, and was shrived in his last hours by a Recollet Father, and buried in the Recollet church instead of in the cathedral. The Jesuits retaliated by abusing him in his grave.\*

\* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. pp. 125-145. Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i. pp. 325-345. Heriot's Hist. Can. pp. 313-344. La Potherye, vol. i. p. 110. Parkman's Frontenac, p. 431.

NOTE.—During the administration of Frontenac slavery became a legalised institution in Canada. In the fall of 1688 both Denonville and the intendant had written to the French minister, representing that servants were procured with great difficulty in the Colony, and that it was desirable, therefore, that the importation of negro slaves should be permitted. Early in 1689 a royal edict was issued permitting his majesty's subjects in Quebec to own slaves. Afterward on the 13th November, 1705, an ordinance was established making negroes moveable property, and providing for their humane treatment. Pawnee Indians were held as slaves as well as negroes.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF DE CALLIERES.

THE Chevalier de Callieres, commandant of Montreal, who had already distinguished himself by important services in the Colony, received his commission as Governor of Canada, to the joy of the inhabitants, by the first ship from France after navigation had opened. The negotiations with the Iroquois were still incomplete, owing principally to the intrigues of Frontenac to get them to acknowledge the French sovereignty of their soil, and received the immediate attention of the new Governor. The Earl of Bellamont, now governor of New York, by insisting that the Iroquois, as well as the English prisoners, should be exchanged at Albany, sought to procure an admission from the French that these tribes were subjects of Great Britain. "That the Five Nations," said Bellamont, "were always considered subjects of England, can be manifested to all the world." But Callieres proved more than a match for the earl in this game of diplomacy. He flattered the pride of the Iroquois, by sending agents to the principal Onondaga village to treat of an exchange of prisoners, to settle the preliminaries of peace, and to induce them to send deputies to Canada for its final ratification; a course they ultimately pursued, despite the expostulations and threats of Bellamont. During the summer the Onondagas and the Senecas sent envoys to Montreal "to weep for the French who had been slain in the war," and "to bury their hatchets, over which should run a stream of water, in the earth." Their arrival created a jubilee in the town, which they entered amid the firing of artillery; a reception which piqued a Huron chief not a little, and who told the bystanders, "that fear made the French show more respect to their enemies than love did to their friends."

After rapid negotiations, peace was ratified by the Iroquois on one side, and the French and their allies on the other. "I hold fast the tree of peace you have planted," said the politic Callieres, addressing the deputies in their own figurative style, "and will

lose no time in despatching an armourer to Fort Frontenac to repair your arms, and will also send there merchandise suited to your wants." "I have been obedient to my father, said Le Rat, a Huron chief, "and I bury the hatchet at his feet." The deputies of the Ottawas and the other north-western tribes echoed his words. "I have no hatchet but that of my father, Ononchio," responded the envoy of the Abenaki, "and now he has buried it." The Christian Iroquois, allies of France, also expressed their assent to the peace. A written treaty was made, to which the deputies attached the symbols of their tribe: The Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas a calumet; the Oneidas a forked stick; the Mohawks a bear; the Hurons a beaver; the Abenaki a deer; and the Ottawas a hare. The numerous prisoners on both sides were set free. The Indians eagerly sought their homes, but to this conduct the greater part of the French captives presented a mortifying contrast. They had contracted such an attachment for the unrestrained freedom of forest life, that neither the commands of their king, nor the tears and entreaties of their friends, could persuade them to leave their savage associates.

The authorities of New York were highly indignant at the success of Callieres in thus weakening British influence with the Five Nations. They correctly attributed the chief cause of this success to the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, who had acquired a strong hold on their religious sympathies, and never scrupled to use it for political purposes. Their indignation found vent in a law of their legislature, which directed the hanging of every "Popish priest" who should come voluntarily into the province.

The Governor promptly informed the French ministry of the conclusion of this advantageous peace, and urged that it should be improved to the ruin of British influence with the confederates.—If a favourable arrangement of the boundary disputes could not be made, he urged that at least the country of the Iroquois should be declared neutral ground, and that both nations should not make any settlements amongst them. He likewise proposed that they should be left to their own choice in spiritual affairs, being fully satisfied they would prefer Romanist to Protestant missionaries.

Still, the sovereignty of the Iroquois remained undecided. The British continued to penetrate through their country, and share in the Indian commerce of the west. But Canada 1701, preserved the mastery of the great lakes, and Callieres, to strengthen French influence, resolved on establishing a fort and trading post at Detroit. The Iroquois were soon apprised of this design, and remonstrated against it in strong terms. The Governor replied, "That as Detroit belonged to Canada, its settlement could neither in justice be opposed by the Five Nations nor the English; that his object in building a fort there was to preserve peace and tranquillity among all the western tribes;" and added, "that he was master in his own government, yet only with a view to the

happiness of his children." The Iroquois were fain to be content with this answer, and in the month of June Cadillac, accompanied by a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, was despatched to commence a settlement at Detroit. Thus Michigan is the oldest of all the inland American States, with the exception of Illinois, whose colonisation had already been commenced by the unfortunate La Salle.

While France was thus grasping a firm hold of the west, and establishing her supremacy more securely on the great lakes, events were in progress in Europe which threatened to defeat her plans. James II. had died at St. Germans, and Louis XIV. raised the ire of the British nation by recognising his son as the legitimate sovereign of the "three kingdoms." William III., although on his death-bed, was still true to his ruling passion of hostility to

France, and formed new alliances, governed the policy of 1702. Europe, and shaped the territorial destinies of America.—

His death in March, 1702, did not interrupt the execution of his plans, which the ministers of Anne ably carried out. War was declared between England and her continental allies, on one hand, and France and Spain, on the other. From the pinnacle of power, and with every prospect of giving law to all Europe, the exploits of Marlborough and Eugene, the bloody fields of Blenheim and Ramillies, reduced Louis to the lowest condition, and at one time even seemed to place his very crown in peril.

But the gallant and prudent Callieres was not fated to witness the reverses of his royal master, nor see French influence 1703. weakened in America. He died on the 26th of May, to the great regret of the people of Canada. Their sorrow for his loss was the best tribute they could pay to his worth. Although, probably, inferior to his predecessor in brilliancy of talent, his sound common sense, greater freedom from passion, honourable conduct, and chivalric courage, gave him great influence with the Indian tribes, as well as with his own people. While far from being their tool, he wisely preserved a good understanding with the religious orders, now becoming formidable in the Colony from their wealth and numbers. To him, however, they chiefly owed an edict from the crown, which limited their acquisition of real estate to a certain amount. This measure was rendered necessary by the rapid manner in which they were acquiring landed property by purchase, as well as by grants from private individuals.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had succeeded Callieres as commandant of Montreal, became also his successor in the government of the Colony, agreeable to the earnest petition of its inhabitants, with whom he had become a great favourite. He began his government at a hazardous period, nor did he prove himself unworthy of the occasion. The authorities of New York had no sooner learn-

ed the revival of hostilities in Europe, than they endeavoured to persuade the Iroquois to resume their ravages in Canada. This they flatly refused to do, and avowed their intention of respecting the peace they had entered into. Vaudreuil promptly met these intrigues by despatching the *Sieur Joncaire*, a half-breed, long a resident among the Senecas, who had adopted him into their tribe, and was much respected by all the Iroquois, to the Onondagas, to confirm them in their alliance. He succeeded so well in his mission, that this tribe not only declared their intention of maintaining a strict neutrality, and retaining the Jesuit Fathers among them, but also conceded the sovereignty of their country to the French.

The English, on the other hand, were less successful in securing the neutrality of the Abenaki. This fierce tribe, instigated by the Jesuit missionaries, who made no scruple of their hostility against heretic Massachusetts, and aided by a detachment of French troops, again swept the more exposed frontier settlements, and carried death and mourning into many a New England home.—The whole country from Casco Bay to Wells, was ravaged in every direction, and its inhabitants, without distinction, 1704. scalped and murdered. In the month of February, Hertel de Rouville, with two hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians, burst upon the settlement at Deertfield, crossed the palisades on the snow, which had rendered them useless, and massacred or carried off the inhabitants into captivity. New England sought to avenge these misfortunes by the attempted capture of Acadia, and the French posts on the lower St. Lawrence, but only met with fresh disaster and defeat.

But while these terrible irruptions brought sorrow to the hearths of New England, Canada enjoyed profound repose, and was left to develop her resources as best she might. Freed from the apprehensions of Indian warfare, many of her inhabitants 1705. showed a greater disposition to ruin themselves in law-suits, than enrich themselves by attending to their occupations. The intendant, Raudot, wisely applied himself to diminish this evil by promoting amicable arbitrations between parties at variance, and succeeded beyond his expectations. Nor was this the only benefit he conferred upon the colonists. They annually grew considerable quantities of flax and hemp, but were prevented by the most stringent laws from engaging even in the coarsest manufactures, which were jealously reserved to the mother country, whither they were also obliged to send their wool, to be re-shipped to them again in the shape of poor and costly fabrics. Raudot now proposed to the French ministry, that the *habitants* 1706. should be permitted to manufacture coarse stuffs for their own consumption. He stated the prices of clothing had become so very high, owing to the loss of a vessel laden with goods for Quebec, and the risk of capture at sea, that the poor were utterly unable to provide themselves with even the coarsest apparel, and



were almost in a state of nakedness. This appeal was irresistible, and from thenceforth the people of Canada were allowed "to manufacture in their houses home-made linens and druggets for their own use"—a liberty they gladly availed themselves of.

Trouble was in the meantime brewing among the western Indians, and hostilities at length broke out between the  
1707. Illinois and Ottawas at Detroit, which occasioned Vaudreuil considerable trouble. A vigorous inroad into the country of the Illinois by Cadillac at the head of 400 men, speedily brought those savages to reason, and restored peace among the western tribes. During these difficulties the Iroquois observed a strict neutrality, to which the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries somewhat contributed. But to Joncaire this desirable result was principally owing. His knowledge of their language, which he spoke as well as themselves, his daring courage, his liberality and affable manners, rendered him exceedingly popular with the Iroquois, whom he gradually induced to regard the French with favour. But if the British lost ground in this direction, they succeeded in debauching the loyalty of the Christian Iroquois in Canada, numbers of whom by this time had become confirmed drunkards, the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians having been revived in the most shameless manner.

Vaudreuil, in order to prevent the further spread of disaffection, determined to assail the British colonies. In the spring, at  
1708. a war council held in Montreal, an expedition was resolved on against New England, to be composed of Indians and one hundred chosen Canadian militia volunteers. After numerous delays these began their march, led by De Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, who had not yet wearied of slaying women and children. The Iroquois and Hurons soon deserted the expedition and returned home, and the Abenaki failed to join it at the appointed place. The design was to capture Portsmouth; but De Chaillons and Rouville finding their force unequal to the enterprise, descended the Merrimac to Haverhill, resolving to attack a remote village rather than return to Canada as they came. At sunrise, on the 29th August, they moved forward to storm the fort, garrisoned by a few soldiers, which was carried after a fierce assault, while their Indians scattered themselves among the houses, and commenced their horrid work of plunder and death. The sharp and constant ring of the musket and the smoke of the burning village alarmed the surrounding country, and the inhabitants boldly gathered to the rescue. The French now beat a hasty retreat, but had scarcely proceeded a league when they fell into an ambush. By a rapid charge they dispersed their antagonists, yet with a loss to themselves of nearly thirty men. They left Haverhill, so recently a peaceful and happy village, a mass of smoking ruins, and its green-sward red with the blood of its pastor and brave men, of women and mangled babes. New England bewailed this savage act; nor did it go unreprieved.

"My heart swells with indignation," wrote honest Peter Schuyler, of Albany, to Vaudreuil, "when I think that a war between Christian princes is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery."

During this season of trial and disaster to the people of New England, many a wish was uttered for the conquest of Canada, as the only means of removing the danger that 1709. hovered perpetually over their more exposed settlements.—

Queen Anne was not insensible to the sufferings of her colonial subjects, and readily listened to a plan by Colonel Vetch, who was well acquainted with the St. Lawrence, for the capture of Montreal and Quebec. Vetch landed in New York on the 3rd of May, and at once commenced preparations for an invasion of Canada, by way of the Richelieu, to be supported by an English fleet in the St. Lawrence.

Vaudreuil received early intelligence of the threatened danger, and resolved to dissipate it by a counter-movement against the British colonies. On the 28th of July, Ramsay, governor of Montreal, proceeded with a strong force towards the British encampment near Lake Champlain. The French scouts brought intelligence that the enemy, amounting to 5,000 men, was strongly intrenched. The Indians quailed at this news, refused to advance farther, and the army retreated to Montreal. Nor were the preparations of the British colonies productive of more important results. Towards the end of September Vaudreuil learned that their forces had retired from the lake, owing to sickness and the non-arrival from the mother country of the promised aid. The fleet destined for the attack of Quebec never crossed the Atlantic; it was sent to Lisbon instead, to support the waning fortunes of Portugal against the triumphant arms of Spain. The Iroquois also had played their English allies false. No sooner had they joined the British army, than perceiving it was sufficiently strong to take Montreal, they resolved, with their usual cautious policy, to maintain the strength of the European rivals, and thus preserve their own importance, and perhaps their very existence, as a people. A small stream trickled by the camp; into this they flung the skins of the animals they killed. These under a burning sun soon infected the water, and many of the militia died from its use, while not the slightest suspicion was entertained of the true cause of the mortality.

But Britain had not abandoned the design of aiding weeping Massachusetts, and humbling the pride of Louis the magnificent in the New World as well as in the Old. In September 1710. six English-men-of-war, and thirty armed vessels and transports of New England, with four militia regiments under the command of General Nicholson, sailed from Boston for the conquest of Nova Scotia. In six days this fleet cast anchor in the noble harbour of Port Royal. With a garrison suffering from famine, and reduced by casualties and desertion to 156 men, Subercase, the French commandant, was speedily forced to surrender, and marched

out with all the honours of war, to beg for food the next hour from his victors. In honour of the queen the captured settlement was called Annapolis, a name it still retains.

Vaudreuil saw clearly the danger that threatened Canada, were the British to advance their possessions towards the St. Lawrence. He accordingly appointed Baron St. Castine, an energetic officer, to the government of Nova Scotia, and during the winter sent messengers over the snow, to press upon the Jesuit missionaries the necessity of preserving the zeal and patriotism of the Indian allies and French settlers in that region. But Castine was unable to restore the failing fortunes of the French on the sea-board, and from that day to this the Union Jack has floated over Annapolis.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England to urge the conquest of Canada; while, at the same time, the Onondagas sent deputies to Vaudreuil, to assure him that they remained faithful to their treaty with the French, although their confederates were inclined to make common cause with the British. The legislature of New York had already appealed to the queen on the dangerous progress of French dominion in America, and deputed Colonel Schuyler, of Albany, to present their address. "The French penetrate," it argued, "through rivers and lakes at the back of all your Majesty's plantations on this continent to Carolina, and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among these they constantly send agents and priests with toys and trifles to insinuate themselves into their favour.—Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them." Schuyler carried five sachems of the Iroquois with him to London. Dressed in black small clothes and scarlet mantles, coaches conveyed them in state to an audience with Queen Anne, and giving her belts of wampum, made of the most brilliant shells,\* they avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet, and aid in the conquest of Canada. Bolingbroke planned the campaign and expressed a "paternal concern for its success." But while he 1711. could write brilliant treatises on philosophy, and successfully originate taxation of newspapers, he knew little of the colonies he proposed to succour, and lacked the requisite soundness of judgment and powers of combination to make that succour effectual.

At midsummer, Nicholson arrived in Boston with the news that a fleet might soon be expected from England to aid in the reduction of Canada, and impressed upon the different colonies the necessity of having their militia contingents in readiness as soon as possible. On the 30th of July the whole armament sailed from Boston. The English fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war and

\* Wampum belts were made of beads formed from shells of different colours. These shells were also used as money by the Indians. The inhabitants of Hindostan use shells, called cowries, in lieu of small coin at the present day.

forty-six transports and storeships, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker. The land force, composed of five veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, and two colonial regiments, was led by Brigadier General Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, the queen's favourite. This armament was nearly as strong as that which subsequently, under the intrepid Wolf, captured Quebec, although its works, in the meantime, had been rendered far more formidable, and its defenders were much more numerous.\* Upon the same day on which the fleet sailed from Boston, General Nicholson proceeded to Albany, where in a short time he found himself at the head of 4,000 provincial troops and 600 Indians, prepared to move upon Montreal. In the west, the Foxes, desirous to expel the French from Michigan, appeared as the allies of the English to effect a diversion in their favour.

Intelligence of the intended expedition was seasonably received at Quebec, and the measures of defence began by a renewal of friendship with the Canadian and north-west Indians. Joncaire, at the same time, was successful in retaining the Senecas in neutrality, and the Onondagas remained faithful to their promises; but the rest of the confederates ranged themselves on the side of the British. Leaving Boncourt to strengthen the defences of Quebec, Vaudreuil proceeded to Montreal, where he rapidly organised a force of 3,000 soldiers, militia, and a few Indians, and placing it under the command of Longueuil, directed him to encamp at Chambly, and there await Nicholson.

Admiral Walker arrived in the St. Lawrence on the 14th of August, and after lingering a few days in the Bay of Gaspe, owing to an unfavourable wind, proceeded up the river. Little was then known in England with regard to the peculiarities of the St. Lawrence, and Walker, sharing the apprehensions of the vulgar, imagined that a current, where vessels floated on water one hundred fathoms deep, would be frozen to the bottom during winter, and puzzled his brains to know how he would preserve his ships. "To secure them on the dry ground in frames and cradles till the thaw," he sagely imagined to be the true mode of procedure.

On the evening of the 22nd of August a thick fog came on with an easterly breeze. Next morning both the French and English pilots thought it right to bring the vessels of the fleet to with their their heads to the southward, as the best course to keep the mid-channel and drive clear of the north shore. The day passed safely over, but just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen, and without going on deck he wantonly ordered the fleet to head to the north. Goddard, a captain in the land service, at the instigation of the pilot, Paradis, rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the

\* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. p. 171. Canada, on the St. Lawrence, in 1711 contained about 20,000 French inhabitants and 6,000 Indians.

admiral at least to come on deck ; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears and refused. A second time Goddard returned ; " For the Lord's sake come on deck," cried he, " or we shall certainly be lost ; I see breakers all around us." Walker came on deck and found he had spoken the truth ; " But still," the admiral exclaimed, " I see no land to the leeward." Just then the moon broke through the mist and showed him his error. Now he believed Paradis, and made sail for the middle of the river, but not before eight ships had been wrecked among the reefs of the Egg Islands, and 884 men drowned. As soon as the scattered fleet was collected a council of war was held, at which the craven-hearted leaders voted unanimously " that it was impossible to proceed, and that it was for the interests of her Majesty's service that the British troops do forthwith return to England, and the colonial troops to Boston."\*

The failure of the expedition against Quebec compelled Nicholson to retreat. The French scouts soon brought intelligence of this movement to the camp at Chambly. For the moment the news was doubted : it was almost too good to be true, and Hertel de Rouville was despatched with 200 men to procure more certain information. He marched far on the way to Albany till he was joined by three Frenchmen, set at liberty by Nicholson on his return, who told him of the consternation of the British colonists when they learned the misfortune which had befallen the fleet.—Vessels were soon despatched down the river from Quebec. At the Egg Islands the remains of eight large ships, out of which the cannon and stores had been taken, were found, and the many dead bodies that strewed the shores of the river told unmistakably the disaster which had befallen the British fleet.

In the west, however, new dangers menaced French power. The

Foxes resolved to burn Detroit, and pitched their wigwams  
1712. near the fort, now defended only by a score of Frenchmen.

But the Indian allies of the little garrison came to its relief, and the warriors of the Fox nation, instead of destroying Detroit, were themselves besieged, and at last compelled to surrender at discretion. Those who were found in arms were ruthlessly massacred, and the rest were distributed as slaves among the victors. Thus did the fidelity of their allies preserve Detroit to the French. Cherished as the loveliest spot in Canada, with its woods abounding with wild turkeys and game of all kinds, and its waters swarming with delicious fish, its possession secured the road to the western Indians. Its loss would have been the ruin of the Canadian fur-trade, and shut out the French for ever from the great highway to the Mississippi. Still, these successes did not alter the great current of western commerce, which continued to flow steadily towards Albany and New York. The Indian loved

\* Admiral Walker's Journal, pp. 122, 123. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. pp. 167, 177.



the Frenchman as a companion, but the British merchant paid a higher price for beaver, and self-interest, that great motive-power of human nature among the civilised and the savage alike, led him to prefer the traffic of the latter.

Weakened by defeat—driven back from the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, Louis, now an old and feeble man, earnestly desired peace even on humiliating terms. The debility of France became its safety. England was satiated with costly continental victories, and public opinion demanded peace. Marlborough, who hesitated not to say “that the enmity between France and England was irreconcilable,” was dismissed from power; the Whigs fell with him, and the Tories took their places to inaugurate a new era of peace. A congress of ambassadors assembled at 1713. Utrecht to regulate its conditions. Louis strove to preserve his Canadian possessions intact, but the sufferings of Massachusetts made Great Britain resolute to retain Nova Scotia, and finally it was fully ceded to her, with the fisheries of Newfoundland, the vast unknown regions of Hudson’s Bay, and the nominal sovereignty of the Iroquois. France soon afterwards sought consolation for her losses, in the construction of a strong military post at Louisburg, in Cape Breton; which she hoped would still enable her to keep up safe communication with Canada, and give a new home, as well, to the Acadians, who showed, however, very little inclination to change their abode.

Louis did not long survive the Treaty of Utrecht, and died somewhat over two years afterwards, while still on the verge of seventy-seven, after a reign of seventy-two years—a reign that began in glory and the victories of Turenne and Conde, and ended in disaster and the crushing defeats sustained at the hands of the Duke of Marlborough. His pride and his ambition had almost ruined France, which during the latter part of his reign was sorely humiliated by repeated defeat, swept by famine and pestilence, and reduced to the utmost poverty. He completed the work which Richelieu had begun, destroyed the last vestiges of the liberty of the nation, and converted the French monarchy into a pure despotism. For a time his autocratic sway and his ability had raised his country to a commanding position in Europe; and he was feared at home and abroad. But he was eventually taught, in much bitterness, the uncertainty of human greatness. Misfortune and repeated disaster clouded sadly the later years of his life; and the evil days of old age, wherein he had no pleasure, surely came in his case, to illustrate the truth of the warning of his more illustrious predecessor of Israel.\* Stung most probably by conscientious reproaches for his personal profligacy, and his crimes against mankind, he became, in his latter days, austere and monkish; and his once brilliant court, where license and gaiety had so long reigned supreme, was at last largely given up to silence and mortification.

\* Ecclesiastes 12 chap., 1 verse.

Louis outlived his heirs of two generations, and his throne descended to his great-grandson, a child of five years old, with the Duke of Orleans as regent, and Cardinal Fleury as the first minister of the crown.

The war had scarcely terminated when the active mind of the Canadian Governor began to devise means for strengthening the defences and peopling the Colony, which instead of increasing, was actually decreasing in population. He stated to the French minister that Canada possessed only 4,480 inhabitants, between fourteen and sixty years, able to carry arms, while the regular soldiers barely amounted to 628. This small number of persons was spread over a country 100 leagues in extent. He added that the English colonies had 60,000 men able to bear arms, and that on the first rupture they would make a powerful effort to get possession of Canada. He proposed that additional troops should be sent out, and that 150 convicts should be shipped annually to this country, to aid in the labours of agriculture. Fortunately for Canada the latter proposition was never carried out, and she escaped the indignity and difficulty of becoming a penal settlement.

The bitter lesson which the Foxes had received at Detroit, instead of making the remainder of their tribe more peacefully inclined, thoroughly exasperated them against the French.—

Not only did they interrupt the trappers in Michigan, their native country, but they infested the routes leading to the distant posts of the Colony, and inflicted all the injury possible upon the Indian allies of the French. The Governor at length detached a strong force to bring them to reason. Shut up in their fort, against which two field-pieces were brought to bear, they finally offered favourable terms of accommodation, which were accepted.

But they soon evinced little respect for the treaty they had been forced to enter into, and, though greatly reduced in numbers, rendered the routes towards Louisiana unsafe, and ever after remained the deadliest enemies of the French.

The success of the expedition against the Foxes established peace in all the borders of Canada, and for many years it presented few events of importance to record. The attention of the

Governor was now turned to the careless and improper manner in which notaries frequently performed their duties, and stringent regulations were made to correct this abuse. In

considerable excitement was caused in the Colony by the discovery, in the forests, of ginseng, a plant highly esteemed by the Chinese, which for a time promised to be a valuable article of commerce. But the Canadians were unacquainted with its proper mode of preservation, and it soon became unsaleable.

The three succeeding years were alike barren of events. In the first mail was established between Montreal and Quebec, of which Lanouiller got a monopoly for twenty years. Letters were charged for according to distance, and a fixed table of rates. Charlevoix, one of the early historians of Canada, came out from France

in 1720, remained here during the ensuing year, and visited the principal settlements, which he describes in his journal.—

Quebec embraced even then an Upper and Lower Town, 1721. and contained about 7,000 inhabitants. Its best society, composed of military officers and nobles, was extremely agreeable, and he states that nowhere was the French language spoken in greater purity. Under a gay exterior was concealed a very general poverty. "The English," the Canadians said, "knew better how to accumulate wealth, but they alone were acquainted with the most agreeable way of spending it." The only employment suited to their taste was the fur-trade, the roving and adventurous habits of which they especially liked. They made money by it occasionally, which was usually soon squandered again in pleasure and display. Many who had made a handsome figure in society were now suffering pecuniary distress; still, while they curtailed the luxuries of their tables, they continued as long as possible to be richly dressed. Agriculture received very little attention, and the timber trade was yet in its infancy.

The banks of the St. Lawrence for some distance below Quebec were already laid out in seignories and partially cultivated. Some of the farmers were in easy circumstances, and richer than their landlords, whose necessities compelled them to let their land at very low rents. At one point Charlevoix found a baron, holding the office of inspector of highways, who lived in the forest, and derived his support from a traffic with the neighbouring Indians.—Three Rivers was an agreeable place, containing 800 inhabitants, and surrounded by well-cultivated fields. Its fur-trade had been in a great measure transferred to Montreal, and the iron mines had not yet been worked. He found the country thinly peopled as he ascended the river till he arrived at the Island of Montreal, the beauties of which he describes in glowing terms. He does not state the population of the town. The census of 1721 made the whole white population 25,000, of which 7,000 were in Quebec, and 3,000 in Montreal.

After leaving Montreal, he only met detached posts, established solely for defence or trade. Passing up the river, in bark canoes, he reached Fort Frontenac, which he describes as merely a small military station. After a tedious voyage along the shores of the lake, he came to a log block-house, on the Niagara river, occupied by Joncaire and a few officers and troops, but saw neither a village nor cultivated fields. Passing up Lake Erie he visited Detroit and several of the stations on the upper lakes, but beyond small trading posts, encountered nothing worthy of the name of settlement. Such was Canada 170 years ago: what a different aspect does it now present,

Hitherto the fortifications of Quebec had been very incomplete, but the French ministry now resolved to strengthen and extend them, agreeable to the plan of Lery. Montreal was 1720. defended by wooden works, which were in a most dilapidated

condition. Orders were given to fortify it with good stone. The king advanced the money, but the town and seminary were  
1722. to repay one-half in annual instalments of 6,000 livres.

Barracks were likewise constructed for the regular troops. No provision was made, however, for the militia, which only existed in the Colony from its necessities and the will of the Governor. As an institution in the state it had never been recognised by any French law or edict.\*

Ten years' peace had added considerably to the trade and population of Canada. Nineteen vessels sailed this year from  
1723. Quebec for the ocean. Six new ships were built for the merchant service, and two men-of-war. The exports to France embraced furs, lumber, staves, tar, tobacco, flour, peas, and pork ; the chief imports from thence were wines, brandies, and cotton and woollen goods.

But while peace now reigned along the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, another Indian storm, of ruin and massacre, burst upon the frontiers of New England. The Abenaki, a branch of the great Huron race, held the passes of the mountains towards Quebec ; but their largest villages stood near the sea coast, from the Kennebec river towards the Bay of Fundy. Although not a numerous nation, and hardly able, at any time, to muster a thousand warriors, they had, during the last two wars, according to Charlevoix, formed the principal bulwark between Canada and New England. They were a brave and hardy race ; the bitter foes of the Iroquois and the English, and the fast friends of the Canadians. They had been converted to Christianity at an early period, mainly by the Jesuits, whose teaching had made them equally staunch to the French and to their religion. Intermarriages, as usual in these days, cemented the union still more strongly.— Even Baron St. Castine, one of the feudal lords of Acadia, eventually discarded, at the bidding of the church, his harem of dusky women, and settled down into lawful matrimony as the son-in-law of an Abenaki chief, and finished by becoming their principal chief himself. Again and again did the New England authorities try to win over the Abenaki to their side, to be always disappointed. The Jesuit missionaries stood constantly in the way, and rendered futile all their efforts in that direction, whether religious or political. Under their hostile teaching the Abenaki even traded as little as possible with the English, whose settlements lay mostly only a few days' journey from their villages, and who paid much the better price for furs ; and toiled, instead, with their peltries to Quebec, a distance in some cases so great as to involve a full month's travel.

In accordance with their usual policy, so disliked by Frontenac and other governors of Canada, the Jesuits made no effort to teach the Abenaki the French language. Their constant aim was to keep the Indians as separate as possible from the whites, and thus

\* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. pp. 185, 186.

preserve their own influence and importance with both races.—Although professedly Christian their Abenaki converts retained all the ferocity and warlike traits of the savage, and remained as cruel and vindictive as ever. The Jesuit mission Christians, of every Indian tribe, were always as fully disposed to scalp and tomahawk as their heathen brethren.

On the side of the New England frontier the nearest Abenaki village was Nanrantsouak, on the Kennebec river, some eighty miles from the sea, where the little Maine town of Norridgewock now stands. It had a population of several hundred Indians; and here Father Rasles, their Jesuit missionary, had erected a handsome church, and trained forty choir boys to assist in its services, to attend which came the Abenaki from far and near.\* Two other Jesuit missionaries ministered also to the Abenaki: one at Lorette, eight miles from Quebec, where a remnant of this tribe still exists; and the other many leagues away on the Penobscot river. But Rasles residing nearer to the English settlements, and from one cause or another being frequently brought into contact with them, became a special object of dislike to the New England people; and was held personally responsible for much of the trouble that arose, from time to time, with the Abenaki. But for him, they asserted, they could win the hostile savages over to their side; and in this respect they were right.

The same inexorable fate which threatened the tribes of the west, was also actively operating against the Abenaki. After the Treaty of Utrecht had come into force, and danger was no longer to be apprehended from the French, the New England backwoodsmen pushed their settlements farther and farther into the forest wilderness, until at length the Abenaki became seriously alarmed at seeing their hunting grounds encroached upon along the whole frontier line. Their remonstrances produced the answer that the French had given the country to the English. The Abenaki sent a deputation to Quebec to ask Governor Vaudreuil if this were true, and were told that the Treaty of Utrecht did not cover their territory. Then other troubles arose. Four hostages of their tribe were seized and taken to Boston, to be held as prisoners there until some settlers' cattle, alleged to have been killed by them, were paid for. The Abenaki paid the price demanded, two hundred pounds of beaver skins, but the hostages were not released. Then, again, their great chief, Baron St. Castine, was captured by a ruse, and imprisoned at Boston; and no reply had been received to their demands that the recent white settlers should depart from their territory. And to make matters still worse, two hundred New England militia, under Colonel Westbrook, penetrated through the forest to Nanrantsouak, in the last days of January, with the view of capturing Rasles. But he managed to escape into the woods, and so eluded his would-be captors, who only retired from

\* *Vide* Rasles' letter to his nephew, Oct. 15th, 1722.



the village after they had pillaged his church and his dwelling.— The Abenaki now prepared for war, and presently commenced hostilities by capturing several small vessels lying at the mouth of the Kennebec, burning the dwellings of the recent settlers on their lands, and taking five prisoners to hold as hostages for the safety of their friends at Boston. The New Englanders retaliated by attacking, on a coast island, a party of sixteen Abenaki, and either killing or wounding half their number. The war soon came to be a bitter one at both sides, and was waged with varying fortunes. The New England people, enraged by the remembrance of the butchery of their friends during Queen Anne's war, pressed hostilities against the Abenaki with the utmost vigour, and offered four hundred dollars for every Indian scalp, and four thousand 1723. dollars for the capture of Rasles. The Abenaki retaliated by burning the town of Brunswick, and desolating the entire frontier; and were in turn hunted down like wolves, and had their villages destroyed.

In the month of August a New England expedition, consisting of 220 men, under the command of Major Moulton, ascended 1724. to Nanrantsouak, which they completely surprised, and the Indians had to fly for their lives with a loss of thirty killed and a number wounded. Moulton gave orders that Rasles should be made a prisoner, and in no way injured. Father Chasse, the Jesuit superior at Quebec, speaking from hearsay only, states that the missionary was shot dead at the foot of a large cross he had erected in the centre of the village.\* On the other hand the New England historian, Hutcheson, on the authority of information gathered from persons who were in the action, gives quite a different version of the affair. He states that Rasles shut himself up in his dwelling, from which he fired upon the attacking party, one of whom he wounded. This so enraged a lieutenant, named Jacques, that he burst in the door and shot him dead.

Having set fire to the village, burned down the church, and accomplished otherwise all the injury possible, Moulton, fearing a general Indian attack, hastily retired. On the following day the Abenaki returned to their ruined village to find the body of Rasles cruelly scalped and mutilated, and buried it reverently where the church altar had stood. In 1833, one hundred and nine years afterwards, an acre of land, on which was the site of Rasles' dwelling, was purchased by the Jesuits of New England, and a granite monument, surmounted by an iron cross, erected to his memory. The foundation stone was laid, with imposing religious ceremonies, on the anniversary of his death, or, as his eulogists will have it, his martyrdom. But one point relating to Rasles is perfectly clear, and that is, he was not by any means a peacemaker.— Even his own narrative, as embodied in his letters to his friends, does not claim that he did anything to hinder the war which cost

him his life. The Abenaki were his crusaders. He shrived them for the battle field, and then sent them forth, with a blessing, to fight for their country and their creed.\*

New England was the first to sue for peace ; and Colonel Schuyler and three other deputies proceeded to Montreal to meet the Abenaki chiefs, and ascertain what could be done towards terminating hostilities. The conference took place in the presence of Vaudreuil, to whom the delegates complained of the support given by Canada, in time of peace, to the Abenaki, and demanded the release of the English prisoners held within its borders. The Abenaki, on the other hand, secretly urged on by Vaudreuil, made demands to remain masters in the wide stretch of country between Saco and Port Royal, and, also, that the killing of Pere Rasles, and the damage inflicted on them during the war, should be compensated for by presents. These conditions were rejected, and hostilities resumed. But, worn out with fighting and hardship, the Abenaki eventually tired of a war which brought them no benefit. Two years later a peace was concluded at Kaskeba, 1727. without French intervention, which gave New England the land up to the Kennebec, and left the Abenaki masters beyond that river. The news of this peace a good deal disturbed Maurepas, now French minister of marine, as it increased the risk of Canada in the event of a future war with England. The conditions of the treaty appear to have been fairly well observed on both sides.— There were no more Abenaki raids on the borders, and peace at last reigned along the northern frontier of lacerated and bleeding New England.

On the 10th of October, 1725, the Marquis de Vaudreuil closed his useful career. The sorrow manifested by the people for this event, was proportionate to the satisfaction they had displayed when he was first appointed Governor. For the long period of one-and-twenty years had he discharged his important duties with great loyalty, ability, and courage. His vigilance, firmness, and good conduct, had preserved Canada to France through a disastrous war, and he went to rest from his labours with the blessings and regrets of a grateful people, who had enjoyed all the peace and prosperity possible under his rule.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE BEAUHARNOIS.

When the death of Vaudreuil became known in France, the Marquis de Beauharnois, a natural son of Louis XIV., received the appointment of governor. He arrived in Canada early in May, and was almost immediately engaged in a warm controversy with Governor Burnet, of New York, relative to a fort and trading establishment which the latter was constructing at Oswego, with the view of diverting still more of the Indian

\* *Vide* Rasles' letter to his brother, Oct. 12th, 1723.

trade from the St. Lawrence route. To prevent this result, the Governor despatched M. de Longueil to the Onondagas to ask permission to erect a store-house and fort at Niagara. The persuasions of their Jesuit missionaries readily induced them to give a favourable reply, and the French promptly applied themselves to profit by the privilege. Burnet, on the other hand, persuaded the Senecas to hinder the proceedings of the French, and this tribe at once sent a messenger to Niagara to require them immediately to desist, as the country where they were belonged to them and not to the Onondagas. Regardless of this demand the works were pushed forward. Joncaire's great influence with the Senecas prevented their demolition, and finally reconciled them to French occupation of their territory.

Burnet finding himself unable to dispossess the French at Niagara, strengthened the fort at Oswego, which so enraged Beauharnois, that in the month of July he sent a written summons to the officer in command there to abandon it within fifteen days. He wrote to Burnet, six days afterwards, remonstrating with him on the erection of this fort as being contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, which provided that the boundary lines of the British and French colonies should be settled by commissioners, and claiming the land on either side of Lake Ontario as belonging to his nation. The English governor replied in a polite but resolute manner, completely refuted his arguments, and presented counter-remonstrances against the proceedings at Niagara. Beauharnois retorted by a fresh summons to the officer commanding at Oswego, and another message to Burnet, stating that hostile measures would be adopted if the fort were not abandoned and destroyed. The latter upon this threat coolly reinforced the garrison, to secure it in the event of attack; and so the matter terminated for the time. Louis XV. approved of the action of Beauharnois, and ordered that a stone fort should be built at Frontenac. At the same time he gave his sanction to the liquor traffic with the Indians, each trader to pay 250 livres for his license. Aliens were prohibited from settling in Canada under any pretence, and several English residents of Montreal were compelled to leave at two days' notice.

Four years elapsed yet the Union Jack, at the Oswego fort, still floated on the bracing breezes of the lake. Beauharnois had 1731. not carried out his threat of attack, but in order to repress the growing energies of the British colonies, he now resolved on the erection of a fort at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain.—Should a war again occur he saw clearly that a military post there would place the French troops in such close proximity to the frontier settlements on the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, that great injury could be easily inflicted on them. At the same time it was an important step towards carrying out the plan, already conceived, of restricting the British colonies to the sea-board.

The government of Massachusetts speedily became alarmed.—Belcher, who was now at its head, sent a letter to Vandam,

the governor of New York, offering to bear one-half the ex- 1732.  
pense of an embassy to Canada to forbid the construction of  
this fort, and pressing him to engage the opposition of the Iroquois,  
now beginning to be known as the "Six Nations." Vandam laid  
the letter before his council ; but a long peace had blunted its vigi-  
lance ; no action was taken thereon, and the French retained  
peaceable possession of Crown Point.

Enjoying profound repose, year after year now passed over the  
Colony without producing scarcely a single event of importance.  
The laws of France, with trifling modifications by royal decrees,  
were the laws of Canada ; which, unlike the Canada of the present  
day, was never disturbed by the quarrels of a local Parliament.—  
The torpid repose, which it gained in this way, repressed the ener-  
gies of its inhabitants, and perpetuated their natural easy and  
indolent manners, which over a century of British freedom has not  
sufficed to remove.

An old writer\* on Canada fills up the historical blank that now  
intervenes, by detailing how the nuns of the General Hospi-  
tal of Quebec began to adopt the lax manners of the Colony, 1733.  
and mix in society contrary to their vows ; and how Cardinal  
Fleury reproved them therefor, and compelled them to pursue a  
more decorous behaviour. There was, then, the difficulty about  
the Bishop's palace, which these nuns claimed as their pro-  
perty ; but royalty discountenanced their pretensions, and 1736.  
they had to succumb. Meanwhile, Beauharnois diligently  
applied himself to forward the interests of the Colony, which now  
made rapid strides, in proportion to its former progress, in popula-  
tion and wealth. Cultivated farms gradually appeared along the  
St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal, as well as upon the banks  
of several of its tributary streams. The absence of roads prevent-  
ed settlement in the interior, and water was accordingly the only  
highway of the farmer. This led to the system, the evils of which is  
still felt in the Province of Quebec, of cutting up the farms into  
long narrow strips, having from one to three acres' frontage on the  
rivers, and extending inland from forty to eighty acres.

The Canadians during this prolonged interval of peace, appear  
to have entirely overcome the enmity against them, so long trea-  
sured up by a few of the principal tribes. Their pliant and  
courteous manners ; their cheerful disposition ; their frequent  
intermarriages with the natives ; and, in many instances, their  
actual adoption of the wild and stirring life of the Indian, render-  
ed them far better fitted to secure his confidence than the staid  
British colonist. A very favourable change took place, also, as  
regarded the fur-trade, in which the British merchants had so long  
had the advantage. The French government adopted a more  
liberal and equitable system of Indian traffic, which was now re-  
leased in a great measure from the licensed monopolies, which had

\* William Smith, a Master in Chancery after the Conquest.

hitherto so injuriously affected it. A large annual fair was opened at Montreal, to which the Indians were invited to resort, and whither many of them came to dispose of their furs in preference to going to Albany. The French traders also penetrated in every direction, and posts were formed at the head waters of the Missouri, on Lake Winnipeg, and elsewhere; and the Rocky Mountains were reached in 1743.

Still, the progress of Canada was far inferior to that of its self-governed Anglo-Saxon neighbours. This was owing to a variety of causes, among the chief of which may be reckoned the absence of local legislation, the seigniorial tenure and tithe systems, the want of schools, the gay and indolent habits of the people themselves, their numerous religious festivals, and the equal partition of lands among the children of deceased parents, without regard to primogeniture. Not only were the lands of the seigniors divided in this way, but also the farms of their tenants, which were usually barely large enough for the support of a single family. This system, which did not even permit of alteration by will, proved a most effectual bar to the clearing of wild lands. The children, contented and indolent as their parents, instead of going forth to provide for themselves in new districts, settled down on the paternal farms, which were divided and subdivided amongst them to no end. The king sought to correct these abuses, by directing the Bishop of Quebec to suppress a number of holidays, which, instead of being religiously observed, only led to drunkenness and disorder, and by issuing an edict preventing in future the erection of dwelling-houses on tracts less than one and a-half acres in front by forty in depth, under the penalty of one hundred livres, and the demolition of the buildings.†

Other causes which seriously militated against the greater progress of Canada, at this period, were found in the lax morals of its better classes, and in its official corruption. Low as the standard of morality had been at the French court during the reign of Louis XIV., it was a model of propriety when compared with the state of things which set in there during the minority of his successor. The vices of the regent, the Duke of Orleans, soon reacted on the king; and Louis XV. while still a young man became notorious for his gross sensuality, his selfishness, and his baseness. At twenty-three he surrounded himself with the vilest society, soon separated from his young queen, and lived, as he continued to do until the end of his life, in the most extreme and shameless debauchery. It was only natural to expect that the vices and the infidelity of the French court should extend their blighting influence to Canada, and find their reflex, to a greater or

\* During the preceding twenty-five years the Colony had increased from twenty-two to fifty thousand souls, and the value of its exports had grown to nearly two and three quarter million francs.

† Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. pp. 109-200.



less extent according to circumstances, in its official life, and among its better classes otherwise. The current of Parisian licentiousness very soon reached Quebec, and the other larger centres of population, and from thence radiated to the remotest frontier post. It stimulated the greed for gain, lawful or unlawful, as the potent means and minister of pleasure, and an era of official corruption gradually and surely set in, which not only hindered the legitimate progress of the Colony, but laid the foundation for its ultimate conquest. The clerical orders vainly essayed to stem the immoral tide, but without success. The official life of the Colony had not only slipped from their control, but held them at defiance; and the father confessor no longer restrained, as in former days, the gaieties, or the follies, or even the vices, of society. The *couvreur de bois* and the *voyageur* were usually beyond all priestly restraint, far away in the depths of the illimitable forest wilderness; and even the resident *habitant* felt the influence of the new order of things, and was not now as docile as he was wont to be. The Colony was already ripening for the sickle of the official sharks, who presently commenced to devour it with the most vigorous rapacity.

In the meantime a storm had arisen on the political horizon of Europe, which once more threatened the rival colonies of the New World with the horrors of war. British commerce, now penetrating every quarter of the globe, refused to brook any longer the restrictions imposed upon it by Spanish jealousy in South America. The English nation became clamorous for war, and the ministry giving way to the popular cry, strengthened the 1738. forces by sea and land, and prepared for hostilities. In 1739 war was declared in due form against Spain. Vernon captured Porto Bello and destroyed its fortifications, with scarcely the loss of a man; Anson swept the coasts of the enemy in the 1739. South Seas, surprised, with a few soldiers, Païta by night; and, after spending three days in stripping it of treasure and merchandise, set it on fire. He afterwards proceeded to Panama, and subsequently traversed the Pacific Ocean till the long-looked-for Spanish galleon, freighted with treasure and cargo 1740. valued at £313,000 sterling, hove in sight, which he carried a prize to England, and thus enriched himself and his officers.

These successes alarmed France, and Fleury, who like Walpole, desired to preserve peace, was, like him, also overruled by the clamours of his rivals. France soon avowed herself the ally of Spain, which she promised to aid with fifty ships of the line. But in taking this step all intentions of conquest were disclaimed. "I do not propose to begin a war with England," said Louis, "or to seize or annoy one British ship, or take one foot of land possessed by England in any part of the world. Yet I must prevent England from accomplishing its great purpose of appropriating to itself the entire commerce of the West Indies. France, though it has no treaty with Spain, cannot consent that the Spanish colonies should

fall into English hands." "It is our object," said Fleury, "not to make war on England, but to induce it to consent to a peace."

Such was the posture of affairs, when, by the death of Charles VI., the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg, raised a question on the Austrian succession. The treaty known as the "Pragmatic Sanction," to which France was a party, guaranteed the Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of the late Emperor, but this did not now prevent the sovereigns of Spain, Saxony and Bavaria, from each laying claim to the empire. The opportunity to gratify the Bourbon hereditary hatred of Austria was most favourable; so Louis forgot his pledged faith, neglected the advice of Fleury, and sought to place his creature, the Elector of Bavaria, on the throne of Charles. Scarcely had the Empress closed the eyes of her father, when the young king of Prussia, Frederick II., seized Silesia; Saxony demanded another portion of her dominions, and presently Bavaria, backed by France, laid claim to her crown. The latter powers were at first successful in the war that speedily ensued, and Maria Theresa, driven from her capital, sought refuge with her son in her Hungarian dominions. Her misfortunes speedily produced a reaction in her favour. England, now ruled by George II., (who sought to shield his Hanoverian dominions,) avowed itself as the ally of the Empress. Sardinia and Holland soon after declared themselves in her favour, and her misfortunes thawed even Russia into an acknowledgment of her claims.—France, in return, declared war against England, plotted already a change in its dynasty, and the establishment of the Pretender, Charles, on its throne.

In North America, New England sustained the first shock of war. While Canada and the central British provinces still reposed in tranquillity, and even in ignorance of the declaration of hostilities, a body of French from Cape Breton\* surprised the small English garrison of Canseau, and carried eighty men as prisoners to Louisburg. Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, was next assailed by a body of Micmac Indians, instigated by the Abbe Le Loutre, their Jesuit missionary, and as the defences were in a most ruinous condition they were with difficulty repelled. French privateers speedily swarmed along the coasts of the English colonies, and captured a number of prizes, which were mostly carried into Louisburg, a secure point of refuge, owing to its strong fortifications.

New England was speedily alarmed for the safety of her frontier and her commerce, and resolved upon the capture of Louisburg, as the best measure of protection. A majority of one vote, in the legislature of Massachusetts, was cast in favour of the expedition. Governor Shirley had already solicited aid from

\* The French had established themselves here after being driven from Nova Scotia, and strongly fortified Louisburg, its principal settlement, situated on an excellent harbour. The works were destroyed after it came into the acknowledged possession of the British at the peace of 1763.

England, and the other colonies were now appealed to. New York sent a small supply of artillery, Pennsylvania gave provisions, Connecticut raised 516 militia, New Hampshire 304, while the forces levied by Massachusetts exceeded 3,000 volunteers. Assistance was asked from Commodore Warren, then at Antigua, but on a consultation with the captains of his squadron, it was resolved, in the absence of orders from England, not to engage in the expedition.

A merchant, William Pepperell of Maine, was appointed to the chief command, and counselled by Shirley to see that the fleet arrived together at a precise hour, to land the troops in the dark, and take the town and fort by surprise. The ice from Cape Breton was drifting in such quantities as rendered farther progress dangerous, and the fleet was detained many days at Canseau, where it was joined by Warren, who had in the meantime received orders from England to render all the aid possible to Massachusetts.

An hour after sunrise, on the 29th of April, the armament, in a hundred vessels of New England, large and small, came in sight of Louisburg, defended by 163 guns and six mortars, and a garrison of 600 regular troops and 900 militia. On the other hand, the men of New England had only eighteen cannon and three mortars; but no sooner did they come in sight of the town, than letting down their whale boats they boldly pulled to the shore, and drove the French, who came to oppose their landing, into the woods. That night the garrison of a detached battery, struck with panic, spiked their guns and retreated into the town. It was promptly seized by the besiegers, who soon drilled out the cannon, and turned them on the French works. But this success was counterbalanced by the defeat of a night attack on a battery commanding the entrance to the harbour.

To annoy this battery earthworks were thrown up, and guns placed in position to play on it; while, at the same time, trenches were opened within two hundred yards of the town. Still no breach was effected, and the labours of the garrison were making the works stronger than ever. It was now agreed that the fleet should run in and bombard the town, while the land force entered it by storm, a desperate project which soon became unnecessary.—Duchambon, the commandant, was ignorant of his duties, and the garrison discontented. A French man-of-war, laden with troops and stores, was decoyed into the English fleet, and captured in sight of the beleaguered town. This occurrence completely disheartened its defenders. The desponding governor sent out a flag of truce, terms of capitulation were signed, Louisburg was surrendered with all its munitions of war on the 17th of June, and a New England minister soon preached in the French chapel. With Louisburg the whole island passed into the hands of the British. When intelligence reached Boston that the strongest fortress in North America had fallen before the undisciplined mechanics, the farmers, and the fishermen, of New England, the town bells rung out a merry peal, and the people were almost beside themselves with joy.

The news of the capture of Louisburg created not a little annoyance at the French court, which for the moment vented its spleen by the recall of Beauharnois, and the appointment of his successor in the Admiral La Jonquiere, an old man of sixty years of age. Orders, at the same time, were given for the equipment of an extensive armament to recapture Louisburg, and lay waste the British colonies. This fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirty smaller vessels, was ready for sea by the beginning of May; but contrary winds detained it in the harbour of Rochelle till the 22nd of June, when it sailed for Nova Scotia. It was expected that the French inhabitants of that province, now amounting to 14,000, would declare for the expedition on its arrival, which De Ramsay, with 700 Canadians from Quebec, anxiously awaited on its borders.

The fleet was, however, but a short time at sea when it was separated by storms, and only a few of the ships arrived together at Chebucto harbour, which had been appointed as the rendezvous. Here, on the 16th of September, four days after his arrival, the Admiral of the fleet, the Duke de Anville, died of apoplexy. A council of war was now called, at which the Vice-Admiral proposed returning to France, as only seven ships remained, and the greater part of the troops were on board the missing vessels. Governor La Jonquiere, who was with the fleet, on his way to Canada, opposed this course, and proposed an attack on Annapolis, to which the majority of the council agreed. The Vice-Admiral, whose health was already failing, was so disturbed by the determination of the council that he was thrown into a fever attended with delirium, and ran himself through with his sword.—La Jonquiere succeeded to the command, and sailed out to attack Annapolis; but a violent storm separating his ships, he was compelled to return to France.

These disasters did not, however, discourage the French court, and a fresh armament was directed to be equipped for the attack of the British colonies, the command of which was intrusted to La Jonquiere. With this fleet sailed another from Brest, which was to act against the British settlements in India. The English ministry, apprised of these measures, despatched Admirals Anson and Warren to intercept both fleets. This they effectually accomplished off Cape Finisterre, on the Galician coast, where they captured all the enemy's line-of-battle ships, and nine of the convoy. A considerable quantity of bullion fell into the hands of the victors, and the gratitude of their sovereign raised Anson to the peerage, and decorated Warren with the ribbon of the Bath.—As Admiral La Jonquiere was among the numerous captives who graced the victory of the British fleet, the Count de la Galissoniere was appointed Governor of Canada until his exchange could be effected.

Meanwhile a bitter frontier war continued to be waged. The force from Quebec, under Ramsay, disembarked at Beaubassin, in

the Bay of Fundy, and was heartily welcomed by the Acadians. A despatch from the Duke de Anville led Ramsay to invest Annapolis, but the news of the disasters to the French fleet caused him to retire to Beaubassin, where he took up his winter quarters.—Shirley sent a force of 500 militia to hold him in check, and hinder the Acadians from joining him, which took post at Grand Pre, on the opposite side of the bay. In the following February Ramsay surprised the New England men in their camp ; and either killed or captured their entire force. Beginning with the autumn of 1745, the Canadians and their Indian allies, in twenty-seven successive raids, cruelly ravaged the frontiers of New England and New York. Rigaud captured Fort Massachusetts, and devastated the country for fifty miles beyond. St. Luc won an important victory at Clinton ; Saratoga was captured and its people massacred ; and the frontier line from New England to Albany was entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, who had to flee for their lives to the larger settlements in the interior.

Meanwhile Europe had grown weary of the bloody struggle, and negotiations for peace were opened in the autumn of 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle. They were unusually tedious ; but the treaty was at last signed on the 7th of October. The chief parties to it were Great Britain, Holland and Austria, on one hand ; and France and Spain, on the other. All the preceding great treaties, from that of Westphalia in 1648, to the treaty of Vienna in 1738, were renewed and confirmed. In accordance with its stipulations all territory captured by the British and French during the war was surrendered. To the disgust of the New Englanders Cape Breton again became French territory, and their fisheries and border settlements, on the coast, were now as unprotected as ever. France had suffered severely, however, in the contest. Her land forces were greatly weakened, her fleets destroyed, and her finances reduced to a most unsatisfactory state. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was merely a truce, and especially so as regarded North America, where hostilities only ceased for a brief space.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE LA GALISSONIERE.

NATURE denied to Count de la Galissoniere a commanding stature, or a handsome person, but in lieu of these it had given him abilities of a high order. No sooner had he established himself in his government, than his active mind led him 1747. to acquire a just knowledge of the climate of the Colony—of its population, its agriculture, and its commerce. He quickly perceived the advantages France must derive from the continued possession and extension of Canada, and proposed the adoption of a system, which, if properly carried out, must have prevented for many years, at all events, its conquest by the British. He urged the French court to send out a good engineer to construct fortifications from Detroit to the Mississippi, and to colonise the west with ten thousand of the peasantry of France. This course would have effectually restricted the British colonies to the seaboard eastward of the Alleghany mountains. Its partial adoption only awakened their jealousy, and paved the way for the conquest of Canada.

Galissoniere judging that a peace would soon be established, and sensible of the importance, in the meantime, of giving well-defined boundaries to Canada, with the view to prevent future disputes and support the pretensions of France, despatched an intelligent officer, and a force of three hundred men, to take possession of the vast country west of the Alleghany Mountains, which he desired to establish as the boundary of the Anglo-American plantations, and beyond which he denied their having just claims. This officer was also directed to use his influence with the western Indian allies of the French to induce them to accompany him, in order to give a colour of justice, so far as they were concerned, to his conduct ; and further, to get them to promise, if possible, not to admit any English traders in future into their country. Leaden plates, on which the arms of France were stamped, were ordered to be buried at different points, as evidence that the district had been duly taken possession of, while notarial documents were to be drawn up

on each occasion, to record, beyond dispute, the priority of French sovereignty. The count sent a letter to Hamilton, the governor of Pennsylvania, apprising him of these measures, and requesting him in future to prevent his people from passing beyond the Alleghanies, as he had received orders from his government to seize any British merchants found trading in a region incontestably belonging to France, and to confiscate their goods.

The Treaty of Utrecht confirmed Acadia, or Nova Scotia, to Great Britain ; and, as it was supposed at the time, New Brunswick and part of the present State of Maine as well ; an interpretation, however, to which France, on second thought, demurred, and thus laid the foundation for a serious boundary dispute. That treaty, also, provided that such of the French inhabitants as were desirous to remain in the country were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion ; and that those who wished to leave it within a year, should be permitted to carry their personal property with them. At the end of that term, all those who had decided to remain must take the oath of allegiance to the British crown. The Acadians, who had made a pleasant country for themselves, especially along the Bay of Fundy, and the wilderness to blossom as the rose, declined, as a rule, to leave their homes ; and, if left to themselves, would have made good and honest subjects of their new sovereign. But the French authorities were most desirous to prevent this result, with the view of ulterior advantages in the event of another war with England ; and found willing agents to further their plans in the priests, mostly Jesuits, sent down to the Acadians from Quebec. These priests soon filled the minds of their flocks, who were alike simple and ignorant, with bitterness and disaffection ; and thus made them unwilling to take the oath of allegiance, without qualifications which in reality rendered it worthless. The British authorities at Annapolis, as well as the Home Government, were extremely anxious to treat the Acadians with every indulgence, although holding them in some measure responsible for the repeated attacks, which had been made on the recent English settlements by the Micmac and Abenaki Indians, urged on by French political agents. After the long period of seventeen years had elapsed the Acadians were, with much difficulty, at last induced to sign an oath recognising George II. as their sovereign, and promising him fidelity and obedience. But they were even then as illiterate as they were simple, and as few of them could write they affixed their crosses to the affidavit of allegiance. But despite this pledge of fealty, many of the Acadians still remained French at heart, hated the heretic English, as they had been taught to do by their priests ; and when the war of 1745 broke out, these malcontents either openly took up arms against their sovereign, or actively aided the enemy with information and supplies. Still, as a large part of the Acadians had remained neutral during that war, they were not, as a community, subjected to any punishment, and were left in undisturbed possession of their

farms. In 1748 they numbered in all nearly thirteen thousand souls, divided into six parishes, of which Annapolis was the largest and most important. Their priests were wholly under the control of the French Bishop of Quebec, and were, nevertheless, generously permitted by the British authorities to assume the magisterial as well as the spiritual function—to rule their flocks for this world as well as the next.

When it is recollected that, at this time, the British population in all Nova Scotia only embraced the garrisons of Annapolis and some seven small detached posts, with a few settlers and traders, and scarcely numbering twelve hundred souls all told, the great difficulty of their position will be best understood. They had, on the one hand, to watch the Acadians, largely tainted with disaffection, and, on the other, to keep the prowling bands of hostile savages, ready to rob and even murder at every opportunity, at bay.

Such was the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in Nova Scotia when Galissoniere, disappointed in procuring an extensive 1748. emigration from France, conceived the design of withdrawing the Acadians from under British rule, and forming them into a new colony on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Knowing the attachment of many of these people to their priests, he considered the latter the proper instruments to effect his object, and readily induced Le Loutre, the Bishop of Quebec's vicar general of Acadia, and several others, to persuade them to quit British territory. The Governor had soon the satisfaction of learning the success of his plans. Appealing to them as Frenchmen and Catholics, Le Loutre speedily induced several families to quit their Acadian homes, and join a settlement near the Bay Verte, which his zeal had already established. He found a willing assistant in Bigot, the 14th and last intendant of Canada, who this year came out from France.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisburg to France, which speedily commenced preparations to make it stronger and more formidable than ever. The British government accordingly determined to secure its position in Nova Scotia, by creating, 1749. on its southern coast, at Chebucto, a strong military station : and thither, in the month of June, came a fleet of transports, laden with immigrants representing various industrial classes, and not a few half-pay officers and discharged soldiers ; all alike tempted by offers of free land and a home of their own in the New World. Including women and children they counted in all some twenty-five hundred souls, In the same fleet, also, came out Colonel Edward Cornwallis, a brave and prudent young officer, who had been appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia. Under his directions the work of settlement was commenced in the most vigorous manner. Before summer had ended the streets of the new Halifax, looking forth on one of the finest harbours in the world, were laid out, and the building lots

surveyed and assigned to their owners ; and when winter set in the inhabitants were all under comfortable though rude shelter.—The little town was securely protected by stout wooden palisades and redoubts, with the troops withdrawn from Louisburg, on its surrender, to garrison the works.

France regarded with a jealous eye this new and formidable British station, founded so rapidly and successfully ; but Galissoniere vainly hoped that the colony of Acadian refugees he was forming would lessen the danger of its neighbourhood. He laid his plans before the French ministry, who warmly indorsed them, and readily responded to his demand for a fund to enable him to carry them out, by an annual grant of eight hundred thousand livres. But while busily engaged in the execution of these schemes, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had restored La Jonquiere to liberty, when, by virtue of his commission, he proceeded to Canada to take possession of its government. Before Galissoniere sailed for France he furnished his successor with the fullest information respecting the Colony, and minutely detailed the plans which he conceived to be most beneficial for its advancement and prosperity.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIERE.

La Jonquiere did not pursue the course adopted by his predecessor, in reference to the Acadians, as he considered it would most conduce to the benefit of the Colony to avoid any act which might lead to a new war. He supposed, too, that the limits of Nova Scotia, left unsettled by the recent peace, and still a source of grave dispute, would be duly arranged by the commissioners to be appointed for that purpose. This moderate course ought to have met with general approval ; yet so little was it relished by the ministers of Louis, that the Governor was reprimanded for not carrying out the plans of his predecessor, which he was now directed to pursue forthwith. In addition, he was instructed to take immediate possession of the Acadian isthmus with a sufficient body of troops, to build forts at the most favourable points, and to give every assistance to the Abbe Le Loutre in winning over the Acadians, and inducing them to again place themselves and their fortunes under the French flag.

Cornwallis saw clearly the adverse direction that matters were now assuming, as regarded the Acadians, and that prompt measures were necessary to preserve them in their allegiance. Nearly twenty-two years had elapsed since they had sworn fealty to the British Crown, and, in the meantime, a new generation had grown up to manhood, and in many cases had even reached to middle age, who had assumed no legal citizen responsibility, and who had learned to regard the authorities with such scant respect, that they refused to pay their moderate grain rents, or to take titles for the

additional lands, which, from time to time, they saw fit to occupy. Cornwallis accordingly determined that a new state of things should now be inaugurated ; and, on the 10th of August, issued an order to the effect, that if the Acadians remained faithful subjects of Great Britain they would still be guaranteed the free exercise of their religion. Their priests, before exercising their functions, must swear fidelity to the crown. The Acadians would have to pledge themselves, the order continued, to defend their homes, their lands, and the government ; and take the oath of allegiance before officers to be sent to them for that purpose. The response to this order was a document, signed with the marks of over a thousand persons, stating that they would not accept the required oath, unless themselves and their heirs were exempted from taking up arms either against the French or the Indians.

La Jonquiere promptly apprised the French government of this condition of matters, and declared that every effort would now be made by him to carry out his instructions, to get the Acadians out of the hands of the English, and to disgust and tire out the latter by constant Indian attacks, secretly directed so as not to compromise himself or his officers in any way. Bigot also wrote to the French minister, telling how effectually Le Loutre was using the Micmacs of his missionary charge in harassing the new settlement at Halifax ; and that he, himself, was sending these Indians powder, lead and presents, "to confirm them in their good designs."\* And the French minister in response writes to Desherbiers, commanding at Louisburg, that his master, the king, was well satisfied with what had been done, and urging him to do all the secret mischief possible to the English ; but, at the same time, "to treat their authorities with the greatest politeness."

But the most active and unscrupulous of all the secret foes of the British, at this period, was the Jesuit father, Le Loutre, a man full of a boundless egotism, and an insatiable ambition to dominate over his fellow men. His fanaticism stopped at nothing. With him "the end justified the means," in the most extreme sense ; and to crown all he bitterly hated the English. He ruled the Acadians with a rod of iron ; and this simple and superstitious people, believing he held the keys of heaven and hell in his hand, and that opposition to him could only peril their souls, trembled before him. At the same time, his position as the bishop's vicar general, independent of his great influence with the French minister, enabled him to effectually bully the parish priests into adopting his methods ; while the alternative of removal, should they refuse to carry them out, was used as an additional lever to compel their obedience. Not content with exercising a spiritual tyranny, of the most exacting kind, over the unfortunate Acadians, and even threatening, at times, to consign them to perdition by refusing them the sacraments of their faith, Le Loutre terrified them into obedience,

\* Parkman's, *Montcalm and Wolf* vol. i. p. 100.



from a temporal stand-point, by declaring that he would set his Indians (whom he held like bloodhounds in a leash) upon them, to burn and murder, should they refuse submission to his will.

No wonder that with all these sinister influences, operating against them and upon them, the Acadians refused to take the oath of allegiance, that they became largely tainted with disloyalty, that they presently flocked in crowds to place themselves under the French flag, and that, disguised as Indians, at the instigation of La Jonquiere and his subordinates, they frequently led bands of savages to murder, and burn, and plunder, in the English settlements. Cornwallis soon discovered that it was the clergy who chiefly stirred up their flocks to revolt, and to refuse the oath of allegiance. "Was it you," he angrily wrote the Bishop of Quebec, "who sent Le Loutre as a missionary to the Micmacs, and is it for their good that he excites these wretches to practise cruelty against those who have shown them every kindness. The conduct of the priests of Acadia has been such, that by command of his majesty I have published an order, declaring that if any of them presumes to exercise his functions without my express permission, he shall be dealt with according to the laws of England."\* To remedy the disorder caused by the French priests in Acadia, the idea was now conceived of replacing them by others to be named by the Pope, at the request of the British government, which greatly alarmed Le Loutre and his friends.

Such was the unsettled state of affairs on the Canadian seaboard, when La Jonquiere, in pursuance of the orders from his government, despatched the Chevalier de la Corne to Acadia to choose a site for a fort. He fixed on Chediac as being advantageously situated for receiving supplies from Canada, as well as from France.—The Governor and Le Loutre, however, disapproved of this location as being too distant from the Acadian settlements; and it was resolved to erect one fort near the mouth of the St. John, and another on the north side of the Messagouche, opposite the village of Chignecto, now called Fort Lawrence.

Cornwallis had already made repeated remonstrances, to the Canadian Governor, respecting the course pursued by Le Loutre towards the Acadians, and the occupation of the isthmus, to which very little attention was paid. Believing that the boundaries would be amicably defined, he was loath to proceed to extremities, and the abbe had accordingly been allowed to pursue his insidious course without interruption. No sooner, however, had La Corne appeared on the isthmus with a force of 1,100 French and Indians, and avowed his intention of erecting a fort on the Messagouche, than Cornwallis resolutely determined to maintain the boundaries of Nova Scotia intact. The French, at the beginning of winter, had occupied the village of Chignecto, and compelled the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to their king, but still nothing

\* Cornwallis to Bishop of Quebec, Dec. 1st, 1749.

could be done towards expelling them till spring. Cornwallis was not idle in the interval. The Home Government was duly 1750. advised of what had occurred, and he solicited Massachusetts for aid to expel the intruders, but met with an unfavourable answer. Thrown upon his own resources, he could only muster four hundred men to check French aggression on his government.—These arrived off the *Messagouche* on the evening of the 20th April. La Corne had already withdrawn to the north side of the river, after inducing as many as possible of the Acadians, by threats and promises, to accompany him. Still, several of the inhabitants of Chignecto clung to their homes, and refused to leave their fertile farms. The French officer, the man of blood, pitied and allowed them to remain. Not so with the Abbe Le Loutre.—No sooner had the British appeared in the offing, than with his own hands he sacrilegiously applied the torch to the village church, and the flames rapidly spreading from house to house with the aid of his fellow-incendiaries, the homeless and desponding people had no alternative but to proceed to the French camp ; and thus by one artifice or another, some four thousand of the Acadians were led to place themselves under the French flag, and suffered no small hardship, and in some cases the greatest misery, in consequence.\*

Major Lawrence, who commanded the force from Halifax, had an interview as speedily as possible with La Corne, and found him resolutely resolved to retain possession of every post, north of the *Messagouche*, until the boundaries of the two countries should be arranged by commissioners. The French held a strong position ; the small British force was far too weak to dislodge them ; so Lawrence had no course open but to return. From Halifax news soon spread that the French held possession of British soil, that they had burned a British town, and had incited the Acadians to acts of treason. The New England colonies heard the news with little emotion, but in England it awoke some angry feeling, and the Earl of Halifax effectually insisted that Cornwallis should receive aid.

In August a second expedition left Halifax to retake Chignecto. Le Loutre exerted his influence with the Indians and the Acadian refugees to oppose its landing, and La Corne covertly supplied them with arms and ammunition. Strongly intrenched they swept the beach with a steady fire as the British landed, and six of the latter killed and twelve wounded, proved, although few in number, how resolutely they fought. The French had erected forts at the Bay Verte, at St. John's River, and at Beau-Sejour. At the latter fort was La Corne's head-quarters, and here he had a fresh interview with Lawrence. "My orders," said the French officer, "do not permit of my crossing the river, and there is plenty of room at the other side for you." The English officer took the hint, and Fort

\* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. p. 214. Bancroft's Hist. U. S. (Lon.) vol. iii. p. 48.

Lawrence arose on the opposite bank of the Messagouche, both commanders remaining in peaceable possession of their respective posts till the next war.

But these were not the only events which bred bad blood between the British and French in this part of the world. An armed sloop was despatched from Quebec to St. John's River, with stores for the garrison there, the captain of which was ordered to avoid all British vessels, but if attacked to defend himself to the last extremity. Rouse, in the *Albany*, encountered the French vessel off Cape Sable, captured her after a short action, and took her into Halifax, where she was condemned by the admiralty court, on the ground that she was taking supplies to an unlawful military post. French anger knew no bounds at this indignity, and the small cloud of war, already rising on the horizon, began to expand.

In the far west occurrences were also transpiring which threatened the renewal of hostilities. Despite the claims so positively asserted by Galissoniere, with respect to French 1751. sovereignty beyond the Alleghanies, the governors of the British colonies continued to grant permission to their merchants to trade with the Indians of the Ohio. This trade La Jonquiere was instructed to interrupt as far as possible, and he accordingly had three of these merchants seized, and brought prisoners to Montreal, whither also their goods were forwarded. They were examined by a commissioner, and closely questioned as to their commerce with the western Indians, when they were discharged.

This high-handed exercise of authority created considerable surprise and indignation among the British colonists, and was looked upon by them as being still more hostile, from the fact that commissioners had already been appointed by the French and English governments to settle the boundary disputes. But these functionaries had scarcely commenced their duties at Paris, when they perceived there was little prospect of an amicable arrangement of the questions at issue, and that the sword alone could decide them. The Canadian Governor saw clearly that if a new war occurred the principal struggle would be in America, and he promptly represented to his government, that if it desired to retain the French possessions on the St. Lawrence, troops and warlike stores must be speedily sent out. Nor even with the limited means at his command, was Jonquiere entirely negligent of placing the defences of the Colony in a better position. A French schooner once more clave the waters of Ontario, and he endeavoured, so far as his insatiable avarice would permit, to have the forts at Frontenac, Toronto and Niagara kept in repair. He endeavoured, also, to weaken the attachment of the Iroquois to the British ; and, through the Jesuit missionaries, always ready and eager to become political agents, tampered so successfully with the Mohawks, that it required all the influence of Sir William Johnson to prevent them from openly attaching themselves to the French.

In order to still more effectually weaken the influence of the

British authorities with the Oneida and Onondaga tribes, it was now determined to erect a military post and a mission station on the south side of the St. Lawrence, some sixty miles below Fort Frontenac. Here the La Presentation, or the Oswegatchie as it is now called, flowed into the St. Lawrence ; and a bold headland, at the junction of the two rivers, presented a most admirable site for a fort. The Oswegatchie had long been a favourite route for the Iroquois when descending from their hunting grounds amid the upper Adirondacks to the Lake of the Thousand Islands, and to the country beyond it then, as now, remarkable for its beautiful lakelets, its teeming fishing grounds, and its game. A post, accordingly, at its mouth would form a most convenient rendezvous for the central Iroquois tribes when passing to and from the valley of the St. Lawrence. At the same time, the situation could not be better for an agricultural settlement ; while abundance of oak and other large timber, rendered it a most favourable point for the construction of lake vessels and batteaux. There the tranquil current of the mighty St. Lawrence, over a mile in width, flowed gently by, to fret and foam in the rapids a league or so farther on. Westward, towards Fort Frontenac, the Lake of the Thousand Islands slumbered in the resplendent sunshine of a Canadian summer, and presented a primeval scene of marvellous natural beauty on which even the stolid Indian gazed with rapture. To the Abbe Picquet, a Sulpitian father, and the kings' missionary and prefect apostolic to Canada, was due the credit of selecting this admirable site for a new settlement. He was at heart almost as much a soldier as a monk ; and had been among the first to foresee the war with the English which began in 1744. By way of preparation to meet its requirements, he had already organised a half military mission station, composed principally of Indian converts, at the Lake of the Two Mountains. He was thus in a position to give most important aid to his government, in planning, organising and directing various successful military operations on the shores of Lakes George and Champlain. In 1749 he proposed to Galissoniere to found a military post and mission station at the mouth of the Oswegatchie ; and supported his offer by such cogent reasons for its adoption as to strongly influence the Governor in its favour. The king eventually approved of the project ; and, in the month of May, Rouille, the minister of marine, gave La Jonquiere the necessary instructions for its being carried out. The Governor, the intendant, and the bishop left the arrangement of all the details, as well as their execution, to Picquet, who after procuring, from the engineer Lery, a plan of the fort and other buildings, proceeded, on the 4th of May, to the Oswegatchie, accompanied by twenty-five Frenchmen and four Indians. He was soon visited by a number of Iroquois, to whom he explained his plans, of which they highly approved, and agreed to assist him in their execution as soon as they had procured their provisions.

Picquet and his men toiled early and late : and laboured so effec-

tually, that by the 20th of October they had built a palisaded fort covered by a substantial redoubt, a barn, a stable and an oven ; and had also cleared a considerable quantity of land for farming purposes. The abbe soon had the satisfaction of seeing his settlement rapidly increase. It began, in 1749, with six heads of Iroquois families ; in the following year it had eighty-seven ; and three hundred and ninety-six in 1751. Two years afterwards it had become the most important Indian settlement in Canada ; and the villages which sheltered themselves under the guns of Fort La Presentation embraced a population of over three thousand souls, nearly all of whom were Iroquois. In the meantime the fort itself had been greatly strengthened, and now mounted eleven guns.—Such was the first settlement of Ogdensburg.

From Fort La Presentation Picquet made excursions, in every direction, into the Iroquois country ; established the most friendly relations with the several tribes, and succeeded in turning a considerable amount of their trade down the St. Lawrence. He also visited the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and speaks, in his journal, of the considerable traffic which had grown up at Toronto, as it was even then called. But he complains bitterly of the greater cheapness of English goods when compared with those of French manufacture ; and how the Oswego silver bracelets, the product of Huguenot skill, which were sold to the Indians for two beaver skins, were weighed by the Iroquois, and found just as heavy as those offered at the king's posts for ten, while the metal was purer. French brandy, he said, was preferred to the English article ; but that did not prevent the Indians from still trading largely at Oswego. So Picquet longed for the day when the English should be driven from their vantage ground there ; and it came to him at last.

But while Jonquiere was thus careful to provide for the military protection of the Colony, he permitted the grossest abuses to exist in its civil administration. Like the first servants of the English East India Company, the principal officials came to Canada, at this period, to amass fortunes, if possible, and then return home to enjoy them. This they could never accomplish from their salaries alone, which were ridiculously small, and justified in some measure the wholesale peculation so unblushingly practised. An extensive mercantile firm of the present day would pay larger salaries to its confidential assistants than were paid to the dignitaries of Canada at this period. The Governor received for his services an annual stipend of some \$1300 ; out of which he was expected to clothe and pay a guard of twenty-seven soldiers ; while the salaries of the whole civil list did not amount to \$20,000 per annum.\* This public parsimony paved the way for the grossest abuses. La Jonquiere, himself, being of a narrow and excessively avaricious disposition, set the example of official peculation. He kept the nefarious traffic of supplying the Indians with brandy almost wholly in his own hands,

\* Heriot's Travels in Can. p. 78. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. p. 219.



and belonged to a company, consisting chiefly of the higher officials, which monopolised nearly the entire trade of the Colony ; while Bigot, imitating the example of his superior, soon became rich by farming out the principal posts in the Indian country, and by still more questionable methods.

All the government officials at this time appear to have been actuated by the same sordid motives, and we search in vain for purity of public conduct, or honesty of intention. The corrupt morals of the corrupt court of Louis tainted Canadian society to the core, and the condition of things generally offered the most fitting commentary on the evils of unrestrained power, and the blessings of popular constitutional liberty. The Jesuit Le Loutre even went so far, in his greedy thirst for gain, as to commit a cowardly murder to obtain the contract for supplying the post at St. John's river with provisions ; a service he subsequently performed in such a manner as to yield him an enormous percentage, while the supplies were far less than they should be, and of the most inferior quality.\*

La Jonquiere, while subserving his own interests, was not by any means unmindful of those of his blood relations ; and did not hesitate to use his position for their benefit as well as his own.— He caused several of his nephews to come out to Canada, in order that they might enrich themselves under his protection ; and to one of them he gave a seigniory and a monopoly of the fur trade at the Sault St. Marie, while the others were placed in profitable government posts. His grasping disposition, and his nepotism, made him many enemies in the Colony ; among whom were the Jesuits, and with them he presently had a bitter quarrel. Despite repeated royal commands to the contrary, that order still continued, although secretly and in other people's names, to carry on the fur trade ; on the principle, it may be supposed, that evil could be done that good might come. Their object being to make money for the furtherance of their order, and of religion, the end must justify the means ; and so under the name of some elderly maiden ladies, called Desauniers, they bought and sold furs at their Caughnawaga, or Sault St. Louis, mission. From thence, with the aid of their Iroquois converts, familiar with the trade and the road, they shipped, in considerable quantities, beaver skins to Albany, which had been, or were to be, sold to the English merchants there. La Jonquiere, on learning of this illicit traffic, which clashed with his own personal interests, reported the matter to the minister, with the result that a prohibitory royal order was issued, and in obedience thereto he shut up the Desauniers fur concern. The Jesuits were furious, soon learned the true author of their new woes, and La Jonquiere was speedily made to feel the effects of their resentment. They forthwith denounced him to the Home Government ; accusing him of largely monopolising the fur trade of the north-west, and of tyrannising over the traders through his secretary,

\* Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 217.

whom he also permitted to grant licenses to sell liquor to the Indians. They also charged him with giving the most lucrative posts in the Colony to his own relations and personal friends. At the same time, they sent the minister the names of traders and other laymen, who were prepared to prove the truth of all their complaints. La Jonquiere was made aware of these charges, and called upon for his defence. His answer was a pompous enumeration of his many public services, which he averred had been poorly requited, and a demand for his recall. Short as his term of government had been, he had added to his already large fortune, from commerce alone, over a million francs. When too late he saw his mistake in having meddled with the Jesuits, and that he had better left them in the full and peaceable enjoyment of their illicit peltry trade with the Albany people. Their triumph over him was complete ; and he felt it keenly. Between the mortification, and the mental worry, he soon became dangerously ill ; and 1752. died at Quebec, on the 17th of May, in the the sixty-seventh year of his age, before the arrival of his successor. During his last illness his ruling passion of avarice was as strong as ever. He grudged himself the ordinary necessities of life, and on one occasion ordered the wax tapers burning in his bedroom to be changed for tallow candles, "as they were less expensive, and would answer every purpose equally as well." He was buried in the Recollet church, where those of his predecessors who had died in the Colony likewise reposed.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE.

On the death of La Jonquiere, the Baron de Longueil, as the senior officer in the Colony, assumed the reins of government for a brief space till the arrival of the Marquis Duquesne, who had been appointed, on the 1st March, Governor of Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, St. John's, and their dependencies. The marquis was a captain in the French navy, major of Toulon, and possessed considerable ability ; but his manners were austere and haughty, and promised little for his colonial popularity. The Count de Galissoniere, who had procured his appointment, furnished him with the fullest information relative to his duties, and the territorial claims of France ; and thus instructed he landed in August at Quebec, where he was received with the usual honours.

Duquesne's instructions, with respect to the disputed boundaries, were of so positive and aggressive a character, as to leave little room to hope for the continuance of peace. One of his first measures, therefore, was to prepare for war. He formed the militia of Montreal and Quebec into companies, and had them carefully drilled. The militia of the country parishes were likewise organised in the best manner possible, and the regular troops thoroughly disciplined.

While matters on the Nova Scotian frontier gradually assumed a somewhat more peaceable appearance, they became more and more disturbed in the west. Virginia assumed the right to appropriate to her jurisdiction the country extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and the Ohio Company, with her express sanction, was already forming a settlement beyond the mountains. The commandant of Detroit promptly determined on the expulsion of the settlers, and two hundred and forty Indians and thirty French soldiers pushed up the Ohio to capture the company's traders. Six of these had taken refuge among the Indians of a Miami village, who resolutely refused to give them up. An action at once ensued, in which one Englishman and fourteen Miamis were killed.

Intelligence of this affair alarmed Virginia, and Dinwiddie, its governor, made an elaborate report of the aggression to the British Board of Trade, and asked specific instructions to regulate his conduct in resisting the French. George II., thought much more of Hanover than America, and his family had not yet learned to value the colonies; but the Lords of Trade resolved to sustain the claims of Virginia to the valley of the Ohio, and determined on the immediate occupation of the eastern bank of its river. Influenced by their representations, the king, in council, decided that the valley of the Ohio was in the western part of the colony of Virginia, and that the settlement of the French in that quarter was to be resisted as an act of hostility. Still little or nothing was done to place the British colonies in a position to sustain the war, in which it was plain this policy must speedily eventuate.—The mother country was unwilling to incur expenses in extending the possessions of colonists, who, while they already resisted the royal prerogative on many grounds, were perfectly disposed to throw the burden of their defence upon the crown. Each colony, too, was a distinct government, and if its own borders were safe from attack, it gave itself as little trouble as possible about its neighbours. A few guns from the English ordnance stores was all the aid that Virginia received in her present emergency, and the English ministry, reminding her governor of the numerous militia of his province, left to herself the conquest of the west.

But there were many astute minds in the British colonies which saw clearly the impending contest, and were desirous to prepare for any emergency. Kennedy, the receiver-general of New York, urged through the press the necessity of an annual meeting at Albany, or some other central point, of commissioners from all the colonies, to adopt measures for the general welfare. From upwards of forty years' observation of the conduct of provincial assemblies, and the little regard paid by them to instructions from their governors, he inferred that the British Parliament must compel them to pursue this course, and to contribute for the common defence. The clear-headed Franklin, on the other hand, advocated a federal union, voluntarily entered into by the colonists themselves, as preferable to one imposed by Parliament. "It will not

be more difficult to bring about," said he, and "can be more easily altered and improved as circumstances may require and experience direct. It would be a strange thing if six nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages, and appears indissoluble ; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous."\*

Such was the unsatisfactory state of affairs in North America, when the government of Canada was assumed by Duquesne, whose promptitude in carrying out his instructions speedily caused a hostile collision in the west between the British and French. In 1753 the Ohio Company opened a road from Virginia into the Ohio valley, asserted claims to its possession, and established a plantation on Shurtee's Creek, but left it exposed to the wavering jealousy of the red men, and without protection against French encroachment. Duquesne had already been informed of the designs of the Ohio Company, and promptly resolved to anticipate and frustrate them. Early in the spring a strong body of troops and Indians passed upwards from Montreal to reinforce the western posts, and establish forts in the valley of the Ohio.—A hunting party of the Iroquois, on the St. Lawrence, speedily conveyed intelligence of this occurrence to their grand council at Onondaga. The Six Nations were opposed to the French occupation of Ohio, which this force evidently was intended to effect. In eight-and-forty hours relays of Indian runners conveyed the intelligence to Sir William Johnson, and urged him to protect their western allies, the Miamis and the tribes of the Ohio. These were also speedily informed of the approach of danger, and in April their envoy met the French at Niagara, and warned them to turn back. At Erie a fresh messenger desired them to withdraw, but the French commander threw back his belt of wampum in contempt, and told the astonished chief "that the land was his, and that he would have it, let who would stand up against it." True to his word, fortified posts were established at Erie, at Waterford, and at Venango, and preparations made to occupy the banks of the Monongahela and the Ohio.

Dinwiddie now felt that the time had come for decisive action, and he resolved to send "a person of distinction to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio, to know his reasons for invading the British dominions while a solid peace subsisted." The envoy whom he selected for this mission was George Washington, then just twenty-one years of age, who promptly set out on his perilous winter's journey, guided by Christopher Gist, the agent of the Ohio Company, and accompanied by an interpreter and four attendants. On the 29th of November he was present at a council of the

\* The British Parliament subsequently rejected a union of this form, as tending to increase the power of the colonies too much.

Delawares and Shawnees, at which it was agreed to give a third warning to the French to quit their country, and, if they refused, to solicit the aid of the Iroquois to expel them. Washington then proceeded to Venango with the deputies of the Ohio Indians. The French officers there made no secret of the intention to take possession of the Ohio, and intimidated the envoys of the Delawares by boasting of their forts at Waterford and Erie, at Niagara, Toronto, and Cataraqui.

From Venango Washington proceeded to Waterford, where he found Fort Le Bœuf defended by cannon. Around it stood rude log cabins which served as barracks for the soldiers, and close by were fifty bark canoes, and one hundred and seventy boats of pine, prepared for the expedition to the Ohio. The commander, St. Pierre, distinguished for his courage and resolution, refused to discuss the question of the French right of possession. "I am here," said he, "by the orders of my general, to which I shall conform with exactness and resolution. He has ordered me to seize every Englishman in the Ohio valley, and I will do it."

Washington now turned his face homewards towards Virginia. Passing down French Creek, he reached Venango to find his horses weak and unfit to travel. Heedless of a driving storm he pressed forward on foot, and with gun in hand and a pack on his back, and Gist for his sole companion, quitted the usual path the day after Christmas, and steered, with the aid of a compass, the nearest way across the country for the Fork. An Indian, who had waylaid him, fired at him from the distance of fifteen paces, missed him, and became his prisoner. Gist would have killed the assassin, but Washington spared and dismissed him. They travelled all that night and the next day, and not till dark did they think themselves safe enough to sleep. Clearing away the snow the weary wanderers now built a camp fire, and laid down to repose with no shelter but the leafless forest tree. Arrived at the Alleghany they endeavoured to cross its waters on a raft, the result of a day's labour; but before they were half way over, they were caught in the running ice, and carried down the stream. Washington putting out a setting pole to stop the raft, was jerked into the deep water, when they were compelled to make for an island, where they built a fire and dried themselves. The night was intensely cold, so in the morning they crossed the river on the ice; but not till they reached the settlement on Shurtree's Creek were their hardships terminated.

Washington's report was followed by immediate action. The Ohio Company made preparations to build a fort at the Fork, and he was sent to Alexandria to enlist recruits. Governor 1754. Dinwiddie, in the meantime, applied to England and the adjoining colonies for assistance, but received very little help from either one or the other. He persevered in his plans, nevertheless, and sent Washington, now a lieutenant-colonel, to finish the fort begun at the Fork of the Ohio, and to hold it to the last extremity. But while Washington was still on his way



thither, the French, led by Contrecoeur, came down from Venango, drove thirty-three Englishmen, who were working on the fort, away, finished what they had begun, and named it Fort Duquesne. The nearest forest trees were felled and burned ; log cabins covered with bark were built to shelter the troops ; and wheat and maize planted to supply them with food.

An Indian scout of the Mingoes soon apprised Washington of these occurrences, and implored his assistance to expel the French. But his raw recruits had their few cannon to bring on, deep streams to ford, and could only advance very slowly. On the 25th of June another scout brought the intelligence that a party of French were advancing towards them, and advised them to beware. That night this party concealed themselves among rocks, but the sharp eyes of the Mingoes discovered their trail, and brought Washington upon them. They saw the English approach, and sprang to their arms. " Fire," said Washington ; and he raised his own musket to his shoulder and showed his men how to obey the order. An action of about a quarter of an hour's duration ensued, in which ten of the French were killed, and twenty-one taken prisoners.— And thus George Washington struck the first blow in a war which led to the expulsion of France from North America, and paved the way for the independence of the United States. From first to last he was the most conspicuous actor in the drama which altered the relations of civilised humanity.

Contrecoeur, who still commanded at Fort Duquesne, was no sooner made aware of the fate which had befallen his detachment, than he at once assembled his garrison and Indian allies, and incited them to revenge. Washington had already constructed a stockade at Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity, and which he had unwisely placed between two eminences covered with trees. Here he was besieged, on the 3rd of July, by six hundred French and one hundred Indians, who, posted securely behind the trees on the heights, fired from their shelter on the troops beneath. For nine hours, however, did Washington animate his raw recruits to resistance ; nor did he surrender till he had thirty men killed and several wounded, while the French had only lost three of their number. On the 4th of July the English garrison, retaining all their effects, withdrew from the basin of the Ohio ; and westward of the Alleghanies no flag floated but that of France.

Meanwhile, commissioners had assembled at Albany from the colonies north of the Potomac, to adopt measures for the general safety in the approaching war. To this congress were admitted the deputies of the Six Nations, who, indignant at the unseemly squabbles which had so long prevailed, recommended union and action. " Look at the French," bitterly said a Mohawk chief ; " they are fortifying everywhere. But we are ashamed to say you are like women without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." The cautious Iroquois strongly distrusted the result of

the approaching struggle, and fully one half of the Onondagas had already withdrawn and joined the French settlement at Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence. But the commissioners effected little or nothing towards the general defence. Franklin proposed a federal union, which was strongly opposed by other members of the congress, but finally adopted with modifications; yet nothing was done towards the establishment of a general revenue; and it was evident, that without the aid of Great Britain, her American colonies would not be able to drive the French from the Ohio, or share much longer in the commerce of the great lakes. The mother country gave that aid; and who will gainsay that it was not largely repaid with ingratitude?

When the English ministry were apprised of the capture of Fort Necessity, and of the occurrences which had preceded it, they were extremely undecided what course to pursue. Newcastle, the premier, sent pacific assurances to the French ministers, who were now very unwilling to enter into a new war, owing to the empty condition of the treasury, and left the entire conduct of American affairs to the Duke of Cumberland, the commander-in-chief of the British army.\* Fond of war, and covetous of military renown, the latter entered on his new career with eager ostentation. One of his first measures was to appoint Edward Braddock, a major-general, to the chief command of the American army. It proved an unfortunate choice. A martinet in matters of discipline, Braddock was far from being a skilful general; and being of rough manners and despotic temper was wholly unsuited to conciliate the colonists. Nor did the duke apply himself in the least to cultivate their good graces. The idea was foreign to him of a people accustomed to wield fire-arms from boyhood, and he committed the mistake of comparing the backwoodsmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania with the peasantry of England. "He had only confidence," he said, "in regular troops," and directed that the generals and field-officers of the provincial forces should be ranked beneath the royal subalterns. Disgusted at being thus arrogantly spurned Washington retired from the service, and his regiment was broken up.†

Braddock arrived in New York towards the end of February, and one of his first measures was to summon the governors 1755. of the different British colonies to meet him at Alexandria, in Virginia, on the 14th of April, to concert a plan of operations. Four expeditions, as already recommended by the Duke of Cumberland, were there determined on, yet not with the view, it was alleged, of making war on France, but solely to establish the British interpretation of the boundary disputes. Lawrence,

\* Lord Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 72.

† From the positions subsequently held by many of the colonial officers, and by Washington among the rest, it is evident that this order was never strictly carried out. Even Braddock saw its folly, and gave Washington a post on his own staff.

now lieutenant-governor of Nova-Scotia, was to drive the French from the Isthmus and St. John's River ; William Johnson was to conduct an army of provincial militia and Indians against Crown Point ; General Shirley, still governor of Massachusetts, proposed to win laurels by the capture of Niagara, while Braddock, himself, was to recover the Ohio valley and the north-west.

The departure of Braddock from England with two regiments of the line alarmed the French court, despite the pacific assurances of Newcastle, and it was determined to send out additional troops to Canada. The French fleet sailed from Brest in the month of April, and the English ministry, although no declaration of war had yet taken place, resolved to have its motions watched by a competent force. For this purpose Admiral Boscawen sailed from Plymouth with eleven sail of the line, and encountered three of the French fleet off the Banks of Newfoundland, two of which, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, were captured ; the third, being a good sailer, made her escape. The remainder of the French fleet, favoured by a fog, arrived in due time at Quebec. It brought out a new governor, in the person of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the son of the former governor of that name, and a Canadian by birth, who was well acquainted with the Colony, where he had served in the army for several years. Duquesne had already resigned, being desirous to resume his post in the navy.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

The arrival of Vaudreuil was gladly hailed by the Canadian people, who hoped to enjoy under his rule the same prosperity and peace which had characterised his father's government. But in this respect they were sadly deceived. The new Governor was too familiar with the corrupt manners of the day, to resist the sinister influences by which he was speedily surrounded on his arrival. For the preceding two years many of the inhabitants had been engaged in military expeditions in various quarters, their lands had, therefore, been left uncultivated, and they were now threatened with famine. The company which had monopolised the trade of the Colony during La Jonquiere's government was still in existence, and had Bigot for its chief shareholder and manager. His official position made him almost the superior of the Governor, whose principal functions were to represent the king and command the troops ; whereas the intendant directed financial and trade affairs, the department of justice, and the other branches of the civil administration. It will thus be seen, at a glance, that his power was very great, and, in a country where no public press existed, almost without restraint. Of easy and agreeable manners ; of great official experience, industrious, energetic, generous to his friends, free-handed, fond of social enjoyment, and exceedingly hospitable, Bigot won supporters for himself in every direction, thus secured his position from assault, and made his astounding peculations and official

knavery possible. He lived in great state in Quebec, the social centre of its lax and gay society, where he usually entertained a score of persons every day to dinner, gave numerous balls, and indulged in the most desperate gambling—the scourge of the Colony. But while he kept on the best possible terms with Vaudreuil and his immediate subordinates, Bigot also managed to secure, at the French court, solid support for himself among influential persons, with whom he shared the nefarious profits of his company. To make himself certain that all was safe in that quarter, he visited France in 1755, returned to Canada with the assurance that no danger need be apprehended, and then proceeded to plunder the crown with more audacity than ever. Under the name of Claverie, a trader, he established huge stores at Quebec and Montreal, where he sold goods at retail to the citizens at enormous profits, and supplied his own favourites and the king at wholesale. Rich furs belonging to his master were disposed of at low prices to his friends; and every other fraud possible was unblushingly practised. Foremost among his agents for cheating the crown was Joseph Cadet, the son of a Quebec butcher, who after various adventures by sea and land, in the humblest positions, took up his father's trade with success. Bigot found in him a ready and expert instrument of plunder; got him appointed, in 1756, commissary general, and then made a contract with him for government supplies, which presented every facility for fraud. In the next two years Cadet and his associates sold to the king, for twenty-three million francs, provisions that had cost them only eleven millions. At the same time the most astounding frauds were practised, with regard to the supplies issued to the various military posts, whose commanding officers were frequently bribed to give receipts for articles which had never been received. A great part of the supplies granted for the use of the Indians never reached them, being stolen on the way, so that many officers commanding frontier posts speedily amassed fortunes by this description of fraud. “Why is it,” asked Bougainville, “that of all which the king sends to the Indians two-thirds are stolen, and the rest sold to them instead of being given.” And at a later period (April 12th, 1759) Montcalm wrote to the minister of war, Marshall de Belle-Isle, complaining bitterly of the universal corruption that prevailed. “It would seem,” he said, “that every one is in hot haste to realise a fortune before the Colony is quite lost to France. Several perhaps wish that the ruin may be total, so that all recorded evidence of their peculations may be covered up by its wrecks.”

But not content with robbing the government in every possible way, and on every favourable occasion, Bigot and his company now proceeded to plunder the people. Perceiving the likelihood of a scarcity, this company had bought up large quantities of flour, which they sold back to the people again at an immense advance, and even sought to increase the price of food, and consequently

their own profits, by procuring the shipment of wheat to the West India Islands. Nor was this the only way in which the people suffered. Bigot also connived at the robbery of farmers in the most shameful manner. He issued an ordinance to compel them to sell their grain at a low fixed price, under the pretence that they had caused the scarcity, and then sent his creature, Cadet, through the country to enforce it. The latter scoured the settlements in every direction, and took the grain by force when the inhabitants declined to sell it. Numerous complaints were made against him ; but the intendant refused to hear them, and referred the parties to a member of the company, who threatened them with imprisonment if they did not keep quiet ; which the helpless people were thus compelled to do.\* Such was the degrading and unfortunate condition of the inhabitants of Canada at this period. With famine already afflicting them, they were now threatened with the miseries of war, and suffered, in addition, all the evils of a most corrupt administration.

On the 5th of May, Braddock joined the main body of his army near Fort Cumberland, and found himself at the head of a force of two thousand three hundred men, which embraced the 44th and 48th regiments of the line, with twelve pieces of artillery. Here, owing to the want of carriages, horses and provisions, he was detained till the 10th of June, when he pushed forward towards Fort Duquesne. Learning on the way that its garrison expected speedy reinforcements, he selected twelve hundred men and ten guns, and pushed boldly on through the solitudes of the Alleghanies. Colonel Dunbar, with the rest of the army and the heavy baggage, followed as he best might. Braddock's march was conducted in the most careless manner, and the remonstrances of his officers only made him the more obstinate. Washington, who commanded some companies of Virginian militia, and acted as his aid-de-camp, pressed his objections to this course so warmly, that the irritated chief ordered him and his men to undertake the inglorious duties of the rear-guard.

Contrecoeur, who still commanded at Fort Duquesne, had received early information of all Braddock's movements from his faithful Indian scouts, and detached Beaujeau, on the morning of the 9th of July, with two hundred and fifty soldiers and six hundred Indians, to occupy a defile six miles distant. Before, however, Beaujeau had fully completed the disposition of his force, the appearance of the British vanguard brought on an engagement. Its flanking parties were speedily driven in by a deadly fire from an almost unseen enemy. Braddock promptly advanced the 44th regiment to succour the front, and endeavoured to deploy that corps upon the open ground ; but a deadly fire from the thick covert swept away the head of every formation. Panic-stricken by the wild war-whoop of the Indians, which they had never before

\* Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 235-239.



heard, and the disorder in their front, the 44th staggered and hesitated. Its colonel, Sir Peter Halket, and his son, a lieutenant, were now shot dead, side by side, while cheering them on. Meantime, the artillery instinctively pushed forward without any orders, and plied the thickets in front with grape and canister, but in a few minutes all the officers and most of the gunners were lying killed or wounded. The broken remnant of the advanced guard now fell back upon the disordered line of the 44th, and threw it into utter confusion. Again and again did Braddock, with useless courage, endeavour to induce the 44th to present a firm front to the enemy; but this luckless corps, fated to be massacred at a subsequent period in Afghanistan, were seized with uncontrollable terror, lost all order, and fell back in a crowd on the 48th, now advancing to their aid under Colonel Burton. With these fresh troops Braddock endeavoured to restore the battle, and made several desperate efforts to get possession of a hill, from whence a body of French poured down a most destructive fire; but trees and rocks disordered his well drilled ranks, which were also cut up repeatedly by the flanking fire of the Indians. Lacking the qualities of the general, his valour was useless; the carnage increased, and after having five horses shot under him, a bullet shattered his arm, and passed through his lungs. He felt his defeat keenly, and desired to be left to perish on the field; but Colonel Gage placed him in a waggon, and hurried him to the rear.

The remnant of the 44th and 48th now broke and fled in the utmost disorder, leaving the artillery and baggage in the hands of the French, and, what was still worse, their wounded to be scalped and murdered by the Indians. Washington, with his Virginian companies, who had borne but little share in the action, held the banks of the Monongahela till the fugitives had crossed over, and retired himself in tolerable order. All night did that panic-stricken army fly, and the following evening joined the force which had been left behind under Colonel Dunbar, full fifty miles from the scene of the action. Still the retreat was continued, Braddock's sufferings hourly increasing till his death, which took place on the third day from his defeat. Shortly before he expired he dictated a despatch, assuming full responsibility for his disaster, acquitting his officers from all blame, and recommending them to the favour of his country.

Fully three-fourths of the small army Braddock had taken into action were killed, wounded, or missing, including sixty-four officers. Fifty-four women had accompanied the troops, and of these only four escaped alive from the dangers and hardships of the expedition. The French, on the other hand, only lost their commander, De Beaujeau, and sixty men, in this astonishing victory, while the loss of their Indian allies was still less in proportion.\*

\* Russell's *Modern Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 444, 445. Bancroft's *Hist. United States*, vol. iii. pp. 129-136.

On Braddock's death Colonel Dunbar assumed the chief command, and continued the retreat in the most disgraceful haste upon Fort Cumberland. Leaving two militia companies to strengthen its garrison, he pursued his march to Philadelphia, despite the earnest entreaties of the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, not to leave their western frontiers unprotected.—From Philadelphia, the remains of the army, sixteen hundred strong, were shipped to Albany by the order of General Shirley, of Massachusetts, now commander-in-chief.

While these disastrous events, which left the French flag floating triumphantly in the valley of the Ohio, were in progress, Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, was busily engaged in making preparations to drive the enemy from his province. Nine thousand Acadians still remained at their old homes, where they had been permitted to stay notwithstanding their persistent refusal to take the oath of allegiance. But, from the causes already pointed out, they were all more or less tainted with disaffection, refused to sell the English garrisons provisions unless at the most exorbitant prices, and constantly smuggled supplies to the French posts across the line. Disguised as Micmacs some of the more hostile amongst them, on several recent occasions, had robbed and even murdered English settlers. And now that a new war was sure to come, a French invasion of Nova Scotia was more than likely ; and there could be little doubt that should a hostile squadron appear in the Bay of Fundy, with a sufficient force of troops on board, all the Acadians along its shores would rise in arms. In that event their emigrant relations, now clustering around Beau-Sejour, and the other adjacent French posts, and who had recently been well drilled and armed, would speedily re-cross the Messagouche to their aid. Louisburg now growing stronger than ever was close at hand ; help also could soon come down the St. Lawrence from Quebec ; and the English, under a combined movement of this formidable character, must be driven out of Nova Scotia. Duquesne, before he surrendered the government of the Colony, had considered a project of this description ; and wrote to Le Loutre to devise with De Vergor, commanding at Beau-Sejour, some plan for a vigorous attack on the English posts. The British authorities gauged the danger of the situation correctly. " We should anticipate them," said General Shirley, in a letter from Boston, to the governor at Halifax ; " and strike the first blow." And presently he and Lawrence planned how they should strike it. Two regiments of volunteers were speedily raised in New England, and their commands given to Winslow and Scott, militia officers. On the 22nd of May a fleet, consisting of forty sloops and schooners, sailed out of Boston harbour with these regiments and some other troops on board. A favourable voyage of four days' duration brought the expedition safely to Annapolis ; and, after some necessary delay there, it found itself, on the 1st of June, within five miles of the hill of Beau-Sejour ; and there cast anchor. At

two o'clock, next morning, Vergor first heard the news of the near approach of danger from some peasants, and in great alarm sent a messenger to Louisburg for help, and ordered all the fighting men of the Acadians and the Indians in the neighborhood, numbering altogether about thirteen hundred, to repair at once to the fort, already garrisoned by one hundred and sixty regulars. On the morning of the 2nd, Monckton, commanding the expedition, landed his force without opposition, and went into camp at Fort Lawrence. Two days afterwards the regular troops of its garrison marched out to join the New England men ; and the united force after a sharp and successful action with a strong body of the enemy, securely posted in a blockhouse, and also behind a breast-work formed of felled trees, crossed the Messagouche, and encamped on a hilly range half a league from Beau-Sejour. After several days had been passed in making preparations for the siege, Scott, on the morning of the 12th, seized a hill within easy range of the works ; and two days afterwards four small mortars were firing on the fort, the reply from its guns doing very little harm. Vergor had been too busy, during the preceding winter, assisting Le Loutre in plundering the Acadians of the allowances given them by the king, and in enriching himself otherwise, by making fraudulent returns of firewood, and other articles required by the garrison, to be now prepared to defend his post with resolution and effect. Three hundred Acadians were taken into the fort, to assist the troops already there. The remainder of the Acadians, as well as Le Loutre's Micmacs, scattered into the surrounding woods, to keep up a guerilla warfare against the besiegers. Within the fort there was much discouragement and dismay, when it was learned that the harbour of Louisburg was closely blockaded by two English frigates, and help from thence thus rendered impossible.

Four days were passed by the besiegers in mortar firing, and they had not yet got a single cannon in position. On the morning of the 16th a large shell fell through a casemate supposed to be bomb proof, and killed seven officers who were there at breakfast, and wounded some others. Vergor and several of his officers were also at breakfast in the opposite casemate, and were greatly alarmed. A surrender was at once determined on. Presently a white flag was raised above the fort, and after some haggling the terms of capitulation were agreed to. The garrison was to march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed to Louisburg ; but neither officers nor men were to serve for six months. The Acadians were pardoned, as they stated they had served against their will, to which Vergor falsely certified, and went home laden with plunder. In the evening Scott marched into Beau-Sejour, raised the British flag upon the ramparts, and saluted it with all the guns of the fort, which was re-christened Fort Cumberland.—Search was promptly made for Le Loutre, but he was not to be found. He had escaped in disguise ; and finally made his way to Quebec, where the bishop received him with reproaches. Finding

that his Canadian career had come to an inglorious end, he soon after sailed for France. Misfortune followed him. The English captured him on the way, and kept him a prisoner for eight years in Elizabeth Castle. There he was recognised by a sentry, who had known him in Acadia, and came near being scalped by his orders. The soldier became furious at seeing his former unscrupulous foe ; and would have run him through with his bayonet had not an officer prevented him.

With Beau-Sejour fell the other French posts on the Acadian peninsula. The little fortress at the Bay Verte, garrisoned by only twenty soldiers and some Acadians, surrendered after a brief defence ; and the French, themselves, burned the fort at St. John, and retreated to Louisburg. These important results were cheaply purchased by the British with the loss of some twenty killed, and about the same number wounded. These successes, however, brought with them a new and difficult question, namely, what should be done with the Acadians ? Governor Lawrence considered that the best way was to have them take the oath of allegiance. A few complied with the demand, but the great majority absolutely refused to take the oath ; and even behaved with no small insolence to the authorities ; and it was eventually resolved to solve the difficulty by removing them altogether from the country. During the autumn six thousand of these unfortunate people, men, women and children, were forced to leave their once happy homes ; and were scattered through the various English colonies, often in a most destitute condition. Many of the Acadians escaped to the woods, thence to wage a guerilla warfare against the English ; but their power was now effectually broken, and they were no longer a source of dangerous menace to the province. Some of the fugitives eventually reached Louisiana, where their descendants to this day remain a primitive and separate people.

History records no sadder spectacle than that presented by the forcible removal of the Acadians from their homes, made so pleasant by many years of industry ; and the gifted pen of Longfellow has surrounded the painful incident with the halo of charming poetic sympathy. But sober truth, and a careful analysis of all the facts of the case, must lead to the conclusion that the British authorities were most unwillingly forced, by untoward circumstances, to pursue harsh measures with the Acadians. The persons who were really responsible for their misfortunes were the French authorities, from the selfish and deceitful Louis downwards, who did everything in their power to hinder them from becoming honest subjects of the British crown, and to make and keep them traitors at heart to their lawful sovereign.\* The British authorities treated them with long and patient indulgence, and only resorted to extreme measures as a last and painful resort. Had

\* Garneau vol. i. p. 450. See also Parkman's *Montcalm* and *Wolfe*.

the Acadians been left to themselves, their forcible expatriation would never have taken place. But they were not left to themselves; and every device that could be thought of was resorted to in order to hold them fast to French interests. To this end their love of country, their simplicity, their ignorance, their religion, their instinct of self-preservation, were all in turn worked upon, in one way or another, with the most unscrupulous and persistent ingenuity. They were thus virtually betrayed by their own countrymen, and helplessly driven by them to their ultimate ruin. Even some of their priests, led by Le Loutre, betrayed their flocks; for they must have well known what their double-dealing would sooner or later lead to in that period of strained relations, and frequently recurring wars, between England and France.

General Shirley organised the third expedition determined on by the council of Alexandria, and marched westward from Albany, in the beginning of July, to capture the French fort at Niagara. But the news of Braddock's defeat and death soon reached his troops, and disheartened the provincials, who deserted their colours by squads. Shirley, nevertheless, vigorously pushed forward with all the troops he could keep together, relying on the aid of the Iroquois. But these had also heard of the French victory at Fort Duquesne, and hesitated to commit themselves to the doubtful fortunes of the British. They even remonstrated against the passage of their territory by an army, alleging, at the same time, that the fort at Oswego was only tolerated by them as a trading post. The middle of August was past when the general, after a toilsome march, arrived at Lake Ontario, and the want of supplies and lateness of the season prevented him from attacking Niagara. Leaving seven hundred men under Colonel Mercer to strengthen and occupy the defences at Oswego, he commenced, on the 24th of October, to retrace his difficult route from Albany.

To William Johnson was due the honour of redeeming, in some measure, the reputation of the British arms, so seriously tarnished by the defeat of Braddock, and the fruitless marches of Shirley.—An Irishman by birth, he had followed when a youth the example of numbers of his countrymen, even at that early day, and sought to better his fortunes in the New World.\* Here, like Cobbett, and Ledyard, and Coleridge, and East Indian Thompson, “who died a Major-General,” in the Old World, he began his career as a private soldier. But Johnson was moulded in no ordinary stamp. Possessed of a noble form, of strong perceptive powers, and influenced by an honourable ambition, he gradually worked his way

\* Even in the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the emigration from Ireland to the American plantations was very extensive in proportion to its population. At one period this emigration was a source of much alarm, as lands in many parts of Ireland were untenanted. There is not the smallest doubt, that at the present day Irishmen, or their descendants, form the largest portion of the people of the United States. *Vide Russell's Modern Europe*, vol. iii. p. 1.



upwards to wealth and public consideration. A settler for many years on the fertile banks of the Mohawk, his manly bearing, social habits, and Irish hospitality, had rendered him exceedingly popular with the aborigines of New York, and he might justly be termed the "Tribune of the Six Nations."\* Not a single Iroquois had joined the ill-fated Braddock, or the tedious Shirley; but the entire Mohawk tribe attached themselves to the fortunes of Johnson; and Hendrick, their bravest chief, led three hundred of their warriors to his camp.

Early in July the militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with a few men from the other New England states and New York, assembled at Albany, to the number of five thousand, preparatory to moving upon Crown Point. General Lyman led this force to the portage between the Hudson and the head-springs of the Sorel, where they constructed Fort Edward to serve as a safe depot for provisions, and to secure a point of support in case of defeat. Here Johnson came in the last days of August, and leaving a garrison of three hundred men in the newly-built fort, conducted his army to the southern shore of the lake, which the French called the Lake of the Holy Sacrament, but which he now named Lake George. "I found," he said "a mere wilderness; never was house or fort erected here before." Johnson had never seen a campaign, yet his position for his camp was chosen with much more judgment than Washington had displayed in the site for Fort Necessity. On the north lay Lake George, his flanks were protected by wooded swamps, and behind him was the secure post of Fort Edward.

Tidings of the danger which threatened Crown Point speedily reached Vaudreuil, and abandoning the plan of an attack upon Oswego he despatched Baron Dieskau, a brave and experienced officer, with seven hundred veteran troops, fifteen hundred of the militia of Montreal, and seven hundred Indians, to its succour. Dividing his army at Crown Point, and eager for distinction, Dieskau, taking twelve hundred Indians and Canadians, and three hundred regulars, pushed forward to assault Fort Edward. On the evening of the 7th of September he found himself within four miles of this post; but the Indians now refused to attack it, stating, at the same time, that they were willing to go against the army on the lake, which was thought to have neither artillery nor intrenchments.

Late that night it was told, in the camp at Lake George, that a strong body of French and Indians had landed from South Bay and marched towards Fort Edward. Next morning one thousand men, under Colonel Williams, and two hundred Mohawks, led by Hendrick, were despatched by a council of war to its relief.—Dieskau's scouts warned him of their approach, and posting his force among the brushwood and rocks of a defile, he soon had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy rashly advance. But at

\* *Memoirs of an American Lady*, vol. ii. p. 61. *Russell's Modern Europe*, vol. ii. p. 446.

the critical moment the Christian Iroquois of Caughnawaga hesitated to fire upon their kindred, and showed themselves to apprise them of the ambush. This movement saved the detachment from being entirely cut off. Put on their guard they fought bravely, and, although Williams and Hendrick were killed, made good their retreat to the camp, which was only three miles from the defile.

The close roll of musketry rendered Johnson aware that a sharp engagement was in progress, and as yet ignorant of the strength of the enemy he resolved to prepare for the worst. His camp had still no intrenchments. The New England militia were armed with rifles and fowling-pieces, without a bayonet amongst them ; trees, therefore, were now rapidly felled by the stalwart backwoodsmen, and waggons and baggage placed along the front of their line to form a breastwork. Behind this they could take deadly aim in comparative safety, and were perfectly at home.

Dieskau designed to enter the camp with the fugitives, but Johnson had brought up three guns from the lake, and the moment the Canadians and Indians found themselves under their fire, and in front of an intrenched line, their courage failed ; and they inclined to the right and left, contenting themselves with keeping up a harmless fire on the flanks of the British. Dieskau, although surprised at the strength of the position he had to assault, boldly pushed forward with his regulars to break Johnson's line in the centre, which he assailed at a distance of one hundred and fifty paces by a heavy platoon firing. The action soon became general, and although the French troops stood their ground stoutly, they melted rapidly away under the well-directed and deadly fire of the New England men. Dieskau finding, after the action had lasted four hours, that he could make no impression on the centre of their line, directed a movement against its right flank, and was now supported by the Canadian militia. Johnson had been wounded in the beginning of the action, but Lyman ably supplied his place, and soon checked the flank movement of the French. They wavered and gave way, when the New England men, leaping over their slight defences, drove them into rapid and disordered flight. Nearly all the French regulars perished, and their gallant leader, Dieskau, was wounded incurably and remained a prisoner. The entire British loss, in the different actions during the day, was two hundred and sixteen killed and ninety-six wounded. The French loss has been variously estimated, but it could scarcely be less than seven hundred in killed and wounded.\*

The Canadian militia and Indians, who had suffered comparatively little in the engagement, finding themselves unpursued, halted at the scene of Williams' defeat to plunder and scalp the

\* Bancroft and Parkman say their loss was not much greater than that of the British ; but in this estimate they are evidently mistaken. Smith rates their loss at one thousand killed, wounded and missing, and Warburton says eight hundred. Their entire loss throughout the day was probably about seven hundred.

dead. Here they were suddenly encountered by a body of New Hampshire militia, under Captain Macginnis, who were marching to aid Johnson's force, and a fresh engagement immediately ensued. It lasted two hours, and resulted completely to the advantage of the New Hampshire men, who lost their brave leader, however, in the moment of victory. Thus defeated a second time the remnant of the French broke up in disorder, and made the best of their way to Ticonderoga, where a portion of the force left behind by Dieskau had intrenched themselves.

Johnson has been severely censured for not following up his victory by a movement on Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which was recommended by his own council of war, and also by the New England governors. But his military experience, brief as it was, had already taught him that however bravely raw militia, armed with rifles and fowling-pieces, might fight behind an intrenched position, where they had no evolutions to perform, and where all that was necessary was swift and well-aimed firing, they were totally unequal to contend on a fair field against veteran French troops, armed with musket and bayonet, and still less fitted to attack fortified positions. Johnson, under these circumstances, felt that he had done sufficient in saving the frontiers of the New England colonies, and that his wisdom was not to risk a defeat by facing trained troops behind intrenchments. He accordingly contented himself with erecting Fort William Henry on the battle-field, and detaching Captain Rogers, a daring and active officer, to obtain correct intelligence of the enemy's movements. Rogers performed this duty in the most satisfactory manner, cut off several of the detached parties of the French, and ascertained that two thousand men, with a proportion of artillery, were securely posted at Ticonderoga.

Having strengthened Forts Edward and William Henry, which he garrisoned with a regiment of militia, Johnson, on the 24th of December, fell back to Albany with the remainder of his forces, who from thence returned to their respective provinces. Although the victory he had won, with untrained and imperfectly armed troops, was not productive of any brilliant results, England was grateful for what he had accomplished, and rewarded him by a baronetcy, and a parliamentary grant of £5,000.\*

While Johnson and his raw militia were winning laurels at Lake George, the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, hitherto so peaceful, and therefore left without any forts of refuge, felt the full effects of Braddock's defeat, and the cowardly flight of Dunbar. The French of Fort Duquesne, and their Indian allies, among whom the Delewares and Shawnees, old friends of the English, but now turned against them, were the leaders, swept the open country in every direction for five hundred miles in width, burning the farm-houses and barns, and plundering

\* Conquest of Can., vol. ii. p. 35. Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 235.

and murdering the unfortunate inhabitants, whose only safety lay in flight. Crowds of fugitive settlers, deserting their farms and growing crops, and leaving, in numberless cases, even their cattle behind them, fled for their lives to the towns and villages, their first impulse being to put their wives and little ones beyond the reach of the cruel tomahawk. As autumn advanced the invading bands became more numerous and aggressive, as they now easily crossed the Alleghany mountains by the wide road already opened for them by the axe-men of Braddock. "Every day," writes Washington, "we have accounts of such cruelties and barbarities as are shocking to human nature. It is not possible to conceive the situation and danger of this miserable country. Such numbers of French and Indians are around that no road is safe. The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt one into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself as a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's safety."

Washington with his badly disciplined and badly equipped Virginia militia regiment, half mutinous, from one untoward cause or another, all the time, could give but a small measure of protection to the long frontier line, broken by hills, and covered by dense forests, from whence the Indian bands appeared when least expected, and swept down in a sirocco of murder and rapine upon the settlements beyond. Language is almost inadequate to describe the cruelties practised. Even helpless women and children were scalped alive. "They kill all they meet," writes a French priest, "and after having abused the women and maidens, they slaughter or burn them.\* The Quaker legislature of Pennsylvania refused assistance to repel these aggressions, and not till the clamours of hundreds of fugitives proclaimed that fifteen hundred French and Indians had mustered on the Susquehanna, only eighty miles from Philadelphia, did these men of peace respond to the importunities of their governor, by calling out the militia and appropriating £62,000 for the expenses of the war. The other colonies, whose frontiers were also exposed, became more and more alarmed, and, on the 12th of December, a grand council-of-war was held at New York, composed of several of the governors and superior officers, to deliberate on measures for the common safety. A splendid campaign was now planned for the following year; Quebec was to be menaced by the Kennebec and the Chaudiere; vessels were to be launched on Lake Ontario from Oswego, and Frontenac, Niagara and Toronto to be captured; and then Fort Duquesne, Detroit and Mackinaw, deprived of their communications with Montreal, must surrender. A strong force at the same time was to carry Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and to threaten the settlements on the St. Lawrence by the Richelieu.

\* Parkman's, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i. p. 330.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL,--continued.

DESPITE the hostile conflicts in the New World, France and England were still nominally at peace. Contrary to all political conjecture, France made no reprisals for the capture of the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, the two men-of-war taken off the St. Lawrence by Boscawen, and tamely saw three hundred of her trading vessels, laden in many cases with valuable cargoes of West India produce, and manned by eight thousand seamen, captured and carried into the ports of England. France felt her inferiority at sea, and had flattered herself that the anxiety of George II. for the safety of his German dominions, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous measures, notwithstanding her encroachments in America. But the numerous captures of French vessels soon taught Louis XV. that no dependence need be placed on the promises and peaceable professions of the British ministry, and he unwillingly prepared for war. Both Great Britain and France now sought to strengthen themselves by new alliances, and to make preparation otherwise for the approaching contest, which threatened to involve all Europe. France began hostilities by the invasion of Minorca, and war was soon after formally declared by both countries.\*

It was now plain, to the observant mind, that one of the most momentous struggles for mastery which the world had ever seen had commenced. For this struggle England was almost wholly unprepared. So far as the royal family and its ministers were concerned, there was not a man amongst them equal to the emergency. George II., now almost in his dotage, dull, pompous and irascible, had two ruling passions in his love of money and his Hanoverian kingdom, and could see only a short way beyond them. His eldest son, the Prince of Wales, and the father of George III., had died in 1751, the victim of an accident. His younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, now commander-in-chief, who had gained the day at Culloden, and lost it at Fontenoy, and had since grown corpulent

\* Russell's Modern Europe, vol. ii. p. 447.



and unfit for active service, was brave and bold like all the Guelphs, but no genius. The prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, had won his way to power by exalted rank and influential connections; loved office for its own sake, and stooped to practise the most unscrupulous corruption to retain it, but he was unequal to the occasion; and his colleagues were no better than himself. All these people stood on the same mediocre plane, and lacked the great ability needed to guide the ship of state safely through the gathering storm. Fortunately for England at this juncture (as in all other times of extreme peril) she had still, in reserve, the right man for the crisis in William Pitt, and whom bitter disaster at length taught her to estimate at his true value. Nor was England better prepared for the coming conflict in other and even more important directions. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the army had been reduced to less than twenty-five thousand men; and only seventeen thousand sailors manned the royal navy. On the other hand, France, although weakened by the loss of her industrious and brave Huguenot population, the increasing poverty of her working classes, and the tyranny and corruption of her aristocracy, and even then drifting towards revolution, still stood in the front rank of continental powers; while in her vast colonial possessions she ranked after Spain. At the same time, the House of Bourbon reigned in France, Spain and Naples; and now appeared disposed to form a family compact dangerous to the balance of power in Europe, and most disquieting, in prospect, to its diplomatists.— France confronted England in every direction, in the New World as well as in the Old; in India, in the West Indies, and in North America, where she claimed every foot of land, except Mexico, and the narrow strip of sea coast extending from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Her navy had been largely renewed, and was again powerful; her army brave and numerous; and the ancient prestige of her monarchy still stood almost at its zenith. The parliaments and the liberties of France had been crushed out of sight by the predecessor of Louis XV., who thus inherited a personal absolutism which extended to all her colonies, and was most favorable to warlike operations. In 1754 Canada had scarcely eighty thousand inhabitants, scattered over the vast area extending from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, but they were all the servants of a despotism which moved them as one man; and so made them united and formidable. On the other hand the British colonies numbered nearly a million and a quarter, but they were without a common bond of union, if we except their general fealty to the crown; were separated, in several cases, by vast tracts of wilderness; and each usually took care of its own special interests without troubling itself much, if at all, about its neighbours.— They had all their own local legislatures, and their own local grievances, of one kind or another, which usually kept them in hot water with the Home Government. The New England colonies were alone equal to united action in the event of war; the master-

ful instinct of self-preservation under the repeated bloody forays of the French and their Indian allies, on their border settlements, having knit them closely together. And the same cause, precisely, eventually drew New York, and finally Quaker Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, into this confederacy of self-defence. But the people of all these colonies still remained peace-loving and industrious; liked their farms and their shops far better than the camp or the barrack room, and only cared to fight in self-defence. Separated in government, largely of different origin, jealous of the crown and its prescriptive rights and authority, and jealous of each other; blind to danger while it was remote and vague, nothing but bitter adversity could unite the English colonies. Like the mother country, however, they had in them the inherent, though slumbering, elements of a wonderful vitality and force, which soon sprang into active development under the pressure of circumstances. The sturdy, self-made, self-governed British colonies were pitted against the ancient civilization of France, which completely broke down in this contest of the old against the new; of despotism, clerical and political, against religious and political freedom. Jesuit intrigue had largely led to the repeal of the Edict of Nantes.\* That repeal laid the foundation of the conquest of Canada, which again,

\* Early French Protestantism passed through six historical periods. The first, extending from 1516 to 1534, was the era of discontent with, and protest against, the corruptions of the Church. The second, commencing in 1534, was the period of persecution; and, also, of organisation, theological and political; under the guidance of Calvin and Coligny. Next followed the third period, which was one of resistance and civil war, in which politics and religion were inextricably blended. Then came, in 1598, the Edict of Nantes, which imposed a truce on France, and was the Magna Charta of the Reformed Churches. It guaranteed to the Huguenots freedom of worship in certain specified places, allotted an annual subsidy to their ministers and educational establishments, and secured to them equal civil rights. It also created courts at Paris, Rouen, Rennes, Castres and Grenoble, in which Protestant causes were heard before mixed benches of judges. It guaranteed the enjoyment of these rights by the cession of some two hundred and twenty places of security, in which the State maintained the fortifications, paid Protestant garrisons, and appointed governors accepted by the churches. It still further protected the Reformed faith by sanctioning the elaborate ecclesiastical and political organisation of consistories, synods and assemblies; in which the three estates of the realm were represented. And when the assemblies were not in session, it guarded Huguenot interests by providing for the appointment of two deputies, to be permanently attached to the court, whose duty it was to bring before the king all the grievances of their co-religionists.

The fourth period, in the history of French Protestantism, arose from the aggressive attitude of Louis XIII. and his subordinates. The stipulations of the Edict of Nantes were being constantly violated, open persecution practised against the Huguenots, and one place of security after another wrested

in turn, originated a train of circumstances that culminated in the French revolution. All history illustrates the fact that national sins bring down national punishments ; and in this case, also, the sins of the fathers were visited upon the children.

In the New World the campaign opened with far the best prospects on the side of the French, in a military point of view. They held undisputed possession of the valley of the Ohio and the great west ; Niagara and Toronto had been strengthened, as well as Fort Frontenac ; and their flag floated over Lake Ontario in almost undisputed sovereignty ; while Crown Point and Ticonderoga gave them the supremacy on Lake Champlain. In addition to these advantages three thousand regular troops, a hardy militia already trained to war, and numerous tribes of friendly Indians, ever ready

from their control. To protect themselves the Huguenots, in 1621, under the leadership of Henry de Rohan, made war against the crown, which ended with the peace of Montpelier in the following year. A new religious war began in 1625, terminating with the peace of Paris in 1626. The third war commenced in 1627, and was finally concluded by the peace of Alais in 1629.

In the fifth period, which extends from the peace of Alais to 1662, the Huguenots ceased to be a political party in France. Their great chiefs withdrew from their support. The rank and file laid aside their arms, and devoted themselves to industrial pursuits—to trade and commerce, and were eminently successful. They became the foremost merchants and manufacturers of France, and were its most skilful artisans as well. Their industrial supremacy was due, in the first place, to their better education, their austere morality, and severe integrity. They worked 310 days in the year, while Roman Catholics worked only 260, owing to their numerous saints' days.—Decency, order and economy, ruled in their homes. Stern in domestic life, grave and reserved in public demeanour, the licentiousness of the times rarely touched them ; and they yielded slowly, if at all, to the growth of luxury. They had ceased to be a great political factor in the nation—a state within a state—but they had become a people within a people ; a social class distinguished by tastes and habits which were repugnant to the majority of the nation, who disliked them still more because Huguenots grew prosperous and even rich, while they became poor. They formed the commercial and industrial heart of France, and in an evil hour for her Louis XIV., in 1662, urged on by the Jesuits and their minion, and his mistress, Madam de Maintenon, commenced that policy of persecution, which culminated, in 1685, in the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots were now (in the sixth period) excluded from all public employment, attacked in their civil and religious rights, and finally compelled, by dragonnades, the galleys, or transportation, to abjure their faith or their native land. They mainly chose the latter course, and fled to every country that would give them safe refuge—to Holland, to England, to Scotland, to Ireland ; and carried thither with them all their noble and industrious qualities to enrich their new homes ; and they would have carried them to Canada in preference had not its doors been closed against them.—*Vide Edinburgh Review, April, 1890.*

to range themselves on the side of the stronger party, constituted a much more formidable military power than the British colonies, with their jarring interests and independent commanders, could present.

But while apparently formidable in military strength, Canada was woefully deficient in all the genuine materials of warfare, when compared with her Anglo-Saxon rivals. New England alone had more men capable of bearing arms than her entire population. It is true that the British settlers, like their descendants of the present day, were men of peace, and much better fitted by choice and habit for the occupations of commerce and agriculture than for the military life. Still, they possessed all the qualities which constitute the true soldier—energy, courage and endurance, and needed only union, discipline, and the right kind of a leader to make them excellent troops. On the other hand, the Canadians were poor in purse, and suffering from a scarcity of food. Their union and military training gave them the advantage in the beginning of the contest; their want of numerical strength and the necessary resources ruined them in the end. The British colonies presented the aspect of a free self-governed people, grown rich and populous by their intelligence, their industry, and their love of justice. Canada exhibited the spectacle of a military settlement, ground down by the exactions of a feudal land tenure, dishonest public servants, and knavish commercial monopolies.

The ice of winter had still firm hold of the rivers of Canada, when Vaudreuil opened the campaign, by detaching Lieutenant de Lery, on the 17th of March, with two hundred and fifty-nine French and eighty Indians, to capture some small forts, which he learned had been constructed on the road to Oswego for the protection of convoys proceeding thither. One of these posts, garrisoned by twenty men, was captured, after a stout resistance, and blown up. The obstinacy with which the little garrison had defended themselves, and the loss of some of their warriors, so exasperated the Indians that they scalped and murdered them all, with the exception of two men, who were saved with difficulty by Lery. Three hundred men were also despatched from Fort Frontenac, under Captain de Villier, with instructions to establish themselves at some favourable point in the vicinity of Oswego, and inflict all the injury possible on stragglers from its garrison, or on convoys proceeding there, and if possible to capture the fort itself by a sudden assault. Villier erected a small stockaded fort in a dense part of the forest, where he hoped to remain unperceived.—But it was soon detected by a scouting party of Iroquois, who became not a little alarmed at this unauthorised occupation of their territory. By the advice of Sir William Johnson, they sent a deputation to remonstrate with Vaudreuil at Montreal, and to request him to demolish the fort. This he refused to do: but told them that if they remained neutral, and would not join the British, he would protect them from every insult. After promising to



pursue this course, they departed homewards laden with rich presents.

No sooner had Vaudreuil dismissed the Iroquois deputies than he took prompt measures to strengthen the detachment under Villier, and also for the capture of the British armed vessels which now began to appear on Lake Ontario. While thus engaged a large body of troops arrived from France under the command of Major General de Montcalm, the Chevalier de Levis, and Colonel de Bourlemaque, three brave and experienced officers. After remaining a few days at Quebec, to make himself acquainted with the condition of matters there, Montcalm directed three regiments of regular troops to proceed to Montreal, whither he departed in advance to confer with the Governor. He highly approved of the measures the latter had taken with respect to Oswego, and directed Bourlemaque to push forward to Villier's camp with a reinforcement, and take the chief command. Having completed these arrangements he proceeded to Ticonderoga, on the 27th of June.—Here he remained making preparations for the defence of the frontier, and endeavouring to procure accurate intelligence of the movements of the British at Albany, till the 15th of July, when he set out on his return to Montreal. To Levis and three thousand men he left the protection of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and the maintenance of French supremacy on Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. From Montreal he hastened to Fort Frontenac to make preparations for the capture of Oswego.

While thus all was vigour and action on the side of the French, delay and indecision characterised the operations of the British.—Lord Loudon being detained by business in England, Major-General Abercromby was ordered to precede him, and hold the chief command till his arrival. This officer brought out with him the 35th and 42nd regiments, and found himself at Albany towards the latter end of June. Abercromby deemed the force under his command too weak to carry out the extensive plan of operations which had been sketched out by Shirley and the other colonial officers; and, desirous to avoid responsibility, resolved to await the arrival of the commander-in-chief before undertaking any important operations. Meantime, he marched the provincial forces upon Fort William Henry, under the command of General Winslow, preparatory to the proposed movement on Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

While the bulk of the army thus remained in idle inaction, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a detachment of raw Irish recruits, conducted a large convoy of provisions in safety to Oswego. Villier pushed forward from Sackett's Harbour, with 700 French and Indians, to intercept him, but losing his way in the forest he did not reach the Onondaga River till after the convoy had safely passed down its course. Bradstreet, fearing an attack on his return, divided his canoes and boats into three divisions, with an easy interval between, so that if his advance was attacked the men behind might push for the bank of the river, and meet the enemy



on equal terms. Gallantly posting himself in the first canoe, he left Oswego on the 3rd of July, and had only advanced nine miles up the stream, when suddenly a sharp volley, and the wild war-whoop of the savage, rang through the forest. The first fire fell with deadly effect upon the leading division, yet Bradstreet did not lose his presence of mind, and made for an island, which twenty of the enemy, however, dashing through the water, gained before him. He had not a dozen men with him, still he boldly faced his foes, and quickly drove them from the island. The remainder of his first division speedily arriving, brought his strength up to twenty men, who bravely beat back a fresh attack made by twice their number. The enraged French now made a third onset with seventy men, who, after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict on the island, were repelled by Bradstreet and his gallant little band. Meanwhile, the boatmen of the second and third divisions had landed, formed in good order, and pushed forward to the assistance of their hard-pressed comrades. After a desperate struggle the French were completely routed, leaving a hundred of their number dead ; and seventy prisoners, with a large quantity of arms, in the hands of their conquerors. On the other hand, the Irish boatmen had sixty killed and wounded in this fiercely-contested action.

Bradstreet arrived at Schenectady on the 4th of July, and the following day proceeded to Albany, to warn Abercromby that Oswego was menaced by a large French force. The general at once gave orders for the 44th regiment to hasten to its relief, but owing to the interference of some of the provincial governors its march was delayed. Lord Loudon joined the army on the 29th of July, and still no active measures were taken.

Montcalm having completed all his arrangements for the siege of Oswego, departed from Fort Frontenac on the 4th of August, and arrived on the evening of the same day at Sackett's Harbour, the general rendezvous of his army, which amounted to more than three thousand men. On the 9th his vanguard arrived within a mile and a half of Oswego ; on the night of the 10th his first division also came up. The second division followed shortly after, and at midnight on the 12th he opened his trenches against Fort Ontario, which crowned a height on the opposite side of the river from Fort Oswego, and completely commanded the latter. From the following daybreak till evening the fire of the garrison was well kept up, when their ammunition becoming exhausted, they had no alternative but to spike their guns, and retire across the river to Fort Oswego. The abandoned fort, which contained eight guns and four mortars, was immediately occupied by Montcalm, who now continued his parallel down to the river side, where a breaching battery was speedily erected, and next morning, at six o'clock, nine guns poured a destructive fire at point blank range against Fort Oswego. At eight o'clock, Colonel Mercer, its commanding officer, was killed ; and at ten, although its fire was still much superior to that of the French, the besieged hoisted a white flag and offered

to surrender, much to the astonishment of Montcalm and his officers.

The garrison, consisting of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, and a detachment of Schuyler's regiment of militia, was about seventeen hundred strong, and lost one hundred and fifty in killed and wounded during the brief siege, or shortly afterwards, when thirty men attempting to escape through the woods were massacred by the Indians. The French had eighty killed and wounded.—Over sixteen hundred prisoners of war, including one hundred and twenty women, were sent down the St. Lawrence, and the colours of the captured regiments for a brief space decorated the walls of the churches of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. One hundred and twenty cannon and mortars, six sloops of war, two hundred boats, and large stores of ammunition and provisions, with £18,000 in coin, fell to the conquerors.\*

This was a most fortunate victory for Canada, and established the already rising reputation of Montcalm; but he stained his triumph by permitting his Indians to plunder many of his captives, and to slay and scalp the wounded who had been intrusted to his care.† Instead of occupying Oswego, he courted the favour of the Iroquois by razing it to the ground, and then retraced his way to Fort Frontenac.

The cowardly defence of Oswego imprinted a deep stain on the reputation of the British troops, and its capture terminated the campaign in 1756 completely in favour of the French. "Our trade," wrote an officer of Montcalm's army to a friend, "is now entirely re-established. Lake Ontario is ours without any opposition. We can hardly recover from astonishment at the victory we have achieved." Webb, who had at length advanced with the 44th regiment to relieve the garrison, when he heard of its capture turned and fled to Albany; Loudon expressed his fears of an attack while the enemy was flushed with victory. When the danger had passed over he dismissed the militia to their several localities, and quartered his regulars on the people of Albany and New York. The hapless frontier settlers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York alone experienced the full evils of the recent disasters. Parties of French and Indians, from the Ohio, swept through the border counties of these colonies, and marked their course by plunder and massacre. Maddened by these injuries a body of three hundred Pennsylvanians hastily assembled, pursued a party of Delaware marauders to their village, and slaughtered them without mercy. On the side of New York, a detachment of three hundred French and Indians from Fort Frontenac, on the 28th of November, passing up the Black River penetrated into the Palatine settlement of the German Flats, in the valley of the

\* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i, pp. 488-497. Bancroft's Hist. United States, vol. iii. p. 169.

† Doc. Hist. New York, vol. i. p. 498.

Mohawk, captured five small forts which protected the village, killed forty men, and carried off one hundred and fifty prisoners.—An immense quantity of cattle and provisions was destroyed, and the French and Indians returned to Frontenac laden with valuable plunder. The disasters which had befallen the British arms caused even the Iroquois to waver in their neutrality, and incline to the French. Their young men disdainfully trod the English medals under foot, and it required all the address of Sir William Johnson to prevent them from offering their services to Montcalm.

Emboldened by their numerous successes, the French did not permit their energies to slumber during the winter months. Scouting parties of Indians and the hardy *habitants* swept 1757. the frontiers of the northern settlements, and brought Montcalm the most accurate intelligence of the condition of the enemy. Vast stores of provisions and warlike munitions had been collected at Fort William Henry, on Lake George ; and Montcalm now resolved to capture it by a sudden assault, and thus effectually cripple the future operations of the British against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. At midnight, on the 19th of March, eleven hundred French and four hundred Indians, led by Rigueaud de Vaudreuil, approached this fort to carry it by escalade ; but the vigilant sentries discovered them in time, and alarmed the garrison, who speedily drove back their assailants with a brisk fire of cannon and musketry. On the next day the French invested the fort, and on the 21st summoned the commandant, Major Eyres, to surrender, which he promptly refused to do. Finding himself unable to take the fort, Vaudreuil destroyed the storehouses and buildings around it, and returned to Montreal. Shortly after his return Bourlemaque was despatched with two battalions to strengthen the works at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, while Captain Pouchot was sent to Niagara to fortify it in the best possible manner, and assume the command.

While these events were in progress on the Canadian frontier, Lord Loudon was exerting himself to collect a sufficient force to strike a decisive blow. For the present the attack on Crown Point had been laid aside, and the reduction of Louisburg, in Cape Breton, determined on. Preparations for this enterprise were rapidly pushed forward in England, and towards the end of June seven regiments of infantry and a detachment of artillery, on board a fleet of fourteen line-of-battle ships, arrived at Halifax, the port of rendezvous, and were joined by Lord Loudon, on the 9th of July, with six additional regiments and some militia. Here he remained inactive till August, when intelligence being received that a strong French fleet had arrived at Cape Breton, the project of besieging Louisburg was abandoned.

Lord Loudon's departure for Halifax had not left the colonies by any means unprotected. Colonel Stanwyx, with two thousand militia and a detachment of regular troops, guarded the western frontier ; Colonel Bouquet, with nearly the same force, watched the

borders of Carolina ; towards Lake Champlain, General Webb defended New York and the New England states ; while to Colonel Munro, with two thousand men, the safety of Fort William Henry was intrusted. In addition to these forces, the hardy militia of the neighbouring states could be rapidly drawn together, in case of an emergency, and would be more than sufficient for every purpose of self-defence.

No sooner had Lord Loudon put to sea for Halifax, than Montcalm promptly determined on the siege of Fort William Henry, for which he speedily drew together an army of six thousand regular troops and militia, and seventeen hundred Indians. Among the latter were a number of the Oneidas and Senecas, who had abandoned their promise of neutrality, and attached themselves to the rising fortunes of the French. It was a season of scarcity in Canada, the inhabitants of which now began to feel the full evils of continual military service : and the difficulty of collecting supplies for Montcalm's army was increased by the peculations of its commissariat, and the robberies of officials of every class. But all the obstacles to the progress of his troops were soon overcome by the resolute spirit of the French general-in-chief, who proceeded to Ticonderoga, in the latter part of June, to complete the necessary preparations. From this point scouting parties were spread out towards Lake George. One of these, led by Marin, surprised a body of British militia near Fort Edward, and returned with fifty-five scalps ; another attacked a fleet of barges on Lake George, killed several of the boatmen, and took one hundred and sixty prisoners. " To-morrow or next day," said some of the captives to Montcalm, " General Webb will be at the fort with fresh troops." " No matter," answered the intrepid soldier, " in less than twelve days I will have a good story to tell about them." From Webb there was little to fear. He went, it is true, to Fort Henry, but took good care to leave it again with a large escort in abundant time to avoid a siege.

Montcalm had not sufficient boats to carry his entire army by water, and the Iroquois agreed to guide Levis with two thousand five hundred men by land. Next day, which was the 1st of August, the main body of the army embarked in two hundred and fifty boats, in front of which the Indians advanced in their decorated canoes. The rain fell in torrents, yet they rowed nearly all night, till at length the three triangular signal fires of Levis broke upon their view, and the fleet pulled into North-west Bay. An hour after midnight two English boats, which had been despatched to reconnoitre, were descried upon the lake. Two canoes of the Algonquins boldly pushed out in pursuit, and with such celerity that one of the boats was captured. Of its crew two prisoners alone were reserved, the rest were massacred. The Algonquins had one of their principal chiefs killed.

Next morning no effort at concealment was attempted by the French, and the Indians, forming their canoes in a single line across

the water, made the bay resound with their war-cry. The British were almost taken by surprise, and Montcalm disembarked without interruption a mile and a half below the fort, towards which his troops advanced in three columns. The Indians covered his flanks with vigilant skirmishers, or pushed on in advance to burn the barracks of the British, to capture their cattle and horses, and to cut off and scalp their stragglers. They speedily succeeded in surprising a foraging party, forty of whom they slew and scalped, and captured fifty head of cattle. During the day they occupied, in connection with a force under La Corne, the road leading to Fort Edward, and interrupted all communications with the army of Webb. To the north, Levis was posted with his regulars and Canadians, while Montcalm, with the main body of his army, established himself on the west side of the lake. Fort William Henry was defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, of the 35th regiment of the line, with less than five hundred men, but seventeen hundred more troops lay intrenched at his side on the eminence to the south-east, where now may be seen the ruins of Fort George.

Montcalm spent the 3rd of August in reconnoitring the fort and neighbourhood, and in erecting his batteries. Next day he summoned Munro to surrender; but the gallant old soldier sent an answer of defiance. "I will defend my trust," said he, "to the last extremity." This bold reply hastened the preparations of the French, whose scanty supply of provisions must speedily run short. Montcalm felt if he would conquer at all it must be soon, and pressed forward his approaches night and day. The zeal of their general imparted itself to the men, who vigorously dragged the artillery over rocks and through forests; brought gabions and fascines; and laboured with untiring zeal in the trenches. The first battery of nine guns and two mortars was speedily constructed, and awoke a thousand echoes in the surrounding hills as it opened on the fort amid the wild war-whoop of the savages. In two days more Montcalm had constructed his second parallel; and another battery, at a shorter range, poured a destructive fire upon the fort, while the Canadian militia and Indians, swarming into the zig-zag of the trenches, swept its ramparts with murderous aim. The odds were great against him, still Munro held out with stubborn valour, in the vain hope that Webb would advance to his aid.—But the craven-heart, who might speedily have collected a strong body of militia to assist his four thousand men in raising the siege, sent nothing but a letter, with an exaggerated account of the French army, and advising him to surrender. Still the gallant old man held bravely out; and not till half his guns were burst, and his ammunition nigh exhausted, did he unfurl a flag of truce.

Montcalm dreaded the excesses of the Indians, who thirsted for massacre and plunder, and with the view of making the terms of capitulation inviolably binding on them, invited their chiefs to a council. It was stipulated the British were to depart with all the honours of war, on condition of not serving against the French for



eighteen months. They were also to surrender everything but their private effects, and the Canadians and French Indians taken captive during the war were to be given up. On the other hand, Montcalm agreed to supply a sufficient escort for their protection. The capitulation was signed on the 9th of August, and on the evening of the same day, Munro delivered up the fort, and retired with his garrison to the intrenched camp.

Hitherto Montcalm had kept intoxicating liquors from the savages, but now they obtained them from the English, who were desirous to court their forbearance. But, unfortunately for the latter, this course produced a wholly different result from what they had expected. The Indians had been promised the liberty of plundering the British, and the greater part of them were dissatisfied with the stipulation which allowed them to carry off their private effects. Thus disappointed, and maddened by liquor, they spent the night in revelry, and in recounting the wrongs they had sustained from the English. As the day broke, the British soldiers began to march out of their intrenchments, and were immediately surrounded by the Indians, who at once began the work of plunder and massacre. Officers and men, stripped of everything, sought safety in the recesses of the forest, in the fort, or in the tents of the French. Levis rushed in among the infuriated savages, and endeavoured to appease them, but without effect. A spirit was now aroused which it was impossible to allay. Many French officers were wounded in their endeavour to shield the British troops. "Kill me," said Montcalm, "but spare them, they are under my protection." But his prayers and menaces were alike fruitless, and he urged the British to defend themselves. The march to Fort Edward was a disordered flight; not more than six hundred reached it in a body. Four hundred more were collected in the French camp, and were dismissed with a strong escort, while Montcalm despatched an officer to ransom those who had been made captives by the Indians. Such was the terrible occurrence which the novelist Cooper has so eloquently depicted in his "Last of the Mohicans."

The Indians speedily returned to their homes, leaving the French busy in demolishing the fort, and in carrying off the vast stores that had been collected there. Montcalm's loss was trifling; only fifty-three of his army had been killed and wounded. Still he forebore to follow up his victory by attacking Fort Edward, and dismissed the Canadian militia to gather in their harvest. Webb expected to be assailed every moment, sent his baggage accordingly to the rear, and designed to retreat to the highland fastnesses of the Hudson. The alarm spread in every direction. "For God sake," wrote the officer commanding at Albany to Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, "exert yourself to save a province, New York itself may fall; and the inhabitants west of the Connecticut River were directed to destroy their waggons, and drive in their cattle. Lord Loudon returned from his bootless and costly expedition to Halifax,

leaving Louisburg untouched; and spent the remainder of the season in quarrelling with the colonies about the quarters for his troops and the royal prerogative, while the French were left undisturbed. Driven from the basin of the Ohio and the great lakes, the western trade effectually checked, with the American frontiers beset by a vigilant enemy, and hordes of treacherous savages, the false friends of prosperity, Britain and her colonies were sorely humiliated, and longed to avenge themselves.

In England the return of the shattered fleet, which had conveyed out to Halifax the troops to operate against Louisburg, and the intelligence of the fruitless operations of Lord Loudon, awoke a storm of public indignation. The discarded ministry of the Duke of Newcastle shared the odium of failure with the incompetent general, and all eyes were now turned on Pitt, who had again assumed the helm of state, in the hope that his wisdom would soon alter matters for the better. Nor were they disappointed. The "Great Commoner" knew no party but the British nation, and sought its benefit with honesty and singleness of purpose. The principal object with him was to exalt the power and establish the prosperity of his country on a sure basis, and to protect continental Protestantism, threatened, in the King of Prussia, by the formidable coalition of the great Roman Catholic sovereigns. No sooner was he firmly established in office than, warned by their incapacity, he urged upon his sovereign the necessity of removing the military and naval officers who had hitherto conducted the operations against the French. The wisdom of this course was at once apparent to the king, who promptly gave his consent; and Pitt, with that keen perception which belongs to superior genius, proceeded to select his generals. Casting aside the formalities of military precedent, he elevated Colonel Amherst, a man of solid judgment and respectable ability, to the rank of major-general, and placed him at the head of the force which was designed for the attack of Louisburg. Under Amherst, Whitmore, Lawrence, and James Wolfe were appointed brigadier-Generals. The conquest of the Ohio valley was assigned to Forbes; while Abercromby was to operate against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with Lord Howe, on whom Pitt mainly relied for the success of the expedition, for his second in command. Of Abercromby the minister knew very little, and had soon reason to regret his appointment.

Among these officers Howe and Wolfe, both young men, were the favourites with the minister and the public. Howe, connected with many of the best families of the nobility, was possessed of a manly and humane disposition, and great quickness of perception in discerning merit. Wolfe had only seen thirty-one summers, yet he had already been eighteen years in the army, and served at Dettingen, at Fontenoy, and at Laffeldt. At two-and-twenty merit had elevated him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he had won the respect of his officers, and the affection of his men, who, while they experienced in him a strict disciplinarian, found

also a kind and humane friend. Conscious of ability, like every man of sterling talent, his aspirations for distinction had still nothing of egotism about them, and were clad in the garb of genuine modesty. An authoritative and firm commander and a brave soldier, still he was not ashamed to obey his widowed mother, whom he regarded with the utmost affection ; while his gentle nature, even as he kindled at the near prospect of greater distinction, already saw visions of future happiness in the pure scenes of domestic love.

On the 19th of February a magnificent fleet sailed from Portsmouth, which carried out General Amherst, and an army 1758. of ten thousand men. It was long detained by contrary winds, and, after a stormy passage, reached Halifax on the 28th of May, when Boscawen's fleet was met coming out of the harbour, the gallant admiral being weary of inaction. At dawn, on the 2nd of June, the entire armament, embracing twenty-two ships of the line, fifteen frigates, one hundred and twenty smaller vessels, and eleven thousand six hundred troops, arrived off Louisbourg. Amherst indulged in the hope that he would be able to surprise its garrison, and issued orders for the silent landing of the troops. But for six days a rough sea, and the heavy surf which broke upon the rugged beach, rendered disembarkation impossible. During this interval the French toiled night and day to strengthen their position, and fired upon the ships at every opportunity.

On the evening of the 7th the wind lulled, the fog cleared off, and the heavy sea gradually subsided, but a violent surf still continued to break on the beach. On the following morning, just before daylight, three divisions of boats received the troops ; at dawn Commodore Durell examined the shore, and reported a landing to be practicable. Seven frigates now opened fire to cover the advance to land. In a few minutes afterwards the left division, led by Brigadier Wolfe, began to row in-shore, and was speedily followed by Whitmore and Lawrence with their brigades, while two small vessels were sent past the mouth of the harbour to distract the attention of the enemy, and induce them to divide their force.

The left division was the first to reach the beach at a point about four miles from the town. Wolfe would not allow a shot to be fired, stimulated the rowers to fresh exertions, and on coming to shoal water boldly jumped out into the sea to lead on his men. The French stood firm, and retained their fire till their assailants were close to land. Then, as the boats rose on the last swell which brought them into the surf, they poured in a close and deadly volley from every gun and musket they could bring to bear. Wolfe's flagstaff was shivered by a bar-shot ; many soldiers were killed ; several boats were wrecked by the surf ; but still he cheered on his men, who had not yet returned a shot, and in a few minutes, with fiery valour, they had burst through the breastworks of the French, who fled in disorder. The victors pressed rapidly on in pursuit

and despite a rugged country inflicted a severe loss on the fugitives, captured seventy prisoners, and invested Louisburg the same day.

For the succeeding two days a rough sea rendered it impossible to land the siege artillery, and provisions were conveyed to the army with the greatest difficulty. On the 11th the weather moderated, when tents were landed, and some progress made in the preparations for the siege. On the 12th De Drucor, the French general, withdrew all his outposts, and even destroyed a battery which commanded the entrance of the harbour, being desirous to reserve all his force for the defence of the town. The garrison of Louisburg was composed of three thousand regular troops and militia, with a few Indians. In addition to this force, six line-of-battle ships and two frigates guarded the harbour, at the entrance of which three other frigates had been sunk, to prevent the passage of the British fleet.

Wolfe's light troops were speedily in possession of the different posts deserted by the French, and on the 20th a battery opened upon the ships and land defences. For many days the operations of the siege progressed under great difficulties to the British, owing to the marshy nature of the ground, and heavy rains which flooded the trenches. But science, a sufficient force, union among the principal officers, and courage and endurance in sailors and soldiers, overcame every obstacle, and promised speedy success. A sortie on the 9th of July by the besieged was speedily repelled, and day and night the batteries thundered against the ramparts, the citadel, and the shipping. On the 21st three of the French men-of-war were set on fire by a shell, the following day the citadel was in a blaze, the next the barracks were burned down, while Wolfe's trenches were pushed close to the town, and the French driven from their guns by the British sharp-shooters. On the night of the 25th two captains of Boscawen's fleet swept into the harbour with a squadron of boats, under a furious fire, and burned one of the remaining men-of-war and carried off another. Boscawen prepared to send in six ships of the line to attack the other French vessels; but the town was already a heap of ruins, the greater part of its guns dismounted, its garrison without a safe place to rest in, so Drucor resolved to capitulate at discretion, such being the only terms he could get.

Skilfully fortified, defended by a sufficient garrison and a powerful fleet, Louisburg had been bravely won. Its capture shed fresh lustre on the genius of Pitt, as well as on the gallant men he had wisely chosen to effect it. It was indeed a triumph for British arms, so long stained by sad reverses. Five thousand six hundred soldiers and sailors were made prisoners, and eleven ships of war taken or destroyed. About fifteen thousand stands of arms, and large quantities of military stores and provisions, also fell into the hands of the victors; as well as eleven sets of colours, which were laid at the feet of the British sovereign, and subsequently deposited with due solemnity in St. Paul's. With Louisburg fell Cape Breton



and Prince Edward's Island ; and thus terminated the power of France for ever on the eastern seaboard of North America.—Halifax being the British naval station, Louisburg was deserted ; and although the harbour still affords shelter from storms, a few hovels only mark the spot which so much treasure was expended to fortify, so much courage and endurance needed to conquer.

While Amherst and Wolfe were still busily engaged in the siege of Louisburg, the largest army as yet seen on the American continent assembled at Albany, under the command of Abercromby, the successor of Lord Loudon as general-in-chief, for the attack of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. It was composed of a strong detachment of the royal artillery, six thousand three hundred and fifty troops of the line, and nine thousand provincial militia. In the latter end of June this force marched to Lake George, and encamped by the ruins of Fort William Henry till the 5th of July, when it struck its tents, and embarking in one thousand and thirty-five boats, protected by artillery mounted on rafts, proceeded towards Ticonderoga. All that day did this flotilla pull steadily forward, and when evening fell the troops landed, and built large fires to deceive the French into the belief that they would proceed no further till morning, and to distract their attention. But in the dead of the night they were suddenly re-embarked, and hurried forward to the stream which connects the two lakes. On the left bank of this stream, where it falls into Lake Champlain, rises a bold headland, on which stood Ticonderoga, or Fort Carillon, as it was named by the French. Protected by the lake and river on the east and south, while to the north it was effectually covered by marshes, it could only be approached from the west. The fort might thus be said to be situated at the point of an acute angle, the base of this angle presenting the only way by which it could be assailed by a land force. Across this base, at a distance of half a mile from Carillon, Montcalm marked out his lines, which he fortified by felled trees and intrenchments of earth.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 6th the advanced guard of the British, composed of two thousand men under the command of the gallant Bradstreet, were safely landed, and meeting no opposition were speedily followed by the entire army, which pushed forward in four columns covered by skirmishers. Montcalm did not expect to see Abercromby so soon in his immediate neighbourhood, and was almost taken by surprise. "These people," said he, "march cautiously, yet if they give me time to gain the position I have chosen on the heights of Carillon I shall beat them."

The British columns, led by guides who knew little of the neighbourhood, broke and jostled each other repeatedly. So dense was the forest and uneven the ground that an outlying detachment of three hundred French troops, called in by their general, lost their way, and were suddenly encountered by the right centre of the British army led by Lord Howe. The worn-out stragglers, who had been wandering twelve hours in the forest, fought bravely, but



were soon overwhelmed. Some were killed, others drowned in the stream, and one hundred and fifty-nine surrendered. Howe, foremost in the skirmish, was the first to fall. Pierced by a bullet in the breast, he expired almost instantly, to the great sorrow of his companions in arms, by whom he was much beloved. His death was fatal to the army, and infatuation and dismay took the place of the cool conduct and courage which had hitherto marked its movements.

The British troops passed the ensuing night under arms in the forest, and next morning Abercromby had no better plan than to withdraw them to the landing-place, about two miles distant. An hour before noon Bradstreet again pushed forward with a strong detachment to rebuild the bridges which the French had thrown down, and take possession of a strong position at some saw-mills, less than two miles from Montcalm's lines, where he was speedily joined by the entire army.

At dawn on the morning of the 8th Colonel Clark, the chief engineer, was despatched with several of the principal officers to reconnoitre the French lines. These Clark represented "to be flimsy in construction and strong in appearance only;" an opinion from which several of the other officers dissented. But Abercromby leaned to the professional counsel of the engineer, and having already learned from a prisoner, who deceived him, however, that Montcalm's force was six thousand strong, and that Levis was marching to support him with three thousand men, he determined to carry the French lines by storm, without even waiting for his cannon. Levis had already joined Montcalm the previous evening, and brought only eight hundred men to his assistance, but four hundred of these were picked troops.

At an early hour the French drums beat to arms, and Montcalm marched his force, which did not amount to four thousand men, into the threatened intrenchments; and having instructed them in the positions they were to occupy, the strengthening of his works was promptly proceeded with, despite the fire of the British light troops. The French intrenchments were of the most formidable description—a fact discovered too late. A solid earthen breast-work protected the defenders from a hostile fire; while the slope in front was covered for nearly one hundred yards with an abatis of felled trees laid close together, the pointed branches of which obstructed the movements of an advancing force. Montcalm designed to protect his flanks, which he had not time to intrench, by batteries, but the rapid advance of the British prevented their construction, and accordingly both ends of his line could have been turned without difficulty. This the French general was well aware of, and gave orders that if either of his flanks were turned, his troops were to abandon the field, and retreat to their boats as they best might.

Totally ignorant of this circumstance, which could never have escaped the sharp eyes of a skilful general, Abercromby rashly de-

terminated to throw his best troops against the enemy's centre, and cut their line in two, while his other troops assailed their right and left. While the army was forming for the attack, Sir William Johnson arrived with four hundred and forty Iroquois, who were pushed forward into the woods to distract the attention of the enemy, but they took no active part in the bloody action that ensued. The American rangers, Bradstreet's boatmen, and some companies of light infantry, formed Abercromby's first line; the second line was composed of the Massachusetts militia; in the third were the British regiments of the line, with Murray's Highlanders, the gallant 42nd. The reserve consisted of the Connecticut and New Jersey militia. While the army was forming, detachments of French came forward and skirmished, but were speedily overpowered and driven back to the cover of their intrenchments.

At one o'clock, having received orders not to fire till they had surmounted the breastwork, the British moved forward in three heavy columns, with skirmishers in the intervals, to force the French defences. Montcalm, who stood just within the intrenchments, while Abercromby occupied a secure post in the rear of his army, threw off his great-coat, the heat of the July afternoon being excessive, and ordered his men not to fire a shot till he commanded. No sooner had the heads of the British columns become entangled among the trees and logs in front of the breastwork, than the word to fire was given, when a sudden and incessant discharge from swivels and small arms mowed down brave officers and men by hundreds.

The light troops and militia were now moved aside, and the grenadier companies of the line, followed by Murray's Highlanders, pushed forward with quick but steady step, and despite the heavy fire of the French, without one hesitating pause or random shot, their column gallantly dashed against the abatis. Through this the grenadiers with desperate valour endeavoured to force their way, but the cool and well-aimed fire of the French smote them rapidly down. Maddened by the delay, the Highlanders, who should have remained in reserve, were not to be restrained, and rushed to the front. For a moment they appeared more successful, but they fiercely won their way through the abatis to die upon the summit of the breastwork, till ere long half of these gallant men, and the greater part of their officers, were slain or severely wounded. Then fresh troops pressed on, and for nearly four hours the attack was renewed again and again by the British; now fiercely rushing forward, then broken and shattered by the murderous fire of the foe, they sullenly retired to reform their ranks for another desperate effort. But the valour of these brave men, thus sacrificed by an incompetent commander, was unavailing; and against that rude barrier so easily turned, and which one hour of well-plied artillery would have swept away, the flower of British chivalry was crushed and broken. At length, in the confusion, an English column lost their way, and fired in mistake on their comrades. This event

produced hopeless dejection ; the disorder in a few minutes became irretrievable, and Highlanders and provincials, rangers and grenadiers, joined in one disgraceful flight.

During the confusion of battle, Abercromby cowered safely at the saw-mills in the rear. When his presence was necessary to rally the fugitives, he was nowhere to be found, and his second in command lost the opportunity of distinguishing himself, and gave no orders. But the disordered troops, finding the French did not pursue them, gradually recovered from their terror, and rallied of their own accord on a few unbroken battalions whom the general had retained in his vicinity, most probably with a view to his own safety. Yet scarcely had confidence been partially restored, than an unaccountable order from Abercromby to retreat to the landing-place renewed the panic. The soldiers concluding they were to embark immediately, to escape the pursuit of their victorious enemy, broke from all order and control, and crowded towards the boats. Fortunately, however, Bradstreet still held together a small force, which he now with prompt decision formed across the landing-place, and would not suffer a man to embark. Had the disordered masses been allowed to rush into the boats, numbers must have perished in the lake ; and thus to the prudence of one man the salvation of many lives may be justly attributed. Owing to Bradstreet's spirited conduct, order was in a little time restored, and the army remained on the lake-shore for the night. It still exceeded the French force four-fold, yet next morning Abercromby re-embarked, did not rest till he was safe across the lake, and even then sent on his artillery and ammunition to Albany, to prevent the possibility of their falling into the hands of Montcalm.

In this sanguinary battle the British army lost nineteen hundred and fifty men in killed, wounded and missing, nearly the whole of whom were regular troops, with a large proportion of officers. Of the French force four hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, among whom there were no less than thirty-eight officers.\* Had the French pursued, the loss of the British must have been much greater ; and no doubt had they been aware of the complete disorder of the enemy, they would have done so. No sooner had the firing ceased than Montcalm caused refreshments to be distributed among his exhausted soldiers, and thanked every regiment for their incredible valour. Dreading a fresh assault when the British would bring up their guns, he employed the night in strengthening his lines. But he had nothing to apprehend from Abercromby, who shared the fright and consternation of his meanest sentinel.—“ Had I to besiege Fort Carillon,” said Montcalm, “ I would ask but for six mortars and two pieces of artillery.”† The English general had still an army of fourteen thousand men, and an amply sufficient siege train ; but he whiled away the season of action near the

\* Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 265. † Bancroft's Hist. United States, vol. iii. p. 217.

site of Fort William Henry in lining out a new fort, and thus signalised himself as one of the many incapables whom the purchase of commissions, and seniority system of the British military service, have elevated to the rank of general officers. Had he been gifted with ordinary military skill and prudence his success was certain. "Never was a general in a more critical position," wrote Montcalm to his mother after the battle. "God has delivered me; his be the praise. He gives me health though I am worn out with labour, fatigue and miserable dissensions, that have determined me to ask for my recall. Vaudreuil was envious of the great officer, and belittled him in every possible way.

But the brave Bradstreet still persisted in his purpose of attacking Fort Frontenac, and was at length supported by a majority in the council of war. At the Oneida portage, Brigadier Stanwix placed under his command nearly three thousand militia, and here he was also joined by forty-two of the Onondagas led by their chief "Red Head." Leading his men down the river past the scene of his brilliant victory in 1756, Bradstreet speedily found himself on Lake Ontario, and landed on the 25th of August within a mile of Fort Frontenac. This famed position he found to be a quadrangle, defended by thirty guns and sixteen small mortars; but the works were weak, and the garrison small and dispirited.

Bradstreet opened his lines at five hundred yards from the fort, but finding the distance too great, and the fire of the enemy little to be feared, he took possession of an old intrenchment near the defences, whence his guns opened with effect. The garrison, consisting of only one hundred and twenty soldiers and forty Indians, were utterly incapable of defence, and surrendered on the morning of the 27th, finding there was no prospect of the succour which the commandant, De Noyan, had already asked from the Governor.—Sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, an immense supply of provisions and ammunition, and all the shipping on the lake, among which were several vessels laden with rich furs, fell into the hands of the victors, who had not to lament the loss of a single man. Owing to the orders of Abercromby, Bradstreet had no choice but to burn and destroy the artillery, the stores, and even the provisions he had so easily captured, and to return by the route he had advanced. The ships, with the exception of two, retained to carry the furs across the lake, were also destroyed, and the fort blown up and abandoned. It was repaired, however, during the summer by the French, who likewise added to the works at Niagara, and strengthened the garrison there. Still, the loss of the large supplies of ammunition and provisions stored up at Frontenac, and the destruction of their fleet, was a severe blow to the French, and seriously crippled their operations westward. De Vaudreuil endeavoured to shift the blame attaching to himself, for not strengthening the garrison, to Noyan; and compromised that officer's position to such an extent, that he was compelled to retire from the military service altogether.

While Bradstreet was engaged in the expedition against Fort Frontenac, Montcalm, from his position at Ticonderoga, lost no opportunity of harassing the outposts of Abercromby's army. On the 17th of July, a party of twenty provincials and three officers were destroyed by the French light troops near Fort Edward; and, ten days afterwards, one hundred and sixteen teamsters were surprised and massacred about the same place. Major Rogers was despatched, with seven hundred men, to seek out and punish the enemy. Hardships and desertion soon reduced his force to nearly five hundred men, who encountered an equal number of French on the 8th of August, and soundly beat them, killing and wounding one hundred and ninety of the enemy, while their own loss was only forty.

The capture of Louisburg and Fort Frontenac, with the bloody repulse of Abercromby by Montcalm, and the affair of outposts just narrated, may be said to have closed the campaign of 1758, at the north. Westward, the French power received a severe check in the capture of Fort Duquesne. On the 30th of June, Brigadier Forbes marched from Philadelphia, *en route* for the Ohio valley, at the head of fifteen hundred regular troops and five thousand militia. Among the latter were two Virginian corps under the command of Washington.

The march over the Alleghanies was long and laborious, and commemorated by the construction of a new road to the Ohio.—September had come before the army arrived at Raystown, within ninety miles of Fort Duquesne. Here Forbes, who had been carried the greater part of the way in a litter, and whose life was fast ebbing, halted the main body of his force, and detached Colonel Bouquet with two thousand men to take post at Loyal Hanna.—This officer, having learned that Fort Duquesne was weakly garrisoned, conceived the idea of capturing it before the arrival of his chief, and accordingly detached Major Grant, with eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginian militia, to effect a reconnaissance of the works. Instead of fulfilling his instructions, and retiring on the main body, Grant posted his men on a hill, and beat a march as a challenge to the garrison. The combat was promptly accepted, and, after a severe action, the Highlanders were completely routed, with a loss of nearly three hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners. In this affair the company of Virginian militia rendered essential service, and were publicly extolled by Forbes.

The whole army now moved forward as rapidly as the rugged nature of the country and the unusually unfavourable weather would permit, the advance led by Washington. Scouting parties of French and Indians endeavoured to impede its march, but were always promptly repulsed. Finding that resistance to the strong force, so cautiously and securely moving against him, could not be made with any prospect of success, the French commandant withdrew from Fort Duquesne, after springing a mine under one of its



faces, and dropped down the stream of the Ohio to the friendly settlements on the Mississippi. It was now the 24th of November, and the hills were already white with snow. On the following day the British took possession of the deserted stronghold, at once proceeded to repair its works, and changed its name to Pittsburg, in honour of the minister who planned its capture, and of whose glory the city on its site remains the enduring memorial.

The capture of Fort Duquesne closed the campaign of 1758. It was an event of considerable importance to the British, and restored their failing military reputation with the western Indians, while it effectually interrupted the communications of the French with their settlements in Louisiana. Brigadier Forbes lived but a brief space to enjoy the credit of its capture: his naturally weak constitution was ruined altogether by the hardships he had undergone during the expedition, and he died at Philadelphia soon after his return, much regretted by his acquaintance. Although the campaign had been chequered with disaster, still its general results were eminently favourable to Great Britain, and reflected additional lustre on the great man who now guided her councils. It restored peace to the western frontier, and freed it from the terrible Indian incursions so fatal to the border settlements. The capture of Louisburg left France without a safe port near the lower St. Lawrence, and effectually closed Canada in on the seaboard, while the reduction of Frontenac and Duquesne had given all the territory to Britain for the possession of which the war had arisen, and cut the enemy's line of defence in two at its central point. The Indians soon began to turn with the tide, and seized three French canoes in Lake Ontario and murdered their occupants. Abercromby's defeat only delayed the final catastrophe for a brief space. His overwhelming force still menaced Canada from the side of Lake Champlain; and Montcalm was fully sensible that it only wanted a skilful general to lead it to victory. That leader Pitt considered he gave it in the prudent Amherst, who received his commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the army in America, in December, and at once proceeded to New York to supersede Abercromby, who returned in disgrace to England. In the same vessel with the fallen general sailed the gallant Wolfe on leave of absence.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL,--*continued*

THE year 1759 opened with dangerous menace to French dominion in the New World. Pitt, whose hands had been strengthened by a vote from the grateful Commons of England of twelve millions sterling to carry on the war, sketched out, with consummate skill, the arrangements for the ensuing campaign 1759. in North America. In appointing his general officers he entirely disregarded seniority of rank, and selected the men he considered most capable of carrying out his views. To Stanwix he entrusted the conquest of the French posts from Pittsburg to Lake Erie ; Prideaux was to reduce Niagara ; while Amherst was instructed to assault Canada by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, to capture Montreal, effect a junction with the expedition against Quebec, and thus terminate French power in North America by a single campaign. But Wolfe was Pitt's favourite general. In him he saw the same noble qualities which were inherent in his own nature. With the intuitively sympathetic love of genius for its fellow he reposed implicit trust in the gallant soldier, and felt that he was safely entrusting the honour of their common country to his keeping. Wolfe, eager for glory, gladly accepted the command of the expedition against Quebec. Still, he could have found happiness in retirement. Gentle, yet courageous ; affectionate, though aspiring ; of highly cultivated tastes, and with a nature formed for the highest enjoyments of pure domestic love, he could fully appreciate all the charms of a peaceful home. But the noble passion for immortal distinction overcame his fondness for repose, and the day before his departure to join his troops, as Pitt detailed his wishes and his plans, he forgot everything but the ardent desire to devote himself to the service of his country.

The large armies which had been set in motion by the British during the campaign of 1758, convinced Vaudreuil that the total extinction of French power in North America was designed.—Bougainville was accordingly despatched to France to solicit provisions and the aid of fresh troops, and preparations were promptly commenced, under the vigilant superintendence of Montcalm, for

the better defence of the colony. A proclamation was issued to the officers of the militia to increase their zeal in preparations for resistance, and directing that all the male inhabitants of the province, from sixteen to sixty years of age, should be enrolled, and hold themselves ready to march at a moment's notice.

In addition to the approach of the fiercest war they had ever yet encountered, the unfortunate *habitants* were now threatened with all the horrors of famine. The recent harvest had been below the average, owing principally to the absence of the farmers on military duty, and the scarcity was still further increased by the peculations and extortions of the civil officers. The rapacity of these men caused the poor people to conceal their scanty stores of provisions, so the troops were now quartered on them by the intendant, who found it otherwise impossible to procure the necessary supplies. The scarcity gradually became so great, that horses had to be killed for the use of the inhabitants and troops at Montreal and Quebec.

Early in January a census was taken of all the inhabitants, who were found to number about eighty-five thousand, of whom fifteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine men were capable of bearing arms. Of these, however, a large proportion were unavailable in time of war, owing to the necessities of agriculture, and the prospect of a still more severe famine if the fields were left untilled. A detachment of artillery, eight battalions of French regulars, and thirty-three companies of the marine or colony troops, formed the real strength of the Canadian army. On the other hand, the British had nearly fifty thousand men under arms, or ready to take the field; provisions were abundant in all their colonies, and the people prosperous.

The gallant Montcalm saw the net with which fate was gradually encircling him, still he never faltered in his duty. He could tell the French minister plainly, "that Canada must be taken in this or the next campaign, without unexpected good fortune or great fault in the enemy," yet he acted with the same vigour as though he felt secure of victory. He was indefatigable in his preparations for the impending struggle. The several fortifications were strengthened, vessels built to command Lake Champlain, and every exertion made to collect provisions, now becoming exceedingly scarce.

On the 14th of May, Bougainville returned from France, bringing with him decorations and promotions in abundance for the officers who had distinguished themselves in the last campaign, but only a slender supply of food, needed much more. The Governor was instructed to undertake all in his power for the defence of Canada, for the conquest of which he was informed the British were making vast preparations, and the French minister wrote to Montcalm, "that the King relied upon his zeal and obstinacy of courage." In a few days afterwards, however, the hearts of the people of Quebec were made glad by the arrival, from France, of

eighteen vessels, laden with supplies, which had eluded the British fleet.

Vaudreuil now addressed a circular to the militia officers, with orders to read it to the people, requiring them to be ready for marching in any direction at a moment's warning with every available man ; and, at the same time, sought to excite their patriotism by a stirring appeal.\*

But the most remarkable document which appeared in Canada at this period, was a pastoral letter from the Bishop, Henry de Pont Briant, to the clergy of his diocese, which gives considerable insight into the civil and religious condition of the people, which he represents as most deplorable ; and he reproves their sins, exhorts them to repentance, and ordains propitiatory processions, masses and prayers, to appease the Divine wrath.†

\* "This campaign," said Vaudreuil, "will afford the Canadians an opportunity of signalising themselves. His Majesty well knows the confidence I have in them, and I have not failed to inform him of their services. His Majesty trusts they will make those efforts that are to be looked for from the most faithful subjects, more particularly as they have to defend their religion, their wives, and their property, from the cruel treatment to be expected from the English.

"With respect to myself, I am resolved not to consent to any capitulation, in hopes that this resolution may have the most ruinous consequences to the English. It is most indubitable, that it would be more merciful for the inhabitants, their wives and children, to be buried under the ruins of the Colony, than to fall into the hands of the English.

"It being highly necessary that the most prudent precautions should be taken to prevent a surprise, I have established beacons from post to post, along the south shore, below Point Levis, to be set fire to as soon as the enemy are discovered.

"We promise every protection to the inhabitants, their wives, children, and property, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English, who would make them suffer the same hardships and miseries experienced by the Acadians. In addition to which, we have the testimony of their late ill conduct, in their treatment of the inhabitants of Cape Breton, notwithstanding the capitulation, as well as those of the Island of St. John.

"Their hatred is so well known towards everything that is Canadian, that they even make them responsible for the cruelties of a few Indians, still forgetting the measures we have taken to prevent a repetition of these actions, and the good treatment which the nation has at all times shown to them when prisoners.

"We have a real satisfaction in declaring that we entertain no apprehensions for the safety of the Colony, yet we shall adopt the most efficacious measures for securing to the inhabitants their rights and property."

† "You are not unacquainted, my dear brethren, wrote the Bishop, with the immense preparations of the enemy, the designs formed to attack the Colony in four different parts, the number of their regular troops and militia, six times at least superior to ours. Neither are you ignorant that they have sent emissaries to all the Indian nations to incite them to forsake us, and rouse those to take up arms against us who are willing to preserve a kind of neutrality. You are sensible, moreover, that they occupy those harbours at the lower end of our river, which hitherto we have regarded as so many barriers ; you perceive every incitement to fear and terror, and you are undoubtedly astonished thereat. The uncertainty of the affairs of Europe, the many dangers to which the succours we expect are exposed, the numerous

During the month of May, a council of war was held at Montreal, which, after several meetings, decided that a strong body of troops should be posted at Quebec under Montcalm ; and that Bourlemaque must take post at Ticonderoga, and blow up the works on the approach of the British, should he find himself unable to resist them. Crown Point was to share the same fate, and he was then to retire to an island at the head of Lake Champlain, and there, aided by the shipping, to make the most stubborn resistance possible, and thus prevent the junction of the armies under Amherst and Wolfe. To withstand any force which might descend from Lake Ontario, Col. La Corne, with eight hundred regulars and militia, was directed to intrench himself above the rapids of the St. Lawrence, and there hold out to the best of his power.

The campaign of 1759 opened with the advance of Brigadier Prideaux, at the head of nearly four thousand regular troops and militia, and a large body of Iroquois, led by Sir William Johnson, against the fort at Niagara. Leaving a detachment under Colonel Haldimand to construct a tenable post at Oswego, the army embarked on Lake Ontario, the 1st of July, and coasting its southern shore landed on the 7th at one of its inlets six miles east of Niagara. Situated at the apex of the angle formed by the junction of the river with the lake, the fort was easily invested on the land side, while the numerous armed boats of the British effectually intercepted all communication by water.

Pouchot, the French commandant, had no sooner learned the approach of the British than he despatched a courier eastward to Frontenac to solicit aid, and another to Detroit and the other

fleets destined for our destruction ; the general scarcity that prevails of everything necessary for our defence as well as our subsistence even in peace, ought naturally to make the greatest impression on our minds. But what ought still to be the cause of the greatest chagrin, is the little zeal for piety observed everywhere, the injurious and wicked speeches maintained against those in whom we ought to place all our confidence ; and what may create still further fear in us, are the profane diversions to which we are addicted with greater attachment than ever ; the insufferable excesses of the games of chance ; the impious hypocrisy in derision or rather in contempt of religion ; the various crimes against Heaven, that have been multiplied in the course of this winter ; all these, my brethren, ought to make us dread everything, and oblige me to declare to you, that God himself is enraged, that His arm is prepared to chastise us, and, in fact, that we deserve it. Yes, my friends, we tell it, in the face of the altars and in bitterness of our heart, that it is not the number of the enemy, nor their utmost efforts that affright us, and make us reflect on the impending disasters both on the state and on religion, but our manifold sins and wickednesses. Eighteen years have now elapsed since the Lord called us, though unworthy, to watch over this extensive diocese ; we have frequently seen you suffer by famine, and disease, and almost continual war. Nevertheless, this year, it appears to us, is in all respects the most afflictive and deplorable, because in reality we are most criminal. Were there ever such open robberies, so many heinous acts of injustice, such shameful rapines heard of ? Who has not seen, in this Colony, families devoted publicly, if I may so say, to crimes of the most odious nature ? Who ever beheld so many abominations ? In almost all ranks the contagion is nearly universal. \* \* \* \* \*



western posts, with orders to their commandants to hasten to his assistance with all the troops they could spare, and as many Indians as could be collected. Confidently expecting succour, he determined to defend the fort to the last extremity, and returned a prompt refusal to the demand of the British general requiring him to surrender at discretion. "My post is strong," said he, "my garrison faithful ; and the longer I hold out the more I will win the esteem of the enemy."

Prideaux planned his approaches with skill, and rapidly advanced them towards the defences, which soon began to crumble under a well-aimed and vigorous fire. Encouraged by the arrival of a small body of French and Indians, who succeeded, at night, in getting into the fort unobserved, the besieged made a sally on the 11th, but were almost immediately repulsed and driven in under the shelter of their guns. On the night of the 13th the British finished their parallels to the lake, and the next day their fire became so heavy that the besieged could only find safety in the covered way and behind their ramparts. On the 19th the French schooner *Iroquois* arrived from Frontenac, and lay off the fort, but dare not venture in, owing to the British batteries, which night and day kept up a harassing and destructive fire. Still Pouchot held bravely out, and watched anxiously for the aid which the summer breezes of Erie should bring to his assistance, and which Prideaux, aware of its approach, had already taken measures to intercept.— But the latter was not fated to see the successful issue of his skill and courage. On the evening of the 19th he was killed in the trenches, while issuing orders, when the command devolved on Johnson.

Meanwhile, DeAubrey rapidly descended from Detroit, at the head of twelve hundred Frenchmen, collected from the different posts towards the Ohio, and nearly fourteen hundred Indians. On the 23rd four savages made their way into the beleaguered fort with a letter to Pouchot, informing him that succour was at hand, and that the British lines would speedily be attacked. But Johnson's scouts had given him ample intelligence of Aubrey's approach, and he coolly prepared for the combat. Leaving sufficient troops to guard the trenches, he threw forward strong pickets, on the evening of the 23rd, to occupy the woods on either side of the rough forest road leading from Chippewa to Niagara, and connected these by a chain of Indian skirmishers. These arrangements completed, and no enemy appearing, the troops lay down to rest with their arms in their hands. It was a warm July night, and the stars glimmered brightly down upon the sombre forest, now unruffled by even the faintest breeze. Close at hand the stillness was unbroken, save by the monotonous breathings of the weary sleepers, or the sentinel's tread. A little further on there would be a brief pause around the beleaguered fort, and then its dark sides became suddenly illumined by its own guns, or revealed by the red light of a salvo from the hostile trenches. From the distance, the

dull boom of the cataract fell upon the ear like the noontide roar of life in London, or the rush of an approaching storm. The white tents of the besieging army, the watch-fires of the camp, and the bright moon whose rays peered softly down amidst the sprays of the forest to glance from the polished muskets of the watchful sentinel, all combined to complete a Canadian night scene of surpassing interest.

On the following morning, at daybreak, Johnson pushed forward his grenadier companies and part of the 46th regiment to strengthen his front, while the 44th regiment was formed in reserve to preserve the communication with the troops in the trenches, and to act wherever its assistance might be needed. About eight o'clock the head of the French column was perceived advancing through the woods, with large bodies of Indians covering either flank. As the enemy came on the British outposts fell steadily back on the main body without firing, while the Iroquois pressed forward to parley with the French Indians, with a view of inclining them to peace. The latter refused to abandon their allies, and accordingly the warriors of the Six Nations again resumed their post on the flanks of the British.

Aubrey now speedily formed his force, and advanced to the attack. Shouting their appalling war-cry the Indians burst through the woods, and fell furiously upon the British line, which coolly awaited their approach, and swept them away with a few rolling volleys. The close and steady fire with which they were received completely astonished the western warriors, and so thorough was their discomfiture, that they disappeared altogether from the field of battle. Their flight left the flanks of the French completely exposed, and they were soon boldly turned by the Iroquois, who pressed rapidly forward through the woods, while the British held their ground in front with the utmost steadiness. Attacked on all sides by greatly superior numbers, the French hesitated, gave way, and, after an action of little more than half an hour, broke into utter rout. Aubrey and all his surviving officers, with a great part of his troops, were taken prisoners, while the fugitives were rapidly pursued and either slain or driven farther into the forest wilderness, where their numerous dead lay uncounted.

No sooner had Johnson withdrawn his forces from the battle-field, than he sent an officer with a flag of truce to inform Pouchot of the victory he had won, and exhorted him to surrender without further bloodshed. The French chief doubted the information, and requested that one of his officers might be allowed to see the prisoners, and hear the tale of their defeat from them. The request was granted, and thus assured of the hopelessness of aid, Pouchot surrendered up the fort and garrison. The terms were liberal.—The French were to march out with all the honours of war, and then to lay down their arms on the lake shore. The women and children were to have safe conveyance to the nearest port of France, while the garrison, six hundred strong, were to be convey-

ed to New York by the most convenient route. All stores, provision and arms, were to be given up to the British general, who undertook, on his part, to preserve his prisoners from every injury and insult, a promise which, unlike Montcalm, he faithfully redeemed. And thus did prudence and valour, with trifling loss of life, win the most important post on the great highway to the west. So decisive, indeed, was the victory, and so effectually did it weaken the western posts of the French, whose garrisons under Aubrey had either been killed or captured, that the officer and troops sent by Stanwyx from Pittsburg took possession of the forts as far as Erie without resistance. Johnson's modesty was equal to his merit. "I have only to regret," he writes in his despatch to Amherst, "the loss of General Prideaux and Colonel Johnson. I endeavoured to pursue the late general's vigorous measures, the good effects of which he deserved to enjoy."

While the siege at Niagara was in progress, a strong body of Canadians and Indians, under La Corne, who had ascended to Frontenac, made a demonstration against the detachment left at Oswego by Brigadier Prideaux. On the 5th of July La Corne endeavoured to carry that post by surprise, by rapidly advancing some Indians and Canadians; but these were speedily repulsed, although their fanaticism was incited to the utmost by the Abbe Picquet.\* The attack was renewed on the following day, but a few discharges of grape and musketry speedily compelled the enemy to retire, and La Corne was under the necessity of departing without a single scalp, although, as some deserters stated, he had offered a large sum for a trophy of this horrible description.

Meanwhile the Commander-in-chief assembled his main army at Lake George, and had considerable difficulty in keeping the militia together, owing to desertion to their homes. Threats and promises

\*In 1754 the Abbe Picquet, still the chief authority at La Presentation, gave most important aid to the Canadian government and its military officers. He had thoroughly acquainted himself with the geography of northern New York, and was thus able to plan various expeditions against the English posts, which were in many cases successful. He sent out his Indians continually on the war path, and they filled the mission with so many prisoners, at times, as to out-number the inhabitants, and thus procured the promotion of several officers. Picquet accompanied many of these expeditions, and frequently found himself in the vanguard at the moment of attack. He distinguished himself in the expeditions against Saratoga, Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Oswego, and his post protected the Colony from western attack during the entire war. Duquesne said Picquet was worth more than ten regiments. In the month of May, 1756, De Vaudreuil got the Abbe to send the chiefs of his mission on an embassy to the Iroquois to attach them more and more to the French. In 1758 he led the expedition which destroyed several English forts on the Mohawk river; and formed parties which harassed the frontier settlements of the enemy. Picquet was not at Fort Presentation when Amherst captured it. With the advice and consent of the Governor and the Bishop, and in order not to fall into the hands of the English, he retreated to Mackinaw in May, 1760, and from thence proceeded to New Orleans, where he remained for nearly two years. He afterwards proceeded to France, and died at Verjon in July, 1781, in his 73rd year.

and even moderate punishment failed to keep them by their colours, till at length a general court-martial sentenced four deserters to be shot ; and yet this terrible example did not altogether abate the evil. On the 22nd of June, Amherst traced out the plan of Fort George, near the spot where Fort William Henry formerly stood, and on the 21st of July, every preparation having been completed, his army, over eleven thousand strong, one-half of whom were regulars, with fifty-four guns, embarked and moved down the lake in four columns. Next day it landed near the place where Abercromby had disembarked the year before. The British vanguard, composed principally of light troops, pushed rapidly forward into the bush, and soon encountered a detachment of French and Indians, who were overpowered and dispersed. Amherst followed with his main body in good order, and halted for the night at the Saw-mills, preparatory to an assault on the French lines, which he learned from some deserters were guarded by Bourlemaque, with a body of three thousand four hundred men, composed of regular troops, Canadians and Indians.

That night the British lay upon their arms, while every exertion was made to bring up the artillery. But, although Amherst's force was inferior to Abercromby's, the French next morning withdrew from the lines which had enabled them to gain their victory of the preceding year, and fell back upon Fort Carillon. The British grenadiers immediately occupied the deserted intrenchment, and the rest of the army encamped a short distance to the rear. A sharp fire was soon opened from the fort on the British camp, but no loss was sustained owing to the great height and strength of the breastwork, which now proved a most effectual shelter. Bourlemaque soon perceived that even the defence of the fort was impracticable, and, in pursuance of his orders in that case, silently abandoned it on the night of the 23rd, leaving four hundred men behind to continue such resistance as might conceal his retreat. These carried out their orders in the most effectual manner by making an assault upon the besiegers' trenches, where they killed and wounded sixteen men, and caused considerable confusion in the darkness of the night. During the 24th and 25th they kept up a constant fire on the trenches, and having got the range accurately, caused a good deal of trouble and some loss of life. On the night of the 26th, deserters brought intelligence to Amherst that the garrison had abandoned the fort, but left every gun loaded and pointed, mines charged to blow up the defences, and a lighted fuse communicating with the powder magazine. In a few moments a tremendous explosion confirmed their statements, and the next minute the flames of the wooden breastwork, barracks and stores, fell far and near upon the lake and forest, their lurid glare deepened at intervals by the flashes of the bursting guns and exploding mines.

General Amherst promptly detached some light troops in pursuit of the retreating French, from whom were captured several boats,

laden with powder, and sixteen prisoners. At daylight a sergeant volunteered to strike the French flag, which still floated uninjured above the ruined fort, and raise that of Britain in its place. A detachment soon after succeeded in extinguishing the flames, when the task of repairing the works was speedily proceeded with, while Captain Loring of the navy raised some French boats which had been sunk, and commenced the construction of a brig, in order to strengthen the British naval power, which was much inferior to that of the enemy, on the lake.

The capture of Crown Point was the next important step to be accomplished, and Major Rogers was despatched with two hundred rangers to examine the position, establish himself in some strong post near the fort, and hold out, if attacked, till relieved by the advance of the army. But it was soon ascertained that the French had also dismantled and abandoned Crown Point, which was accordingly taken possession of by a British detachment. On the 4th of August, Amherst came up with his main force, encamped, and traced out the lines of a new fort, as a protection against the scouting parties of the French and Indians, who had so long been the terror of the British frontier settlements.

Bourlemaque had retreated to the Isle-aux-Noix, at the northern extremity of the lake, where he strongly intrenched himself. Here, with a force of three thousand five hundred men, one hundred pieces of cannon, and four armed vessels commanded by naval officers, he determined to defend the entrance of the Richelieu to the last extremity. Amherst has been much censured for not capturing this post, and effecting a junction with Wolfe at Quebec, but when his position comes to be fairly examined, it is at once evident that he has been unjustly condemned. The command of the Richelieu was then absolutely necessary to the descent of an army from Lake Champlain on Canada, it being the only open road, and a land force was utterly helpless before an enemy strongly intrenched on an island, who also held complete command of the surrounding waters with his fleet. Amherst under these circumstances had only two courses to pursue. One was to open a road through the forest, and to push on to Montreal, leaving Bourlemaque in his rear ; the other to obtain command of the lake, and drive him from his position. He wisely adopted the latter course. Before, however, it could be fully carried out, the bleak winds of October swept over the lake, and the main body of the British invading army was compelled to waste its strength in inaction on the very threshold of Canada. Nor was the force which Prideaux had led against Niagara more fortunate. On learning the death of that officer, Amherst had sent Brigadier Gage to assume the command, and instructed him to descend from Oswego with a sufficient force to capture Ogdensburg, or, as it was still called, La Presentation. But Gage allowed his harvest-time of honour to pass away, to Amherst's infinite chagrin, and this important operation was deferred till the ensuing year.



While the bulk of the army lay inactive at Crown Point, a detachment of two hundred rangers under the indefatigable Rogers, already so distinguished in border warfare, was despatched to punish the Indians at Lake St. Francis for detaining an officer and some men, who had been sent with a flag of truce to offer them peace on condition of their remaining neutral. Rogers suffered the greatest hardships in penetrating the untrodden wilderness. One-fourth of his men dropped behind from fatigue, or perished in the march. Still he persevered, arrived in the vicinity of his destination on the evening of the 22nd of October, and pushed forward alone to reconnoitre. The Indians were engaged in the war-dance, and exhausted by fatigue, as midnight approached, they sank into a profound slumber. But a foe as subtle as themselves, and infuriated by long years of injury, now hovered near, prepared to inflict the punishment their numerous massacres of women and children so justly merited. At two o'clock in the morning the British burst upon the sleepers with a loud cry of vengeance, and two hundred warriors were speedily slain, but the women and children were spared. Meanwhile a French detachment had captured Roger's boats, and threatened to cut off his retreat. Breaking into small parties, the British sought the shelter of the forest, and underwent the most extreme hardships before reaching a friendly settlement.

On the 10th of October a brig mounting eighteen guns arrived at Crown Point from Ticonderoga, and a sloop of sixteen guns being also ready, the army embarked in boats for Isle-aux-Noix, and proceeded up the lake in four divisions. But a severe storm and mishaps of various kinds retarded its progress, and although the greater part of the French fleet was destroyed, the lateness of the season rendered it useless to advance, and Amherst reluctantly retired to place his troops in winter quarters: a measure the more necessary as the provincials had become unusually sickly. Thus closed the campaign of the British forces, which menaced Canada towards the west: it now remains for us to trace the operations in the St. Lawrence.

As soon as the weather permitted Wolfe assembled his army, amounting to about eight thousand men, at Louisbourg. It was divided into three brigades, led by Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend and Murray, while its adjutant-general was Isaac Barre, an Irishman of humble birth, eloquent, ambitious and fearless, to whom the authorship of the Letters of Junius has been attributed, and who subsequently perished on his return from the East Indies. The fleet, consisting of twenty-two men-of-war and as many frigates and armed vessels, was under the command of Admiral Saunders, a brave, skilful, and kind-hearted sailor. On board of one of its ships was Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, while James Cook, the celebrated navigator, who subsequently traversed the unexplored waters of the Pacific, and threaded his way amidst its many isles, was sailing-master of another.

On the 1st of June preparations were made to put to sea from

Louisburg, yet fully six days elapsed before the huge armament had entirely cleared the land. While spreading sail the admiral received the unwelcome intelligence, that his advanced squadron had suffered three French frigates and several store-ships to pass up the St. Lawrence. Two vessels only were captured, on board of which were found charts of the river that proved of the greatest service to the British fleet.

On the 26th the armament arrived safely off the Isle of Orleans, and preparations were promptly commenced for the disembarkation of the troops. Great was now the confusion and distress at Quebec, where the reverses of the preceding year's campaign had already produced the most dismal forebodings. To the clerical orders, especially, the prospect of British rule was particularly unpalatable. This was forcibly illustrated while the British fleet was still ascending the river. The advance under Durell carried French colours till they arrived off Bic. Its inhabitants imagined, in consequence, that the expected succours had arrived from France, and messengers were despatched to Quebec with the intelligence. But when the white colours were struck, and the Union Jack hoisted in their place, their consternation and grief were inconceivable, and the occurrence so affected a priest, who stood on the shore with telescope in hand, that he dropped down and instantly expired.\*

Early on the morning of the 27th, the troops landed on the island, which the inhabitants had abandoned during the previous night, and with the fertility and beauty of which the soldiers were delighted after their wearisome voyage. The eye of genius has often since rested upon the magnificent *coup d'œil* which now burst upon the vision of their young general, from the western end of the isle, but the scene can hardly ever again awaken the emotions which then agitated his bosom. In the foreground, the white tents of his camp glanced in the sunshine; on his left lay the magnificent fleet at anchor; in his front, the citadel of Quebec was seen in the distance rising precipitously against the horizon in the midst of one of the grandest scenes of nature, and apparently impregnable. For its defence the gallant Montcalm had exhausted, with the means at his disposal, every plan which ingenuity and skill could devise. Above Quebec the height on which the Upper Town is built, spreads out into an elevated table-land, suddenly terminated towards the river by steep declivities. In this direction, for nine miles or more to Cape Rouge, every landing-place was intrenched and guarded. Immediately below the city, the River St. Charles, its mouth then closed by a boom and defended by stranded frigates, swept its rocky base, and expanded into marshes which afforded additional security. From thence to the Montmorency, a distance of eight miles, extended the position occupied by the French army, protected by numerous redoubts and intrench-

\* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. i. p. 291.

ments, the shoals and rocks of the St. Lawrence, and almost impregnable. Behind lay the rich valley of the St. Charles, and the pretty villages of Charlesburg and Beauport, which, with a few other hamlets, gave shelter and hospitality in the rear. For the defence of these formidable lines Montcalm had twelve thousand French and Canadian troops and about four hundred Indians.

As Wolfe gazed with intense interest on the prospect, to him at once beautiful and appalling, a storm suddenly gathered, and soon the teeming rain veiled the opposite shore, while a dangerous hurricane swept over the river with destructive force. Transports were driven from their moorings and cast ashore, smaller vessels were dashed against each other and swamped, while the vessels of war with difficulty held their anchors. Wolfe retraced his steps thoughtfully to the camp, somewhat discouraged by the great difficulties which he now saw clearly beset the enterprise he had promised Pitt to accomplish if possible. The storm passed away; evening soon merged into a night at once still and dark; and now Montcalm sent down six fire-ships on the receding tide towards the British fleet. From these shot and shell crashed among the trees and rocks, or left long seething furrows in the stream. Presently lurid flames burst from their hulls, caught the sails, and ran along their masts and spars in thin red lines, lighting up the river, the hostile camps, and the city in the distance. As the blaze increased explosion after explosion tossed the burning vessels hither and thither, the tide still carrying them steadily towards the fleet. The sentries terrified at a sight so unusual, and believing that the French were advancing in force, fell back upon their pickets, and these in turn on the main body, when the drums beat to arms.—Daylight alone restored confidence and order. Meanwhile, a number of well-manned boats put off towards the fire-ships, and the sailors, waiting till all the guns had exploded, fastened grappling irons to their hulls and towed them leisurely ashore.

Finding that the channel at the Island of Orleans was neither a safe nor convenient anchorage in rough weather, Admiral Saunders determined to pass up into the basin, or harbour of Quebec, and learning that the French occupied, with some troops and artillery, the headland of Point Levis, from whence they could seriously annoy his ships, he requested Wolfe to take possession of it. This duty was assigned to Brigadier Monckton, who pushed forward one of his regiments on the evening of the 29th, and following next morning at daybreak with the rest of his brigade, soon occupied the point, despite a stout resistance by a body of Canadians and Indians some twelve hundred strong.

In the possession of this post, Montcalm felt the British had gained a dangerous advantage. From the first he had seen its importance, for although it was three-quarters of a mile from the city heavy guns could play from thence with destructive effect. In a council of war he had urged that four thousand men should be strongly intrenched at Point Levis, and hold it to the last extremity,

but was overruled by the Governor, and from that hour the general regarded the latter with greater dislike than before.\* He made a feeble attempt to dislodge the British by attacking their position with three floating batteries, but these were repulsed by a single broadside from a frigate, which a fair wind speedily carried up to the scene of action.

Wolfe had already issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, offering safety in person and property if they remained neutral. But the counter-proclamations and threats of Montcalm, and their own national prejudices, held them fast in their allegiance. In company with the Indians they hung upon the skirts of the British army, cutting off and scalping stragglers whenever practicable, and Wolfe's soldiers, some of whom had been at the massacre of Fort William Henry and well trained in forest warfare, began to make reprisals of the same description, and burn and plunder on every opportunity. The British general endeavoured to restrain these excesses, but was ultimately so enraged by the cruel massacre of several of his men, that he allowed his light troops to retaliate on Indians, or on Canadians disguised like them, but forbade them, under the penalty of death, to molest the peaceable inhabitants.

A battery at Point Levis, and another at the western point of the Isle of Orleans, gave sufficient security to the fleet. These were completed by the morning of the 9th of July, when three frigates of light draught opened fire upon the French lines below Quebec.—Monckton, at the same time, marched his brigade along the opposite side of the river, in order to distract Montcalm's attention while Wolfe was taking post with the main body of his army on the eastern bank of the Montmorency. He was thus placed at an angle with the French lines along the St. Lawrence, and in their rear, but the rapid current of the Montmorency, rushing over its rocky bed in impassable eddies and rapids, still separated the hostile armies. Three miles in the interior a ford was discovered, but the opposite bank was steep, woody, and well intrenched, and its passage impracticable in the face of a superior force. Not a spot along the Montmorency for miles into the interior, nor on the St. Lawrence to Quebec, was left unprotected by the vigilant Montcalm, and Wolfe began to despair of forcing him to a battle on anything like equal terms. The French once defeated, he felt assured that Quebec, insufficiently supplied with military stores and threatened by famine, must surrender; but to compel them to fight with a fair prospect of success to British arms was the great difficulty. Vainly did Wolfe penetrate the dense bush and rugged country along the Montmorency, in order to discover some favourable point to turn Montcalm's flank, and thus bring on a battle in

\* A bitter feud had almost immediately arisen between Vaudreuil and Montcalm, on the latter's arrival in Canada. The Governor became jealous of the general, and repeatedly wrote to the authorities in France to his prejudice. Montcalm made the breach still wider by vigorously denouncing the fraudulent conduct of the Canadian officials.



rear of his lines. These reconnaissances only led to the slaughter of his light infantry by the Indians and Canadians lurking in the secret places of the forest, and the British general soon saw that he must look for success in some other direction.

No sooner had Wolfe established himself at the Montmorency, than Montcalm, urged by the solicitations of the inhabitants of the Lower Town, who dreaded the destruction of their houses, resolved to hazard a night attack on Monckton's position at Point Levis.—It failed completely, the Canadians missing their way and firing upon one another in the dark, with a loss to themselves of seventy killed and wounded, while the British lines were left wholly undisturbed. Next day a battery opened upon the town, the lower part of which was soon much damaged, and on the 16th a shell set a house in the Upper Town on fire. Fanned by a strong west-wind, the conflagration destroyed many buildings before it was arrested, and among others the great cathedral, with all its paintings, images, and ornaments. But the defences still remained uninjured, and the destruction of property caused by the fire from Point Levis, only diminished the value of the prize for which the British strove without bringing them nearer to its possession.

Completely foiled in his endeavours to force Montcalm's lines, and bring on a battle below the city, Wolfe now determined to reconnoitre the bank of the river above it, and ascertain whether anything could be effected in that direction. To effect this reconnaissance the protection of a sufficient force was necessary, and accordingly towards midnight of the 18th, a small squadron under Captain Rous, favoured by a fair wind and tide, run the gauntlet of the enemy's batteries without being even discovered by the sentinels, two of whom Montcalm hung on the following day for their carelessness. The French speedily constructed a battery at Sillery to annoy Rous's squadron, but its fire only had the effect of causing him to weigh anchor, and to move a little farther up the river.

The French artillerymen had scarcely ceased firing at Rous's frigates, when a boat was observed skirting the southern shore, the mast of which they carried away by a shot. This boat bore Wolfe and Admiral Saunders on their way to reconnoitre the river's bank above. The keen eye of the general traced the outline of the precipitous hill on which stands Quebec, and beheld a natural fastness defended at every assailable point by cannon, boats and floating batteries. Matters looked just as unpromising above the town as below it; the banks were everywhere high and precipitous; at every weak point intrenchments had been thrown up, and each movement of an enemy was jealously watched.

Wolfe was almost in despair; yet he determined to persevere, in the hope that some fortunate occurrence would aid him. To divide and harass the enemy, and obtain intelligence, he directed Colonel Carleton, who commanded the troops with Rous's squadron, to make a descent on the small town of Pointe-aux-Trembles, twenty-one miles up the river from Quebec, to which many of the inhabitants



of the city had retreated with their goods and valuables. A few Indians made a feeble resistance, and a number of useless prisoners, some plunder, and several packets of letters, fell into the hands of the British. The latter furnished important intelligence. "The Governor and Montcalm have disagreed," said one; "But for our priests and the dread of the savages we would submit," said another, a third stated, "We are without hope and food; since the English have passed the town, our communication with Montreal is cut off—God hath forsaken us." To increase the misery of the besieged, orders were now given to lay waste the surrounding country.

On the 25th, Wolfe proceeded up the eastern bank of the Montmorency, to examine some works which the French were erecting on the opposite side. His escort was attacked, and for a time hardly pressed by a strong body of Indians, who were only repulsed after a loss had been sustained of fifty killed and wounded.—Next morning the 78th Highlanders, surprised a French detachment, and slew nine of them. Scarcely a day passed over without skirmishes now taking place. On the night of the 28th the French sent down a large fire-raft, but it was towed ashore without doing any injury, and Wolfe threatened that if any more such were made they would be fastened to those vessels in which were the French prisoners. This threat had the desired effect.

July was almost gone, and the British general had as yet effected little towards the capture of Quebec. It was true, he had severely harassed the enemy, and that he occupied the most important points in the neighbourhood of the beleaguered fortress, but its defences still remained untouched. Before leaving England Wolfe had been taught that his force was merely auxiliary to Amherst's army, and another man, with the formidable obstacles which everywhere encountered him, would have awaited its arrival. But with dauntless resolution he hoped on almost against hope, and, although his constitution was rapidly breaking up, resolved to make every effort to serve his country.

The Montmorency after falling over a perpendicular rock expands into shallows for a distance of three hundred yards, and flows into the St. Lawrence at an obtuse angle. Near the apex of this angle Montcalm had placed a four-gun redoubt. The shallows of the Montmorency were fordable at low tide, and Wolfe now arranged with the admiral, that one column should wade across the stream and assault this redoubt, while another disembarking from the boats of the fleet supported the movement from the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile, the batteries from beyond the Montmorency were to sweep the French lines, while that at Point Levis was to play vigorously on the city. Could he possess himself of this redoubt and turn the right of the French line, Montcalm must then either fight or retreat. In the latter case the St. Charles, defended by a boom and two stranded frigates, would still be between Wolfe and the town; but one difficulty overcome, he trusted to surmount the other.

On the 31st July, every preparation having been made, three vessels of light draught, two of which, however, grounded, ran in-shore, and opened fire upon the redoubt. The movements of the British warned Montcalm of their true point of attack, and he promptly made disposition to baffle it by a flank movement across the ford of the Montmorency, and capture their batteries, while their main body wasted its strength against his intrenchments. The British general, however, saw his intention, and directed the 48th, left in the works at Point Levis, to push up the river as if to attack the French position above the city. This proceeding compelled Montcalm to relinquish his flank movement, and detach the two battalions he intended should accomplish it to observe the 48th.—Meanwhile, night was coming on apace, and a storm already darkened the distant horizon; but Wolfe, observing disorder in the enemy's line, owing to new formations of troops, gave the signal to advance at five o'clock, and with a loud cheer the sailors bent to their oars, and the long motionless flotilla sprang into life. Some of the leading boats grounded on a rock, others were swamped by the guns of the enemy, and for a brief space it seemed as though the British would be beaten back. Wolfe sprang into a cutter and soon discovered a safe passage to the shore, to which a few pulls carried the flotilla. The next moment the eager troops jumped upon land, when the French gave a parting volley, abandoned the redoubt, and retreated to their intrenchments, crowning the crest of the slope beyond.

Several companies of grenadiers and some Royal Americans were the first ashore. These had orders to form in four columns on the beach, and wait the arrival of the remainder of the troops from the boats, and Townshend's brigade already advancing across the Montmorency. But proud of their post of preference, exasperated at their long delay, and regardless of the orders of their officers, they rushed forward to storm the French intrenchments. Wolfe saw that this rash valour had ruined the fortunes of the day, and instead of supporting the advance of his grenadiers, whom he strove ineffectually to recall, formed the remainder of his troops in admirable order on the beach to cover their inevitable retreat.

Meanwhile the storm burst, the ground became slippery, and the teeming rain soon spoiled the ammunition of the grenadiers.—Still they pressed on, relying upon the bayonet, although they could scarcely keep their feet. But one close and steady volley from the French was sufficient to roll them back from the crest of the hill, when they sullenly retired, leaving over two hundred of their killed and wounded behind at the mercy of the Indians, who speedily swarmed across the field. The evening was far advanced, the tide was beginning to flow, the ammunition of the whole army had been damaged by the rain, the French, who had suffered little or no injury, while the British were weakened by the loss of thirty-three officers and four hundred and ten men, had concentrated their strength, and all that Wolfe could now do was to effect an

orderly retreat. Such of the wounded as could yet be saved were carried from the field, the stranded ships were abandoned and burnt, and the flotilla embarked and rowed away from the fatal shore, while Townshend's and Murray's brigades recrossed the ford without interruption, and resumed their position on the heights east of the Montmorency.

In the meantime, Admiral Holmes had joined Rous's squadron above the town, and twelve hundred men were now despatched, under Brigadier Murray, to aid in the destruction of the French vessels which had retired up the river. These avoided the danger of capture by sending their guns and stores ashore, and taking refuge in the shallows towards Montreal, one brigantine excepted, which having grounded was abandoned and destroyed. Murray, as the fleet advanced up the river, found every landing-place fortified, and the French on the alert. After two fruitless attempts to disembark, he finally effected his purpose at the village of D'Eschambault, thirty-nine miles from Quebec, which was defended by some invalid soldiers, and carried without difficulty. A few prisoners of some importance were taken, and letters fell into Murray's hands, from which he learned the occupation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Amherst, and the capture of Niagara by Johnson. Finding that he could effect nothing of importance, the brigadier hastened down the river to convey this glad intelligence to Wolfe. He found the general, chagrined by the failure at Montmorency, and worn out by his exertions, stricken with fever, and unable to bear the presence of his officers. Still the British batteries thundered vigorously from the heights of Montmorency on the French lines, while the fire from Point Levis laid waste the city. On the morning of the 10th of August, at one o'clock, a shell pitched upon the vaulted roof of a cellar in the Lower Town, and burst beneath, igniting a large quantity of brandy which was stored there. The flames quickly spread, and nearly the whole of the quarter was burned down, including the church erected to commemorate Phips' defeat. A fire broke out at the same time in the Upper Town, but did not do much injury.

Amherst's and Johnson's successes, although gratifying in themselves, gave no hope of aid to Wolfe before the close of the campaign. The difficulties which had hitherto impeded his own progress, taught him what others had to encounter, and he saw that he must depend solely on himself, and struggle on unaided. The numerous body of armed men under Montcalm "could not," he said, "be called an army;" but the French had probably the strongest country in the world to cover the approaches to the only vulnerable points of the town. The keen eye of the Indian scout prevented surprise, and the peasantry, so long as they could be kept together, being thoroughly exasperated by the forays of the British troops, and incited by their clergy, were zealous to defend their homes, their language, and their religion. Every one able to bear arms was in the field; and old men and boys fired upon the

English detachments from every position which gave them concealment—from the edges of the woods, from behind rocks and houses. Nevertheless Wolfe felt that every exertion must continue to be made, and, while yet disabled by sickness, laid a plan before his brigadiers, embracing three different and equally desperate methods of attacking Montcalm in his intrenchments below the town. They unanimously rejected them all, and adopted instead Brigadier Townshend's plan of landing an army above the town, and thus draw the French from their impregnable position to an open action. "I have acquiesced in their proposal," said Wolfe in his admirable despatch to Pitt of the 2nd of September, alluding to the course recommended by his brigadiers, and we are preparing to put it into execution. There is such a choice of difficulties, that I am myself at a loss how to determine." Attended by the admiral he once more examined the citadel with a view to a general assault.—Although every one of the passages from the Lower to the Upper Town was intrenched, the gallant Saunders was willing to join in any hazard for the public service. But the general saw that the undertaking promised no success, and while he had the main force of Canada to oppose the magnificent fleet could still give him no assistance.

But if Wolfe's difficulties were great, so also were those which surrounded Montcalm. He knew not where to turn for a ray of hope, except to the now rapidly approaching winter. Danger menaced him on every side. Gage threatened him from Lake Ontario, Amherst from Lake Champlain, while the stately fleet riding securely at anchor below left no hope of succour from France. The peculation and misconduct of the civil officers wasted his resources, and he hesitated not to tell even the Governor himself, that he had sold his country; "but while I live," exclaimed the intrepid soldier, "I will not deliver it up." "Of one thing I can assure you," wrote he to a friend, "I shall not survive the probable loss of the Colony. There are times when a general's only resource is to die with honour; this is such a time; no stain shall rest on my memory." But he found consolation in the idea, that the conquest of Canada must speedily lead to the independence of the British colonies. Provisions and ammunition were becoming scarce in his camp, and the unhappy peasants stole to their homes by dozens to gather in their harvest. He scourged some offenders, hanged others, and threatened their villages with the vengeance of the savages; yet he could not keep them together, and was finally obliged to allow two thousand of the militia to depart, to gather in their crops, at the most critical period of the campaign.

The new plan of operations adopted by Wolfe, rendered the concentration of his troops at Point Levis necessary, and preparations were at once made to evacuate the position at the Montmorency. These were all completed by the 3rd of September, when the troops safely crossed over the river. The vigilant eye of Montcalm had anticipated this movement from the unusual stir among the British,



and he marched two strong columns to attack them while embarking. Monckton, from the heights of Point Levis, discovered the danger which menaced the retiring brigades, and embarking a strong detachment in boats, protected by some sloops and frigates, rowed towards the Beauport shore, as if about to assault the French lines. Montcalm was accordingly compelled to recall his battalions for their defence, and to permit the British troops at Montmorency to embark without molestation.

On the 7th, 8th and 9th, Admiral Holmes constantly manœuvred his fleet above the town, and harassed the enemy by threatening their different posts. Wolfe had partially recovered, and in company with his brigadiers now closely reconnoitred the bank of the river, in the hope of discovering some point by which the army could ascend to the Plains of Abraham. At length, about three miles above the city, he discovered a narrow path winding up the steep precipice from the water's edge, at a point which is now known as Wolfe's Cove, where the bank curved slightly inwards.—Two men could scarcely ascend this path abreast, yet here he determined his army should disembark, and take the guard at the summit, which he knew by the number of tents could not exceed a hundred, by surprise. Once on the plains above the French must, of necessity, give him battle.

Preparations were promptly commenced for the execution of this plan ; and in order to deceive Montcalm as to the true point of attack, Cook, the great mariner, and others, were sent to sound the river at Beauport, and plant buoys along the shore, as if an assault was intended in that quarter. But the real design was kept carefully secret, as otherwise the treachery of a single deserter would have prevented its execution. On the morning of the 12th one of the Royal Americans did go over to the enemy, but from the caution observed was unable to warn them of their danger. At the same time a French deserter brought most important intelligence to Wolfe. "The main force," said he, "is still below the city, and our general will not believe that you meditate an attack anywhere but from the Montmorency side. The Canadians are alarmed by the fall of Niagara, and in great distress for provisions. Levis, with a large detachment, has left us for Montreal to meet Amherst ; and Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, watches the motions of your fleet in the upper river."

As evening approached the heavier ships of the line moved towards the Beauport shore, and anchored as near it as the water would permit, when the boats were lowered and filled with sailors and marines, as if to make a descent on the French intrenchments. While the enemy's attention was thus occupied, all the smaller ships of the fleet suddenly spread out their sails, and with a fair breeze swept proudly past the batteries of Quebec, and soon joined Holmes's squadron at Cape Rouge. At the same time Monckton's and Murray's brigades pushed up along the river from Point Levis, till they arrived opposite the fleet, on board of which they em-



barked without being observed by the enemy. At nine o'clock the first division of the army, sixteen hundred strong, silently removed into flat-bottomed boats, and waited the orders of their chief.

It was a pleasant autumn night, and the full lustrous stars of a northern firmament shone brightly down on the noble current of the St. Lawrence, as Wolfe quietly passed from ship to ship to make his final inspection, and utter his last words of encouragement. In a pure and gifted mind like his the solemn hour could scarcely fail of awakening befitting associations. He spoke of the poet Gray, and the beautiful legacy he had given the world in his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." "I would prefer," said he, "being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow;" and, while the cautious dip of the oars into the rippling current alone broke the stillness of the night, he repeated:—

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike the inexorable hour,  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

About one o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, the order to advance was given, and the flotilla dropped silently down with the receding tide, Wolfe commanding in person. He still continued his poetical musings, but his eye at the same time was keenly bent on the outline of the dark heights beneath which he floated past. He recognised at length the appointed spot, and leaped ashore.—Meantime, the current had carried a few boats lower down, which had on board the light company of the 78th Highlanders. These were the first troops to land, and without a moment's hesitation they scrambled up the face of the wooded precipice, clinging to the roots and branches of trees. Half the ascent was already won, when for the first time the "*qui vive*" of the French sentry above was given. "*La France*," promptly answered McDonald, the Highland captain, with ready self-possession, and the sentinel shouldered his musket and pursued his rounds. In a few minutes, however, the unusual rustling among the trees near at hand alarmed the sentinels, their guard was turned out and fired one hurried volley at the Highlanders, and then panic-stricken rapidly fled. By this time another body of troops had pressed up the pathway, and possessed themselves of the four-gun redoubt which commanded it. As day dawned Wolfe stood with his invincible battalions on the Plains of Abraham, the battle-field which gave a new empire to the Anglo-Saxon race. Only one field gun, however, could be got up the hill, so difficult was the ascent.

Meanwhile, Montcalm had been completely deceived by the demonstration against his lines below the town. All night long boats plied off and on from the shore, while the ships of war swept the beach with their fire, as if to keep it clear for the landing of troops. Daylight at length came on; yet he knew nothing of the danger

that menaced him in another direction. Presently the morning breeze bore along the boom of a distant gun, and the scattered roll of musketry, from above the beleaguered town. While he yet doubted as to their cause, a horseman galloped up and told him the British had ascended to the Plains of Abraham. "It can be but a small party come to burn a few houses and retire," said Montcalm in amazement. The man persisted that the British were there in force. "Then," said the general, "they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison ; we must give them battle and crush them before mid-day."\*

Leaving Governor de Vaudreuil behind with fifteen hundred militia, and despatching a courier to recall Bougainville, Montcalm hurried his troops across the valley of the St. Charles, over the bridge, and along the northern face of the ramparts to the battleground, where Wolfe, having already formed his line, calmly awaited his approach. The 35th regiment was posted on the extreme right near the precipice. On its left stood the grenadiers of Louisburg ; the 28th, the 43rd, the 58th, the 78th Highlanders, and the 47th completed the front, led by Wolfe and Monckton on the right, and Murray on the left. The second line, composed of the 15th regiment and two battalions of the 60th or Royal Americans, was led by Townshend. The 48th regiment, in four columns, formed the reserve under Colonel Burton. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, posted in houses or scattered through the neighbouring coppices, covered the left flank and rear. The right flank was effectually protected by the precipice. The entire British army was somewhat under five thousand men, but they were all well-trained veterans.

About six o'clock small bodies of the French troops deployed on the slopes near the ramparts of the city ; by seven they mustered more numerous, and brought up two field guns, which caused some annoyance to the British. Towards eight o'clock, Montcalm had arrived with the bulk of his army, which he formed in three distinct masses on a slope to the north-west of the city, where they were sheltered from Wolfe's solitary but mischievous gun. At nine, he pushed to the front, and began to form his line of battle, being assured that Bougainville, whose light cavalry, of which he had three hundred and fifty, already threatened the British left, was close at hand. His centre was formed of seven hundred and twenty regular troops and twelve hundred militia. The right was composed of sixteen hundred veterans and four hundred militia : on the left were thirteen hundred trained soldiers, supported by two thousand three hundred of the Canadian levies. His total force thus amounted to seven thousand five hundred and twenty men,

\* The Chevalier Johnston a jacobite Scotchman, in the service of France, says that he was with Montcalm, and that the general himself was the first to discover Wolfe's army ; but this appears altogether doubtful, and is not supported by other evidence. Montcalm had remained with his troops below the city during the night, and therefore could not have *first discovered* the British.

besides Indians, who were not less than four hundred.\* Of this force scarcely one half were regular troops, but the expected arrival of Bougainville would add fifteen hundred veterans to his army, and, he trusted, enable him to win the battle and save Quebec.

Montcalm designed to avail himself of his superior force, by out-flanking the British left, and thus crowding them towards the landing-place, where he would assail them again with his own left and centre, while Bougainville threatened their rear. Thus attacked on three sides at the same time, he considered that the stubborn courage of the enemy must give way. The British position formed two sides of a square, one of which was occupied by their line of battle, the other by Colonel Howe's light infantry, who, as already stated, thus covered the left flank and rear.

Agreeably to his plan of operations, Montcalm began the battle at ten o'clock, by assailing Howe's position with a strong body of Canadian and Indian skirmishers, who speedily drove in the British pickets on their supports. Under cover of the cloud of smoke which soon rose over this part of the battle-field, the veterans of the French right wing passed swiftly at an angle with the British left, and fiercely assaulted their light infantry. Howe felt the importance of his post, and made a stout resistance. His men fell fast, but in a few minutes Townshend, with the 15th regiment and two battalions of the 60th, came to his aid, and the assailants were speedily beaten back with heavy loss.

The attempt to out-flank the British left being thus completely defeated, Montcalm's only resource was to attack their right and centre. Throwing forward a swarm of skirmishers, their fire speedily dislodged the few light infantry with which Wolfe had covered his front, and drove them back in disorder on the main body. This occurrence somewhat alarmed the British troops, but Wolfe, hurrying along the line, cheered them by his voice and presence, and directed them on no account to fire without orders. He speedily succeeded in restoring confidence. Recalling his light troops, Montcalm now pushed forward his whole centre and left, which with loud cheers and arms at the recover moved boldly on to the attack. As the smoke of the skirmishers' fire cleared off from the battle-field, the long ranks of the French were seen rapidly approaching the British position. At the distance of one hundred and fifty yards an oblique movement from the left gave their lines the appearance of columns, which chiefly threatened Wolfe's right wing. Another moment passed, the French paused, and from flank to flank poured a murderous and rapid fire upon the

\* Bancroft estimates the French army under five thousand, but quotes no authority in support of this statement. Smith, who wrote shortly after the battle, and had access to the most accurate sources of information on this head, gives the number as above. He also furnishes the official return or state of the British army on the morning of the battle, showing its strength to be exactly four thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight on the field.—Garneau is inaccurate and partial in this as well as in numerous other cases.

British line. The 35th and the grenadiers fell fast. Still not a shot was returned. Wolfe was struck in the wrist, but wrapping a handkerchief around the wound he hurried from rank to rank, warning

The official return shows that the following British regiments were present at the battle of the 13th September, and the total number of men and officers in each :—

15th Regiment,	-	-	-	406	of all ranks.
28th	"	-	-	421	"
35th	"	-	-	519	"
43rd	"	-	-	327	"
47th	"	-	-	360	"
48th	"	-	-	683	"
58th	"	-	-	335	"
60th	"	2nd Battalion,	-	322	"
60th	"	3rd	"	540	"
78th Highlanders,	-	-	-	662	"
Louisburg Grenadiers,	-	-	-	241	"
				4,816	
Major-General and Staff Officers,				12	
Total force,				4,828	

It will be seen from the above statement, that every corps which Wolfe had under his command was represented on the field of battle. The total force which Wolfe had on leaving Louisburg did not much exceed eight thousand men. Before the 13th his killed, wounded and sick otherwise, could not be less than one thousand men, so that on that day his whole force fit for active service could not much, if at all, exceed seven thousand men. If we deduct from this number the troops necessary to protect the camps, man the batteries, and perform other necessary routine duties, we arrive at the fact that the official state of the morning of the 13th, showing the force on the field of battle to be 4,828, must have been strictly correct. Garneau endeavours to make it appear that Wolfe's whole army of eight thousand men were present on the battle field, a simple absurdity ; and seeks to reduce Montcalm's strength by stating that Bougainville had three thousand troops with him, whereas he had only half that number.

The official return shows that the strength of Montcalm's army at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham stood as follows :—

RIGHT COLUMN.					
Colony Troops,	-	-	-	-	550
Regiment of La Sarre.	-	-	-	-	500
do Languedoc,	-	-	-	-	550
Militia and one six pounder,	-	-	-	-	400
					2000
CENTRE COLUMN.					
Regiment of Bearn,	-	-	-	-	360
do Guienne,	-	-	-	-	360
Militia,	-	-	-	-	1200
					1920
LEFT COLUMN.					
Regiment of Royal Roussillon,	-	-	-	-	650
Colony Troops,	-	-	-	-	650
Militia,	-	-	-	-	2300
Grand Total, (exclusive of Indians)					7,520
					3,600

his men to reserve their fire for a shorter and deadlier range. Not a single trigger was pulled. With arms shouldered as if on parade, and motionless, save when they closed upon the ghastly gaps made in their ranks by the French fire, these gallant men waited the word of command with that indomitable endurance which has ever characterised the British soldier when properly trained and rightly led.

The French were still unharmed, their confidence increased, and with a loud cheer they pressed forward against the British. A few moments more and only forty paces separated the combatants.— And now the clear voice of Wolfe giving the word to fire rises over the field. The order passes like an electric shock along the British line; its long row of muskets is swiftly levelled; and the next instant a well-aimed volley, almost as distinct as a single shot, rolls over the battle-field. It fell with terrible effect upon the advancing foe. Numbers of the French soldiers reeled and fell at once, others staggered for a moment, then dropped aside to die; others, again, burst from the ranks shrieking in agony. Presently the breeze which blew gently across the battle-field, carried away the smoke of one of the deadliest volleys that ever burst from British infantry, and the assailing battalions were seen reduced to mere groups among the slain.

Scarcely fifteen minutes had elapsed since Montcalm had made his principal attack, and already the battle was lost. The Brigadier de St. Ours was killed, and De Senezergues, the second in command, mortally wounded, while the Canadian militia had already broken and fled in confusion. Still the gallant Frenchman was not dismayed. Riding through the shattered ranks he cheered the men with his voice, and induced them to reform. Meantime the British troops had reloaded, and Wolfe, resolving to take advantage of the disorder in the French ranks, ordered his whole line to advance, placing himself at the head of the 28th and the grenadiers. For a few minutes they moved forward steadily, then their pace increases to a run, and with bayonets at the charge they rushed upon the French. Just then Wolfe was wounded a second time in the body, but still pressing forward he received a ball in the breast. "Support me," he said to an officer near him, "let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was carried to the rear, and water brought him to quench his thirst.

Still the British pressed forward with fiery valour. On the right, the 35th swept all before them; in the centre, the 28th and Louisburg Grenadiers moved firmly on; on the left, the 58th and 78th overcame a stubborn and bloody resistance, and the last corps with its terrible claymore followed swiftly in pursuit, and supplied the want of cavalry. The fierce struggle fell heavily on the British, but was terribly destructive to the French. They wavered under the carnage; but Montcalm, galloping among his stubborn veterans, called on them to reform, and again oppose the advancing foe. His efforts were vain; the head of every formation was



mowed down by the terrible fire of the British, who again rushing forward at the charge compelled his troops to give way in every direction. At this critical period he fell mortally wounded, and from that moment all was utter rout and confusion on the side of the French.

Wolfe's life ebbs fast away ; yet from time to time he essays to look upon the battle, and clear away the death-mist that gathers on his sight. Presently his spirit draws nearer "to that bourne whence no traveller returneth ;" he sinks backward and gives no signs of life beyond a heavy breathing, and the occasional groan of painful dissolution. The French fly in all directions. "They run ! they run !" exclaimed one of the officers who stood by their dying general. "Who runs ?" eagerly asked Wolfe, like one aroused from sleep. "The enemy, sir," answered the officer who supported him, "they give way everywhere." "Go one of you to Colonel Burton," said Wolfe, "and tell him to march Webb's regiment (the 48th) with all speed down to the St. Charles River to cut off their retreat." His voice grew fainter and fainter as he spoke, and he turned as if to seek an easier position on his side.—Four days before he had looked forward to an early death with dismay, but he now felt he would breathe his last breath on the field of victory, and that he had well done his duty to his country. "Now God be praised ! I die happy," said the gallant soldier faintly, yet distinctly : and Wolfe, who had won a new empire for his race, passed from this material world to immortality. But while tongue can tell, or pen record, the annals of the past he will never be forgotten. Into a few brief years he had crowded actions that would have reflected lustre on the longest life. The morning of his career had given promise of no ordinary greatness, that promise was more than realised at a period when other men only appear prominently on the world's stage, and his day closed as it reached its meridian in the blaze of one of the most momentous victories that ever marked the annals of the human race.

Grape shot from the ramparts of Quebec, and the fire of the frigates grounded in the St. Charles, checked the pursuit of the British, whose rear was already threatened by the near approach of Bougainville's formidable corps of veterans. Monckton had been shot through the lungs, and Townshend, now the senior officer, hastened to recall his disordered battalions to oppose this new enemy. His arrangements were strictly defensive ; and while forming his line of battle he advanced the 35th and 48th, with two field-pieces, one of which had just been captured from the French, to meet the advancing force, and, if possible, check its approach.—But the news of Montcalm's total defeat speedily reaching Bougainville, he declined meeting a victorious enemy, and hastily retreated to Cape Rouge. On the same day Vaudreuil, with his one thousand five hundred Canadians, deserted the lines below Quebec, and leaving all his artillery, tents, ammunition, and stores behind, made a hurried retreat towards Jacques Cartier.

The loss of the British in the memorable battle of the Plains of Abraham, amounted to fifty-nine killed, and six hundred wounded of all ranks ; that of the French to six hundred killed, and over one thousand wounded and taken prisoners.\* The militia were completely disorganised by the defeat, and a large proportion of them never rejoined their colours. As they ran away when they saw victory inclining towards the British, they suffered much less than the regular troops, who were almost destroyed.

From the field of battle and its immediate results—from the last moments of the immortal Wolfe, let us now turn aside for a brief space to the bedside of the gallant Montcalm. When his wound was dressed, he asked the surgeons if it were mortal, and being answered in the affirmative, calmly said, “ I am glad of it ; how long can I survive ? ” “ Perhaps a dozen hours, and perhaps less,” was the reply. “ So much the better,” rejoined the general, “ I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.” To a council of war which hastily assembled, he showed that in twelve hours all the troops near at hand might be concentrated, and the British attacked before they had time to intrench themselves ; but his proposition was overruled.† With him the hope of France in Canada was departing. De Ramsay, who commanded the garrison, asked his orders about defending the city. “ To your keeping,” he replied, “ I commend the honour of France. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your perplexities. As for me, my time is short, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death.” To another he said, “ Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to be vanquished by so noble and generous an enemy.” He shortly afterwards called for his chaplain, who, with the bishop, administered the last offices of his religion, and remained with him till he died peacefully next morning at four o’clock. Thus terminated the career of a great general and a brave man. Trained from his youth in the art of war ; laborious, just, and self-denying, he offered a remarkable exception to the venality of the public men of Canada at this period, and in the midst of universal corruption made the general good his aim. Night, the rushing tide, veteran discipline, and more brilliant genius, had given his rival the victory, yet he was not the less great ; and while the name of Wolfe will never be forgotten, that of Montcalm is also engraved by its side on the enduring scroll of human fame. He has been censured for not

\* I have followed Smith and Russell in giving this estimate of the French loss. Every probability is in favour of its correctness. Besides Wolfe, the British had of officers, one captain, six lieutenants, and one ensign killed. One brigadier, (Monckton,) the quarter-master-general, (Barre,) three staff officers, fourteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and eleven ensigns were wounded. *Vide* War Office Return of killed and wounded on 13th September, 1759. Previous to the 13th, Wolfe’s army had lost one hundred and eighty-two killed, six hundred and fifty-five wounded, and seventeen missing.

† Raynal’s America, vol. ii. p. 128.

abiding the chances of a siege, rather than risking a battle. But with a town already in ruins, a garrison deficient in provisions and ammunition, and an enemy to contend with possessed of a formidable siege train, the fire of which must speedily silence his guns, he acted wisely in staking the issue on a battle, in which if he found defeat he met also an honourable and glorious death.

It was a sad and melancholy day for the fortunes of France on the St. Lawrence. Fear and confusion reigned everywhere in Quebec, and no workman could be found to make a coffin. At last an old servant of the Ursuline Convent made a box of some rough boards, in which was placed the body of Montcalm; and late in the evening, without tolling of bell or firing of minute gun, he was carried to his final rest. The officers of the garrison followed their general for the last time, and a few men and women joined the procession, which moved along in saddest silence to the chapel of the Ursuline Convent. Here a bomb had fallen during the siege, and made, beneath the floor, a large hole, which a little labour had converted into a grave. Into this, after the funeral service was over, the rude coffin was lowered by the light of torches, amid the tears and sobs of warlike men—of priest, and nun, and people.—With Montcalm was buried the Canada of the old *regime*, which Champlain had founded a century and a half before, and the funeral of its general was the funeral of France in the New World.

No sooner had his men recruited themselves after the fatigues of battle, and the wounded been cleared from the ground, than Townshend promptly proceeded to intrench himself, and secure his position against assault by the construction of redoubts. The communications of the city with the country were next cut off as far as possible, and the erection of breaching batteries rapidly pushed forward. By the evening of the 17th no less than sixty-one pieces of heavy artillery, and fifty-seven of smaller calibre, had, with the united labour of soldiers and sailors, been dragged to the camp. To support the land force Admiral Saunders had already moved the whole of his fleet into the basin, preparatory to an attack on the Lower Town. The besieged had endeavoured to retard these operations by constantly plying their guns, but their exertions were ineffectual, and to their great dismay the trenches of the British rapidly rose up before them.

Vaudreuil had retreated precipitately, without throwing provisions into the city, and the small supply furnished by the cavalry of Bougainville, who had established himself at Beauport, was of scarcely any importance. Reduced to a few ounces of bread per diem, extreme famine now menaced the wretched garrison. The unhappy citizens pressed Ramsay to capitulate before they were reduced to the last extremity. "We have cheerfully sacrificed our houses and our fortunes," said they, "but we cannot expose our wives and children to massacre." Levis, at Montreal, had already heard of the death of Montcalm, and by request of Vaudreuil hastened to Quebec to assume the chief command. He arrived at

the French head-quarters, in the neighbourhood of Jacques Cartier, on the 16th, and immediately convened a council of war, at which it was determined to raise the siege if possible. A message was despatched to Ramsay, to tell him to hold out to the last extremity, as on the 18th the whole French army would be in motion, and a disposition made to throw in a large supply of provisions, and relieve the town. But this intelligence came too late. On the evening of the 17th the terms of capitulation had been agreed on ; early next morning they were fully ratified, and Quebec surrendered. In the evening the keys of the city were delivered up, and the Louisburg Grenadiers marched in, while at the same time Captain Palliser, of the navy, with a body of seamen, took possession of the Lower Town. Levis heard all this at Cape Rouge, whither he had advanced with his disposable force, and immediately retired to Jacques Cartier, whence he shortly afterwards proceeded to Montreal, leaving Bougainville to watch the enemy.

Quebec had at length fallen. All the British colonies rang with exultation ; towns were illuminated, bonfires flashed on the hills of New England ; and legislative halls, the pulpit, and the press re-echoed the tumultuous sounds of joy that arose over the land. Wolfe's despatches of the 9th September had caused the British nation to despond only for two brief days, when intelligence arrived of his victory, his death, and the surrender of Quebec. A generous people bewailed his untimely end while they rejoiced in his triumph. Parliament voted him a monument in Westminster Abbey, Lord Dalhousie subsequently erected a pillar in honour of him and Montcalm at Quebec, and Lord Aylmer placed a memorial where he fell. His body was embalmed and conveyed to Greenwich, where it was placed beside the remains of his father, who had died only a few months before.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SURRENDER OF CANADA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

THE cold and stormy weather which threatened the British soldiers with sickness, and the fleet with accident, led Saunders and Townshend to grant very favourable conditions to the garrison of Quebec,\* amounting to about one thousand troops of all ranks. They were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, to be afterwards conveyed to the nearest port in France. On laying down their arms the inhabitants were to be protected in their persons and property, and permitted the free exercise of their religion, while churches and convents were to be shielded by guards from insult. These conditions were faithfully fulfilled by the British; and so grateful were the people for the clemency shown them, that numbers came of their own accord to take the oath of allegiance to King George.

On the 18th of October the entire fleet, with the exception of the *Racehorse* of twenty and the *Porcupine* of eighteen guns, departed for Halifax or England. Brigadier Townshend at the same time proceeded home, while Monckton went to winter in the milder climate of New York, where he soon recovered from his wound. To Murray was intrusted the government of Quebec, with Colonel Burton as his lieutenant-governor, and the troops of all ranks and arms, now amounting to only some five thousand men, for his garrison.† The sick and wounded, who were not likely to recover speedily, were taken home in the fleet. Soon after its departure a French vessel, bearing despatches from Vaudreuil and the intendant, passed secretly down by Quebec during a fog, and after escaping many dangers arrived safely in France. These despatches were filled with criminations and recriminations. Vaudreuil bitterly censured Ramsay for his precipitate surrender of Quebec, while others held up his own flight from the lines at the Montmorency in no very flattering terms.

The condition of Canada, so recently the most important colony

\* General Townshend's Letter to Pitt, September 20th, 1759.

† Smith's Canada, vol. i. p. 321.



of France, had been completely altered by one disastrous campaign. Shut out from Lake Champlain, by the loss of Ticonderoga and Crown Point ; from the west, by the fall of Niagara, while the conquest of Quebec excluded her from the sea-board, all the posts of importance that now remained in French hands were those of Three Rivers, Montreal, Frontenac, Detroit and Mackinaw. The strongest positions had all passed into British control, and many of the bravest veterans of France had found graves in the land which their valour had vainly striven to defend, or had been borne away as prisoners across the Atlantic. The condition of the unfortunate Canadians was most deplorable. Every hamlet had its sick or wounded men. During the winter provisions became scarcer than ever, rose to famine prices, and many people perished from want. At length the farmers would scarcely part with their stores at any price ; still, Bigot and Cadet managed, by force at one time, by threats and promises at another, to procure a scanty subsistence for the troops at Montreal. Even at Quebec, the British soldiers suffered severely owing to the want of fresh provisions. Scurvy broke out amongst them from the almost continual use of salt meat and biscuit, and carried off eight hundred men, while it rendered nearly twice that number unfit for duty.

During the winter Murray made every exertion to strengthen the defences of Quebec, and provide for the comfort of the garrison. He erected eight wooden redoubts outside the defences towards the Plains of Abraham, and armed them with artillery, laid in eleven months' provisions in the citadel, and repaired five hundred of the injured houses as barracks for his troops. He likewise established outposts at favourable points in the neighbourhood, which proved of considerable advantage in concealing his movements from the enemy, collecting provisions, and confirming the country people in their allegiance, eleven parishes having already placed themselves under the protection of the British.

Meanwhile the French troops at Jacques Cartier were not idle. They harassed the British outposts whenever an opportunity presented itself, while Levis, at Montreal, steadily pushed forward preparations for the recapture of Quebec, in the spring, before succour could arrive. The moment the weather permitted he directed the French vessels, which had escaped up the river from Saunders' fleet, to be refitted, the small craft to be repaired, and galleys built, on board of which he placed stores and ammunition withdrawn from the forts at St. John's and Chambly, and such other supplies as he could collect. Vaudreuil seconded these exertions by publishing an inflammatory address to the Canadian people, in which the injuries and injustice inflicted by the British governor of Quebec were painted in false and highly coloured language.

On the 17th of April, Levis, having completed his preparations, left Montreal with all his available force, and collecting on his way downwards the several detached corps scattered at the different

posts, arrived at Cape Rouge with eight battalions of regular troops, four thousand five hundred strong, six thousand Canadians, of whom two hundred were cavalry, and over two hundred Indians. Vaudreuil had sent belts to several of the native tribes to induce them to join the French army, but the wary savages held aloof from its failing fortunes, and either allied themselves with the British or remained neutral. Levis' heavy artillery, ammunition and stores were conveyed down the river in boats and other vessels.

On the morning of the 27th, before day, a French artilleryman was rescued from the river off a floating cake of ice, and gave Murray the first intelligence of the approach of a hostile force. He stated the French flotilla had been seriously injured by a storm, as well as by the difficulty of navigation, owing to the river not being free from ice, which still drifted in large quantities. The boat in which he was had been swamped in the storm, and he had great difficulty in saving himself by scrambling from one piece of ice to another. He rated the French army at nearly twelve thousand men, and this large force was to be supported by all the frigates and vessels of war the enemy could collect. The aid of a fleet from France was also looked for, as well as the immediate arrival of a frigate, laden with stores, which had wintered at Gaspe.

Murray marched out during the day, with all the troops that could be spared from garrison work, to cover the retreat of his advanced posts at Cape Rouge and elsewhere, a duty he performed with the loss of only two men, and retired on the approach of evening, after breaking down all the bridges. Levis, however, pushed rapidly forward down the St Foy road, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th was within three miles of Quebec. The British general, with an army reduced by disease, desertion, and death, to less than three thousand five hundred available men, had already formed the unaccountable resolution of giving the enemy battle. In his subsequent report to the secretary of state, he excused this unfortunate determination. "Having well weighed my peculiar position," said he, "and well knowing that in shutting myself within the walls of the city I should risk the whole stake on the chance of defending a wretched fortification, which could not be lessened by an action in the field."

Shortly after daybreak Murray formed his skeleton battalions on the Plains of Abraham, supported by twenty pieces of artillery, planted at the most favorable points. Having completed his order of battle, he rode to the front to reconnoitre the enemy's position. The previous night had been wet, so he found the French occupied in putting their arms into order, and in other respects unprepared, as he supposed, for action. Thinking this a favorable opportunity to assail them, he gave orders for immediate attack, which was gladly obeyed by his little army, who pushed forward in admirable order over the brow of the heights and into the plains beyond.

Levis at first could scarcely believe that the British seriously intended to attack his overwhelming force, and they had almost

advanced within gun-shot range before he called his troops to arms. His line of battle, after a momentary confusion, was speedily formed, and some companies of grenadiers thrown into the woods on the right to cover his flank in that direction. These almost immediately encountered the skirmishers and light troops of the British left, who speedily drove them in on the main body, and following too far in pursuit got in front of their own artillery, and compelled its silence for a time. The advance of the British light troops was soon checked, however, by the steady front of the French supports, whose fire quickly compelled them to retire.

Levis' army was by this time formed in battle array, and the action speedily became general. For an hour and three quarters did the battle rage with the utmost fury ; but finally the numbers of the French prevailed. The British left was thrown into disorder and gave way ; the right was also hardly pressed, and Murray was finally compelled to retreat, leaving nearly the whole of his guns in the hands of the enemy, and three hundred dead upon the field. The greater part of the wounded, amounting in all to seven hundred, he succeeded, however, in carrying with him.

Nearly a third of the British army were either killed or wounded ; but still the French had dearly purchased their victory by a loss, according to their own admission, of fully eighteen hundred put *hors de combat*. So exasperated were they at the obstinacy of the contest by so small a force, that they stained their triumph by refusing quarter to several of the English officers,\* and by giving up the British wounded, left on the field, to the fury of the Indians. Out of nearly one hundred of these unfortunate men, unavoidably abandoned by Murray in his retreat, only twenty-eight were sent to hospital ; the rest were massacred by the savages.†

But if the British general had committed an error in hazarding a battle with his inferior force, he amply atoned for it by the resolute manner in which he prepared to defend the city. On the very evening of the battle he issued a general order to his troops, in which he sought to raise their spirits by stating, "that although the morning had been unfortunate to the British arms, yet affairs were not desperate ; that a fleet might soon be expected ; and it only remained for officers and men patiently to bear the unavoidable fatigues of a siege." The garrison was now reduced to two thousand two hundred effective men, but these were animated by the best spirit, and even the wounded men, who could not walk without crutches, seating themselves on the ramparts, made sand-bags for the works, and cartridges for the cannon. The soldiers' wives, of whom there were nearly five hundred, and all of whom with scarcely an exception had enjoyed excellent health during the winter, were also active in attending the wounded and cooking for the troops.

Levis broke ground on the evening of the 28th, eight hundred yards from the ramparts, but several days elapsed before his

\* Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 337. † Conquest of Can., vol. ii. p. 232.

batteries, consisting of thirteen guns and two mortars, opened upon the town. Murray had, in the meantime, placed one hundred and thirty-two guns in position on the walls, and as many of the infantry had been trained to act as artillerymen during the preceding winter, he was enabled to keep up a fire which completely overpowered that of the French. But the hopes of the besieged for deliverance rested chiefly on the arrival of the fleet. The French army looked also for aid from an expected squadron.\* On the 9th of May a frigate was seen rounding the headland of Point Levi, and standing towards the city. For a brief space an intense anxiety had complete possession of besiegers and besieged. But presently a flag is run up to the mizen peak of the strange ship, the Union Jack floats boldly out, and a boat puts off for the Lower Town, when the garrison, officers and men, mounted the ramparts in the face of the enemy, and made the welkin ring with hearty British cheers. On the 15th two other frigates arrived under the command of Commodore Swainton. Next day, the French shipping above the town, consisting of two frigates and several armed vessels, were attacked and forced on shore or destroyed.

The following night the siege was raised, and Levis precipitately retreated, leaving his provisions, guns, tents, ammunition, and intrenching tools behind. Murray had made preparations for a vigorous sally on the morning of the 17th, and when informed of the retreat of the besiegers, pushed rapidly out in pursuit with his grenadiers and light infantry, but was only able to capture some stragglers from their rear-guard. Levis retreated to Jacques Cartier, and afterwards proceeded to Montreal, where the last stand was to be made against the British forces.

The siege of Quebec, brief as it had been, furnished many opportunities to the officers of the different French departments to acquire money. They felt their time was short; and resolving to make the best use of it, indulged in shameful peculations and public robberies. The people gradually became more and more dissatisfied, and several began to look forward to English rule as a benefit instead of an injury. Murray increased this feeling by issuing a judicious proclamation on the 22d of May. He stated briefly that the peaceable inhabitants would be fully protected, as well as those who at once laid down their arms, and remained neutral. France, her fleets defeated and her treasury exhausted, could give them no assistance. The bills of exchange of the preceding year drawn upon the government by the Canadian officials were still undischarged, and the total depreciation of the colonial paper-money, in consequence, must entail a train of misfortunes they could alone escape by adhering to a nation like Britain, abounding in riches and great prosperity. He concluded by informing the inhabitants, that "if they withdrew themselves from

\* This, consisting of one frigate, two store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, was captured in Chaleur Bay by a British squadron from Louisburg.



the army of Levis, and gave it no assistance, further injury should not be done to their homes or growing crops, and that thus the evils of another famine would be averted.”\*

This proclamation, which was widely-circulated, had a most excellent effect upon the *habitants*. Several copies were even sent to Montreal, which so enraged the French general that he threatened to hang any person found with one in his possession. But his anger availed him little. The ardour of the peasantry visibly abated, and it was evident from the progress of events that the reign of French official oppression and extortion in Canada was rapidly drawing towards its close.

By the 22d of July Amherst had assembled an army ten thousand strong, and seven hundred Indians, at Oswego. On the 10th of August he embarked *en route* for Montreal, and arrived at Ogdensburg on the 19th. The French fort at this place was invested next day. On the 23d the British batteries opened their fire, which was vigorously replied to by the garrison, who, however, surrendered at discretion on the 25th. Amherst learned that the Iroquois intended to massacre the French soldiers as soon as they gained admission within the works. This he sternly forbade, and declared that if they attempted such an outrage he would restrain them by force. They now sullenly threatened to return home, to which course Amherst gave his consent; but at the same time stated, that if they committed any acts of violence on their way he would assuredly chastise them.

\* In the early settlement of Canada, there had been but little specie in it, and whatever sums of money that had been imported, were remitted to France, to purchase goods and other articles wanted by the inhabitants. The Court of France, with the view of increasing the quantity of money, issued in the year 1670, a particular coin for all the French settlements in America, and directed that its value should be one-fourth more than it passed current at in France. This expedient had not the effect expected, which led the Government to substitute *la papier aux metaux*, which answered every purpose, both in paying the troops and the other expenses of government, until the year 1720, when the Government of France, not having made provision for the redemption of the stock, they sunk into discredit, and became of little or no value. \* \* \* The Intendant, and others concerned in the government of Canada, issued considerable quantities of bills of exchange, which they pretended were for the use of the Government, but as the French Court charged them with maladministration, this point continued in dispute until judgment was passed in France on Bigot, and other peculators, in the year 1763. Bigot was banished from France for life, the others for a shorter period. They were, moreover, condemned to make restitution of several sums in proportion to the frauds of which they had been found guilty. As the Canadians had always had great confidence in Bigot, who they supposed had been vested with full powers from the Court of France, they continued to take bills as usual, and in general paid the full price for them. Upwards of four millions and a half sterling of this paper remained at the conquest, unpaid. These bills, immediately after that event, became of little or no value; but by an arrangement with the French Government, at the peace, Great Britain obtained for her new subjects three millions in contracts, and six hundred thousand livres in money.—Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 344-346.



Passing down the St. Lawrence, the British army, after losing eighty-four men and several boats in the Cedar Rapids, landed on the Island of Montreal, about nine miles from the town, on the 6th of September. Meanwhile Murray had left Quebec on the 14th of June, with a force of two thousand four hundred men of all ranks, and ascended the river, subduing some small posts on its banks, and compelling its inhabitants, whenever practicable, to submit to the authority of Great Britain. At Sorel he found Bourlemaque posted with a considerable force, and judged it prudent to await the arrival of an expected reinforcement from Louisburg. This coming up he pursued his way. On the 7th of September his troops were disembarked, and placed to the north-east of the town. On the following day, Colonel Haviland, who had penetrated into Canada by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, also arrived at Montreal with a force of over three thousand men ; and thus an army of nearly sixteen thousand men was assembled under the walls of what might be deemed a defenceless town. On the same day Vaudreuil signed the capitulation,\* which severed Canada from France for ever. This capitulation included the vast country extending from the fishing stations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Michigan and Illinois. The regular troops, amounting to four thousand, were to be permitted to march out from their several posts with all the honours of war, and afterwards conveyed to France. The militia, numbering over sixteen thousand, were to be allowed to return unmolested to their homes. To the inhabitants the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed, as well as undisturbed possession of their properties and slaves, and the same commercial privileges which other British colonists enjoyed.

The French Government had made enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure for the preservation of Canada, during the long

\* *Extracts from Articles of Capitulation.*—27. The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay the Priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his Most Gracious Majesty.—“Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion ; the obligation of paying the tithes to the Priests will depend on the King’s pleasure.”

28. The Chapter, Priests, Curates, and Missionaries shall continue, with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of cures, in the parishes of the towns and country.—“Granted.”

29. The Grand Vicars, named by the Chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the episcopal see, shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns and country parishes, as they shall think proper ; they shall at all times be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future Bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.—“Granted, except what regards the following article.”

contest of seven years' duration, and was deeply mortified at its loss and the subjugation of some seventy thousand of its subjects, who had so bravely struggled against overwhelming odds to preserve their connection with the mother country. The national anger was naturally very great at the loss of an empire; and shortly after Vaudreuil reached home he and all the members of his government were incarcerated in the Bastille, to await their trial. Vaudreuil was honorably acquitted; but the intendant Bigot, and other members of the company with which he had been associated, were compelled to disgorge much of their ill-gotten wealth, to the extent of over two and a half million dollars, and were exiled from France for the rest of their lives. Commissary General Cadet alone was forced to refund over a million dollars.

On the 13th, Major Rogers was detached with two hundred rangers and a few artillerymen, to take possession of the French posts on the lakes. At Kingston an Indian hunting party brought him wild fowl and venison. From thence he ascended to Niagara. The lateness of the season terminated his journey at Detroit, which was promptly surrendered by the French commandant. Near the head of Lake Erie, at Cleveland, Rogers encountered the great Ottawa chief, Pontiac, who had united the surrounding tribes in a confederacy, held supreme sway over them, and subsequently caused much trouble to the British. Pontiac at first appeared indisposed to permit Rogers to pass through his country, but eventually gave a haughty consent.

Shortly after the capitulation of Montreal, General Amherst established a military government for the preservation of public

30. If by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain a British Colony, the French King shall continue to name the Bishop of the Colony, who shall always be of the Roman Communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman Religion.—“Refused.”

31. The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the meantime, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.—“This article is comprised under the foregoing.”

32. The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules; they shall be exempted from lodging any military; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries; safeguards shall even be given them, if they desire them.—“Granted.”

46. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favours and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well as in the countries above, as the interior of the Colony.—“Granted.”

47. The Negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain in the quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the Colony or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman Religion.—“Granted, except those who have been made prisoners.”

tranquillity, and the administration of justice. He divided the Colony into three districts : the first was that of Quebec, over which Murray was placed ; the second, Three Rivers, at the head of which was Colonel Burton ; the third, Montreal, was intrusted to Brigadier Gage. Within these districts were established several courts of justice, composed of Canadian militia officers, who decided cases brought before them in a summary manner, with right of appeal, however, to the commandant. The British ministry approved of this procedure, and decided that the military authority should remain in force until the restoration of peace, when, in the event of Canada being relinquished by France, a proper form of government would be established.\*

At length this country, after years of warfare and bloodshed, was about to enjoy the blessings of peace. Freed from the terrors of Indian massacre on one hand, and the fears of British invasion on the other, the inhabitants once more cultivated their fields in quiet, and enjoyed their increase without fears of the extortions and oppressions of a Bigot, a Cadet, or the host of inferior officials who had so recently enriched themselves at their expense. Many of the upper classes, it is true, disgusted at the prospect of British rule, returned to France. A proud nobility, however, was little suited to Canada, and the departure of persons whose idle habits, imperious manners, and poverty of resources made them of little value to the community, was a cause of no regret, but rather of congratulation.† The bulk of the people had soon reason to bless the events which placed them under British rule.

Great Britain had begun the memorable war in which she was now engaged, to establish her own interpretation of the boundary of Nova Scotia, and her claims to the valley of the Ohio. She had succeeded to her heart's content ; had won Canada and Guadaloupe in addition, and now desired peace. "The desire of my heart," said George II. to Parliament shortly before his death, "is to see a stop put to the effusion of blood." Pitt was also desirous to terminate a contest which had already given him all he sought for : and the public began to discuss which of their conquests should be retained, and which surrendered. The majority of the British nation were in favour of keeping Canada, yet many reflecting men doubted the wisdom of this course. William Burke, the relative and friend of the great Irishman of that name, in a pamphlet at this time, found arguments for retaining Guadaloupe in the facilities it presented for profitable investment, the richness of its soil, the number of its slaves, and the absence of all competition with

\* Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 375.

† In 1763, when Canada was finally ceded to England, a fresh immigration took place to France. It is estimated that between the exodus of the official class and other civilians and the military, the population of the Colony was reduced a fourth or to somewhere between sixty and seventy thousand souls.

England. "If the people of our colonies," he added, to alarm the the public mind, "found no check from Canada, they will increase infinitely from all causes. What the consequence will be to have a hardy, numerous, and independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, I leave to your own reflections. A neighbour that keeps us in some awe, is not always the worst of neighbours. There should be a balance of power in America."

Even from Guadaloupe itself came a warning voice. "A country of such vast resources," it said, "and so distant as North America, could never remain long subject to Britain. The acquisition of Canada would strengthen America to revolt. The islands from their weakness can never revolt; but if we acquire all Canada we shall soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be governed by us at a distance." "If Canada were annexed," objected British traders, "the Americans will be at leisure to manufacture for themselves, and throw off their dependence on the mother country."

Such were the momentous questions which agitated the minds of the reflecting portion of the British public on the approach of peace. Franklin, then in England, strongly advocated the retention of Canada, on the grounds that it would promote a perpetual peace in North America, that the facilities for profitable agricultural labour would prevent the colonists from engaging in manufactures, and that the separate interests of the different governments would always hinder a union against the mother country.—Pitt leaned to the same opinions. He delighted, with a truly liberal and generous mind, to foster British liberty in America, and made it his glory to extend the boundaries throughout which it was to be enjoyed. He desired to retain both Guadaloupe and Canada; but, when overruled in the cabinet, held fast to this country. And thus, unwittingly, did this great statesman lay the foundation for the speedy independence of the United States.

On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. died suddenly of apoplexy, after a long reign of over thirty-three years, and his grandson, then but twenty-two years of age, ascended the British throne. Although so young, George III. was determined to rule as a king. He was unfriendly to Pitt, whose influence dimmed even monarchy, and the latter was soon made to feel that he had forced himself into the highest place in the ministry over the heads of an envious and unwilling aristocracy, and that his influence with the crown was on the wane. The minister was unwilling to desert the King of Prussia in his extremity. But George 1761. III., caring little about Hanover and the German policy of his predecessor, displayed small consideration for Frederick, and desired to negotiate separately with France. Other circumstances also conspired to weaken the influence of the premier; and on the 5th of October, William Pitt, the greatest minister of the age; the profound orator—the rival of Demosthenes; the man



who without title or fortune had rescued Great Britain from an abyss of weakness and disgrace ; who had conquered Guadaloupe, Canada, and the Great West ; who had preserved Prussia from annihilation, and sustained continental Protestantism ; who had humbled France, gained the supreme dominion of the seas, won an empire, greater than that of the Mogul, in Hindostan, and had vanquished faction at home ; this man stood in the presence of his young and inexperienced sovereign to resign his power. A few weeks before France and Spain had concluded a convention, by which Spain bound itself to declare war against England unless peace should be established, contrary to all expectation, before the 1st of May 1762. Pitt, warned of this treaty, would fain have crushed the whole race of the Bourbons, but a majority of the Privy Council had decided against his purpose, and thus compelled his resignation. Pious, and sincerely desirous to stop the effusion of blood, George III. felt that the minister alone stood in the way of the peace he desired, and received the seals without requesting that Pitt should resume his office. Yet the king was not ungrateful, and desired to bestow some mark of favour on the retiring minister. He was offered the government of Canada, with a salary of £5000 per annum, but this was declined. His wife was made a peeress, with a grant of £3000 to be paid annually during the lives of herself, her husband, and her eldest son. So Pitt retired from office, having confirmed France and Spain in implacable hostility to Great Britain, and destroyed the balance of the European colonial system, by the naval preponderance he had given to his country, and the conquest of Canada and Guadaloupe.

But Pitt was the minister of the nation, and the public were indignant at his retirement from the government. This event was attributed to the secret influence of the Earl of Bute, who was grossly insulted on lord mayor's day in London. At the same time the king and queen were received with coldness and silence, when proceeding to dine in the city, while Pitt was welcomed with the loudest acclamations. Yet a still greater triumph awaited him. The force of circumstances soon compelled his successors to adopt his policy, and war was declared against Spain.

All Europe was now arrayed against Great Britain, with the exception of Prussia and Portugal. The latter country was invaded by the armies of the Spaniards. With the aid of English auxiliaries these were defeated in two decisive engagements, and driven back. But it was in her colonies and commerce 1762. that Spain suffered most severely. Havanna, with plunder to the amount of three millions sterling, was taken by the Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pococke : Draper and Cornwallis captured the city of Manilla : and while the cannon of the Horse Guards announced the birth of a Prince of Wales, waggons conveyed two millions of treasure to the Tower, a prize to the captors of two Spanish vessels. While the arms of Britain thus triumphed in various parts of the world, the king of Prussia, after a series of



brilliant exploits, was brought to the brink of utter ruin by the junction of the Russians with his inveterate enemies. Fortunately the death of the Empress Elizabeth released him from this new danger, and Frederick soon retrieved his disasters.

The world had now enough of war, and the various governments of Europe were anxious for peace. France, deprived of her colonies, found her commerce on the brink of ruin. Spain had sustained the most severe reverses, and the Austrians and Prussians were wearied of costly campaigns which produced no territorial additions. The terms proposed to France were severe, but she yielded to necessity. "What else can we do," said the French minister, Choiseul; "the English are drunk with success, and we are not in a condition to abase their pride." Accordingly, on the 3d of November, the preliminaries of peace were signed, at Paris, by France and Spain, on the one hand, and by Great Britain and Portugal, on the other.

By this peace Britain, besides islands in the West Indies, gained the Floridas, Louisiana to the Mississippi, all Canada, Cape Breton and the other islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and Senegal; while in Asia the victories of Clive and Coote by land, and of Watson and Pococke by sea, had given her the ascendancy in the East Indies, and suddenly opened to her the promise of untold treasures and endless territorial acquisitions.

"Never, said George III., "did England, nor I believe any other power in Europe, sign such a peace before." Yet Pitt opposed the treaty, on the ground that it did not give his country the advantages it was entitled to by conquest. The nation at large sustained him in this position; but in parliament he was out-voted 1763. by a considerable majority. On the 10th day of February 1763, the treaty was finally ratified; and peace was also restored, at the same time, between Austria and Prussia. The map of Europe remained exactly as before the war; but in Asia, and on this continent, everything was changed. In America the Anglo-Saxon element was now immeasurably in the ascendant.

#### THE CANADA OF THE FRENCH PERIOD.

Two wholly distinct political and social systems were placed on trial, before the world, at a very early period of North American colonization. On the one hand was a group of British colonies rejoicing in a large political and social freedom, mainly left to take care of themselves, and in which the aggregate of individuals virtually constituted the state. On the other hand was the Canadian colony, governed by a paternal despotism, where the crown was everything politically, and the people of no political account whatever. In the British colonies the people had to learn, from the first, to provide for their own well-being in every way, to make laws for their own government, and to put these laws into execution. In

the Canadian colony the crown was the foundation of all law ; on its sole authority rested the execution of the law ; and the people had no voice whatever in their own government, and could do nothing to alleviate or remove any evils which might exist in their political or social condition. All law, all authority, emanated from the sovereign, and nothing whatever from the people. In 1663, when Louis XIV. reorganised the government of Canada, he was so desirous of establishing it on the basis of a pure despotism, that he did not even concede the right of municipal taxation for any purpose whatever, local improvements or otherwise. In accordance with his motto "I alone am the state," he declined to delegate the power of levying imposts in New France to any man or body of men, and reserved that important function in his own hands, to be exercised at will by himself and his successors. In 1716, when it was deemed necessary to fortify Montreal, the king laid an arbitrary annual impost on the town of 6,000 livres to repay the outlay, from contributing to which no citizens, not even the nobles nor the Sulpitians, were exempted. This tax became the precedent for subsequent levies for public purposes, which were always made on the sole authority of the king. Outside the priests' tithes, no systematic, or municipal, system of taxation prevailed during the whole period of French dominion in Canada. In this direction what was observed in practice, was frequently inculcated in principle. In 1742 a decree issued by Louis XV. recited, "that the governors and intendants have no allowance to levy imposts : that is a sovereign right which his majesty communicates to none. It is not even lawful for the people to tax themselves, except by our permission." In the official project drawn up by Tracy and Talon, in 1667, for the future government of New France, and approved by Louis XIV. they declare, that "laying it down as a principle, that the obedience and fidelity due to the king, is more likely to become slackened in the provinces distant from the seat of control than in those which are near thereto, it will be only prudent to take precautions, in the nascent state called Canada, against the occurrence of such undesirable revolutions as might make it from being monarchic, as it is, to become either *aristocratic* or *democratic*." And to carry out this principle more thoroughly, while all municipal franchises were withheld from the plebeian classes, the seignioral, or patrician, class, was gradually shorn of all real power and authority, until few juridical rights remained to it, and it became as slavishly dependent on the crown as the *habitant* community.

Had the Huguenots been permitted to settle in Canada, and make it a haven of refuge from the persecutions in the mother land, (like several of the British colonies) they would have brought with them their independence of thought in religion and politics—their respect and attachment for the ancient franchises of their native country—and in that event New France must have become the peer of any of the North American colonies. Had that wise

and humane policy been followed, Canada, most probably, would have still been an integral part of the French empire ; and the northern part of this continent would have presented a very different political aspect from that which now exists. But, almost from the first settlement of Canada, it was destined to be ruled by a despotism in religion as well as in politics. When Cardinal Richelieu, in 1627, handed Canada over to the " Company of one hundred Associates," he made it a special condition that all emigrants, going thither, must be natives of France and Roman Catholic. And his policy in this respect was carefully followed out from first to last. When Louis XIV., on the 24th May, 1664, signed the edict creating the " West India Company," and handing over Canada thereto, he made the exclusion of Huguenots a special condition of the grant ; and repeatedly charged successive governors and intendants to see that his orders, in this direction, were carefully carried into effect. While he scourged the unfortunate Huguenots with dragonnades, and other modes of persecution, and finally drove nearly half a million of these industrious and enterprising people out of France by his revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was careful to see that Canada, his favourite colony, and for which he had done so much, should not be *polluted* with their presence. The Jesuits were the most active agents of the king, in watching for Huguenots among every fresh arrival of immigrants at Quebec, and in keeping down heresy and heretics. When Maintenon and her ghostly allies overcame the better nature of Louis, and launched him into his bigotted excesses against the Huguenots, and all France reeked with shameless infamies, perpetrated in the name of religion, and the churches rang with triumphant *Te Deums*, the royal tool of priestly ferocity sent orders that heresy should be treated in New France as it had been treated in Old France. But there were no Huguenots in Canada to extirpate ; and the pious Denonville wrote back, for the information of his sovereign, " praised be God, there is not a heretic here. The Jesuits go every day on board the ships in the harbour to look after the new converts from France." These " new converts" had been made by terror and coercion, not by conviction, and so it behooved the Jesuits to sedulously watch that no relapses took place. During Denonville's term a number of the non-resident merchants, trading in Canada, were Huguenots from Rochelle. No favour was shown them ; they were held under a rigid surveillance, and were forbidden to practice their religious worship, or even to remain in the Colony during the winter season without a special license. They came out from France with the spring fleet, and had to leave the country in the fall. One of these merchants, named Birnon, had rendered important financial services to the Colony, and was the principal French merchant in the Canadian trade, " It is a pity," said Denonville, " that he cannot be converted. As he is a Huguenot the bishop wants me to order him home, which I have done,

though he carries on a large business, and a great deal of money remains due to him."

As regards religious intolerance in Canada, no change took place between the reign of Louis XIV. and the conquest; and the Colony remained wholly and exclusively Roman Catholic, although the decline and fall of the Jesuits rendered it somewhat less persecuting and proscriptive in its character. Strict as the rules of social life were in puritan New England, they were still more strict in Canada. Balls and plays, of every description, were rigorously denounced by the Jesuits; and Bishop Laval strongly condemned the performance of a few harmless comedies, produced by the officers of the garrison and some young men of Quebec, under the patronage of Frontenac. The Jesuits, aided by the confessional, raised the curtain from the domestic circle, and watched the morals of families with unceasing vigilance. La Hontan, in his travels, complains that, at this period, "one can neither go on a pleasure party, nor play a game of cards, nor visit the ladies, without the cure knowing the occurrence, and preaching about it publicly from the pulpit. They watched more closely over the women and girls than their husbands and fathers, They prohibit and burn all books but books of devotion." The Sulpitians were almost as rigorous at Montreal as the Jesuits at Quebec. The watchfulness and severity of clerical rule did not, however, convert Canada into an Arcadia, nor maintain that high standard of public morals which might be anticipated. There was always more or less of rebellious dissatisfaction within the fold, and a constant desire to escape from priestly restraint. The more youthful and vigorous part of the population soon began to take kindly to the roving and adventurous life of the *coureur de bois*, and made their escape into the woods to trade with the Indians, to live in undisturbed concubinage with their women, and, in numberless cases, to become almost as wild as the Indians themselves. These *coureurs de bois*, or bush rangers, were objects of the greatest dislike to Louis XIV., who directed edict after edict against them, but without avail, as his orders could not be enforced in the depth of the wilderness; and more than once the Colony presented the extraordinary spectacle of the greater part of its young men turned into forest outlaws. The intendant Duchesneau reported to the king, that eight hundred men, out of a total population of less than ten thousand souls, had, during his time, vanished from sight in the immensity of a boundless wilderness. Many of these never returned to civilization, and became incorporated with one Indian tribe or another, or hung loosely around the French frontier posts. Denonville enlarges, in his despatches, on their vagabond and lawless ways, and their indifference to marriage; and Bishop St. Vallier, at a later period, bitterly complains that the Canadian youths were for the most part wholly demoralised. Montreal was the chief harbouring place of the *coureurs de bois*; and there they frequently conducted themselves, during their

occasional visits, like the crew of a man of war paid off after a long voyage. Carheil, the Jesuit missionary at Mackinaw, draws a horrible picture of the state of things which existed at that frontier post in his day, and of the disorders produced by the sale of liquor to the Indians, and complains that the conduct of officers and soldiers, and *coureurs de bois*, made the Indian villages so many centres for drunkenness, and Sodoms for iniquity. And his description was equally applicable, in a greater or less degree, to all the other French frontier posts at this period.

Against the absolute authority of the king, on the one hand, and the church, on the other, there was ever running in Canada a strong counter-influence, often of the most obstinate nature, and rude and almost wild, at times, in its antagonism. The St. Lawrence and the sea-like lakes it drains, were the ready highways to the great wilderness of freedom around and beyond them ; and thither the disfranchised half-starved seignior, and the discouraged *habitant*, who could find no market for his surplus produce, naturally betook themselves. The lesson of savage freedom was easily acquired ; and so for generations a boundless individual license, and a despotic authority, in church and state, battled continually for supremacy. Nor even at the last, and under more favorable auspices, were church and state fairly masters of the field ; and in 1736, when French rule in Canada was drawing towards its end, the intendant complained that although twenty-eight companies of regular troops were quartered in the Colony, there were not soldiers enough to keep the people in order. And, at the last moment, when the hostile hosts were marshalling for the final struggle, Bishop de pont Briant bewails, in a touching pastoral, the little zeal for piety shown by Canadians, the terrible spirit of gambling which had seized upon his flock, the general contempt exhibited for religion, and the various crimes that had been recently multiplied. There can be no doubt that he was a faithful witness ; and, as contemporary evidence shows, there was no exaggeration in his description of Canadian morals just before the conquest. As regards the official class, especially, the licentiousness and dishonesty which prevailed formed the reflex, on a diminished scale it is true, of the conditions of things in France ; and the corrupt morals of the corrupt court of Louis XV. tainted the upper strata of Canadian society to the core. The evil of example taught the common people to imitate their betters, and the priests had a difficult task to keep their flocks in order. In the neighboring colonies of New England, self-governed and free, professing another faith, and far more populous, perfect order prevailed, with no other guardians of the peace than a few constables chosen by the people themselves. But if the Roman Catholic church had failed, under the most favorable auspices of an unquestioned state establishment, in doing much for the religious, the educational, or the social elevation of the Canadian people, during the old *regime*, it proved itself more useful in the day of adversity. The conquest shattered



the whole apparatus of civil administration. Governors, councillors, intendants, commandants and soldiers, had all suddenly disappeared. Many of the seigniors went with them to France, and the people, who knew nothing about governing themselves, were left as sheep without a shepherd. The parish priests stepped into the wide gap which had been made, and with a paternal and prudent rule, half spiritual, half temporal, preserved their flocks from anarchy, assisted the government to maintain order, and thus repaid the indulgence with which the British authorities had treated them. Had Jesuit influence continued to prevail such a gratifying result could scarcely be looked for; and it was a most fortunate circumstance for Canada, at this critical period, that the sinister rule of the order of Loyola had been terminated.

While the self-sustained British colonies, where the individual achieved his own measure of success without any aid from the state, became prosperous and even rich, Canada, for which one French government after another was constantly incurring expense, remained wretchedly poor, from first to last, and never got its head well above water. During the seventeenth century, and for some time after its close, the Colony swarmed with beggars although a good farm could be had for the asking. Begging in Roman Catholic countries is not usually regarded as an unmixed evil, and is rather looked upon as promoting charity in the giver and humility in the receiver. Nevertheless it became so troublesome in Canada that the authorities endeavored to restrain it. Vagabonds of both sexes were driven from Quebec, and no person was allowed to beg without having first obtained, from the cure or local judge, a certificate of poverty. These regulations, however, were not always well-enforced, and Bishop St. Vallier complains that he is overwhelmed by beggars, and the intendant has the same story to tell. Almshouses were established in Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, for the relief of the poor, and the general hospital, founded in 1692, was also regarded as a house of refuge. Appeals for charity were frequently made to the king, who sent help, again and again, for the Canadian poor; and as late as 1701, six thousand francs were granted for that purpose. On November 6th, 1687, Denonville reports to the minister, that the principal reason of the poverty of the country is the idleness and bad conduct of most of the people. In 1684 the intendant Meules reports, "that the persons who have wished to make a figure in the Colony are nearly all so overwhelmed in debt, that they may be considered in the last necessity." And he adds that many of the people go half-naked in the winter. "The merchants of the Colony," reports the intendant Duchesneau, "are nearly all plunged in poverty." "In New England and the other British colonies," writes the Jesuit Charlevoix, in 1720, "there reigns an opulence by which the people almost seem not to know how to profit, while in New France poverty is hidden under an air of ease which appears entirely natural." The Canadians had become accustomed

to it. It was their normal condition, and they had learned to make the most of it.

The peopling of Canada was largely due to Louis XIV. Before his accession the entire population, clerical and lay, did not exceed twenty-five hundred souls ; but scarcely had he reached his majority than the shipment of settlers, at the expense of the crown, systematically commenced. The Sulpitians of Montreal, in their seigniorial capacity, also brought out, from time to time, a number of colonists from France ; a few other landowners did the same ; but the government was always the chief emigration agent, and paid the great bulk of the charges. In 1661 Bishop Laval wrote the cardinals of the Propaganda, at Rome, that during the two preceding years, the king had spent two hundred thousand francs in the Colony ; that since 1659 he had annually sent out three hundred emigrants ; and that he had promised to send out the same number every summer for the ensuing ten years. These emigrants were mostly poor, and very few brought any money with them. The regiment of Carignan, which came out with Tracy and Courcelles, were also settled in Canada. Each officer received a bounty ranging from one to six thousand francs, and a seigniorial grant ; and the soldier, who consented to remain in the Colony, got a farm, usually of ninety acres, fifty francs in money, and provisions for one year. To provide these settlers with wives, repeated shipments of young women were made from France—peasant girls for the farmers, and an educated and better class for the seigniors. Great as was the demand for wives, the king, in his eagerness to populate the country, caused that demand to be stimulated. Dowries were given to young men who married early, and fathers who neglected to have their children married while young, were fined ; and orders were issued before the arrival of each ship-load of young women, that all single men should marry within a fortnight after the landing of their prospective brides. To parents of ten lawful children the king paid a pension of three hundred francs a year, and of twelve children four hundred francs. So children increased, but the population did not increase in due proportion. The Indians and the wilderness, drunkenness and debauchery, devoured the youth of the Colony ; and more than half a century after Louis XIV. took it in hand, the census did not show a total of twenty-five thousand souls. The lands along the Richelieu river were divided into large seigniories, and granted to the officers of the Carignan regiment, who in turn divided their estates into farms which they gave to their soldiers. And thus a military settlement was formed, as a barrier against the future incursions of the Iroquois or the English. But these officers and soldiers, unaccustomed to agricultural labour, remained miserably poor. Even when they had good crops there was no sufficient market for their surplus produce ; and the fur trade, and the surreptitious sale of brandy to the Indians, were the only available sources of profit. “ Many of our officers and other owners of

seigniories," reported Duchesneau in 1679, "spend most of their time in hunting and fishing. As their requirements in food and clothing are greater than those of the simple *habitants*, and as they do not devote themselves to improving their land, they mix themselves up in trade, run in debt on all hands, incite their young *habitants* to range the woods, and send their own children there to trade in the Indian villages, and in the depths of the forest, in spite of the prohibition of his majesty. Yet with all this they are in miserable poverty," "It is pitiful," wrote the intendant Champigny in 1687 to the minister, "to see their children, of which they have great numbers, passing all the summer with nothing on them but a shirt, and their wives and daughters working in the fields. Pride and sloth are the great faults of the people of Canada, especially of the nobles, and those who pretend to be such. I pray you grant no more letters of nobility unless you want to multiply beggars." "Two days ago," writes Denonville in 1685, Monsieur de Saint Ours, a gentleman from Dauphiny, came to me to ask leave to go back to France in search of bread. He says he will put his ten children in charge of any one who will give them a living, and that he himself will go into the army again. I have seen two of his girls reaping grain and holding the plough. All our married officer are beggars, and I entreat you to send them aid." Denonville added that he feared these officers' sons would go over to the English, or turn bandits, to get a living. The king came to their rescue, and granted alms of one hundred crowns to each family; and letters of nobility ceased to be issued.

The struggle for existence among the poor seigniors of Canada, for many years, was a terrible one, but gradually a better future dawned upon them. The beggared noble of the Frontenac period eventually became a sturdy country gentlemen, poor indeed, but not wretched; with a little education picked up in the Jesuit schools, while his *habitant* dependant remained wholly unlettered. Hardy as the roughest backwoodsman, ever scrupulously wearing his badge of gentility, the sword, he basked complacently in the reflected ray of sunshine of the French court, which fell upon him from the Castle of St. Louis at Quebec. He was entirely at home among his tenantry, both as their seignior and their magistrate; ruled them in a mild paternal fashion, and came to be regarded by them as a being almost of a superior order in creation to themselves. But the crown took good care that no oppression was used, and that the seignior should not abuse his position, or the authority with which he was invested. To render this less difficult of accomplishment the power to inflict capital punishment and other severe penalties, was withdrawn from the seignior at an early period; and as time progressed, his authority otherwise was also seriously curtailed. Like the noble, the Canadian farmer, too, was proud in his own way, scorned the name of peasant, and then, as now, was always called the *habitant*.

The seignior was just as much at home among the Indians as

with the dwellers on his own estate, and never more at home than when with a gun on his shoulder, and a crucifix on his breast, he betook himself to the warpath with a band of painted savages, and Canadians almost as savage, and pounced suddenly from the forest, like a lynx, on some lonely farmhouse, or outlying hamlet, of New England or New York, to burn and destroy, and even to slay, in the name of his country and his religion. Like St. Paul, when he persecuted the Christians from Jerusalem to Damascus, the Canadian was taught to believe, and verily believed, that in striking down heresy and heretics, he was doing God service. In every war the Indian tribes controlled by France, and the Christian mission Indians of the Jesuits as well, were launched against the frontiers of the British colonies without compunction; and were frequently led in their march of wild destruction and ferocious murder by Canadian officers. No wonder, then, that New England hated above measure these seigniors for so often bringing down upon its borders the Abenaki and the Micmac Indians, to perpetrate the bloody massacres of Deerfield and elsewhere. And no wonder, also, that it hated the Jesuits, who so frequently countenanced these forays, and gave counsel and comfort to its savage foes.

The Canada of Louis XV. was the successor, in every respect, of the Canada of his predecessor, only on a larger scale. The increase of French power in the Ohio valley, and around the waters of the western lakes, speedily weakened the hands of the Iroquois, and their inroads into Canada ceased. There were no more Indian forays down the St. Lawrence, and the *habitant* was left to prosper in peace, as best he could, so far as his ancient enemies of the Six Nations were concerned. Gradually new settlements spread out in every direction; the condition of the people improved; they devoted more attention to the cultivation of their farms, and became more amenable to order, and to the control of their clergy. But otherwise there was no change in their social or political condition, and they still remained the serfs of an undiluted despotism, to be tyrannized over by their superiors, and plundered with impunity, at every favorable opportunity, by official peculators of the Bigot stamp. Under even the most favorable circumstances the condition of the Canadian peasant, during the French period, was never a very enviable one. As the inhabitant of a military colony, his life and his fortunes were alike at the mercy of his superiors, from the king downwards. He was liable, at any moment, to be called upon for military duty, and to serve as a soldier without pay, not only as regarded his own immediate country, but at any point, however distant, to which he might be ordered. Hence his farm had frequently to be neglected, and the labours of the field performed by his wife and children of both sexes as best they could. While, as a rule, the civil law was administered very cheaply, and with tolerable fairness, the criminal code was most Draconic in its character, and enforced, at times, with the greatest ferocity. The punishment of death was frequently inflicted

for the most trifling offences. Trial by jury was unknown. The accused person was completely at the mercy of the judge, and was often treated with the most barbarous severity." "To the impenetrably mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition," said the impartial and clever French author, the Abbe Raynal, who wrote after the conquest, "succeeded a cool, rational and public trial; and a tribunal dreadful, and accustomed to shed blood, was replaced by humane judges more disposed to acknowledge innocence, than to suppose criminality." The conquered people have been still more delighted by finding the liberty of their persons secured forever by the famous law of *habeus corpus*. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary will of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery to put them under the protection of just laws."\* Before the conquest the torture was frequently applied by the authorities, to force confessions of guilt from suspected persons; and as late as 1752 a soldier was subjected to the punishment of the rack at Three Rivers, in order to make him confess his accomplices in an attempt to burn the town. A female, who had concealed the birth of an illegitimate child, was tortured in the same cruel way. The rack was in use in Canada almost up to the conquest.\* A person suspected, with or without good foundation, was seized, thrown into prison, and interrogated without knowing the charge preferred against him, and without being confronted with the accuser. He was also often deprived of the assistance of his relations, friends or counsel; sworn to tell the truth, or, in other words, to condemn himself; and frequently never saw his accuser until the moment before sentence was pronounced against him by the judge, or when the torture was applied, or at his execution. In capital cases judgment was invariably followed by confiscation of property.† As regarded the *habitant* the change in his personal condition, which resulted from Canada becoming part of the British Empire, was one indeed of the most beneficial character. It was passing from the bondage of slavery to a condition of freedom.

The finances of the Colony were never in a prosperous state. Very little ready money ever came into it, and when it did come its stay was brief. In the absence of coin, beaver skins long served as currency, but in 1669, the council declared wheat to be a legal tender at about twenty-seven cents to the bushel. In 1674 all creditors were ordered to receive moose skins, at the market rate, in payment of debts. In order to keep money in the country a coinage was made for Canada twenty per cent below the true value; but even this cure turned out to be a very transitory one, and the barter system had to be again resorted to. In 1685 the intendant Meules, having no money to pay the soldiers, created a paper currency out of playing cards, cut into four pieces, stamped with

\* Raynal, vol. ii. p. 138. † Christie, vol. i. p. 11. ‡ Smith's His. Can. vol. ii. p. 70.



the *fleur de lis* and a crown, and signed by the governor, the intendant, and the clerk of the treasury. He next issued an ordinance compelling the people to receive these cards as money. These promises to pay were not convertible into coin, but into government bills of exchange on France, at stated periods, and showed no disposition to leave the Colony. Meules' example was largely followed by successive intendants ; and in 1714 the amount of card currency in circulation had risen to some four hundred thousand dollars. In 1717 this debt was at length converted into government bills of exchange. New card issues followed, until, in the last year of its bitter existence, the Colony was flooded with worthless paper, and the bills drawn against a large part of which the French government refused to honour.

During the French period the trade of Canada was always small, and furs formed the great export staple. Prior to 1714 the Canadians had the bulk of the fur trade in their hands. But in that year the Treaty of Utrecht compelled them to relinquish Hudsons Bay and much of the North-west traffic, and the English colonists from thenceforward became their serious competitors. Extensive smuggling took place between New York and Montreal, and at Albany, also, Canadians freely exchanged their peltries for goods ; and even the agents of the Jesuits were accused of engaging in this contraband traffic. Still, in the decade before the conquest it was estimated that in furs alone the exports from Canada amounted to \$700,000 annually. But very little of anything else, however, was exported, and even the timber trade was of small account. Very few ships were built, and many of those used in the Canadian trade were purchased in New England.

The manufactures of the Colony were few and unimportant, it being the policy of the mother country to discourage efforts in this direction, and compel the Canadians to look to France for supplies of clothing, and other necessary articles for every-day use, as well as for the luxuries of life. Talon procured a relaxation of this policy, and sought to establish manufactures of the more necessary articles for domestic use, but without much success. In 1716 a royal edict was issued giving permission to manufacture coarse stuffs for wearing apparel, and this led to looms being set up in almost every house ; and the *habitants*, and even many of the seigniors, thenceforward manufactured coarse articles of clothing for their own use. This edict was a great boon to the people, who soon learned to clothe themselves comfortably as well as cheaply.

The balance of trade was always largely against Canada, and the difference usually had to be made good, in some way, by the king. Raynal states that the expenses of the French government, on Canadian account, which reached 400,000 francs in 1729, and before 1749 never exceeded 1,700,000 francs, rose to enormous sums during the war. In 1759 the expenditure exceeded 26,000,000 francs ; and from 1749 to the surrender of Canada, in 1860, the total expenditure was over one hundred and twenty-three

million francs. Of this vast sum eighty million francs remained due, of which thirty-four millions were represented by the intendant Bigot's notes of hand to Canadian creditors, and seven millions in exchequer bills. A large part of this debt was at first repudiated by the French government, as being fraudulent ; and although the British government afterwards made it a matter of prolonged negotiation, and sought to do the best it could for its new subjects, the unfortunate Canadians recovered but a small part of the amount due them. Such was the condition of Canada during the French period of its history, as the story is told by its own people and its own rulers. It now remains for us to trace its progress under a new form of government, and under different circumstances.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.

SCARCELY had the treaty of peace, between England and France, been finally ratified, than a new and most alarming danger menaced the western frontier, from Virginia to Lake Huron. The easy manners of the French, their inherent liking for wild forest life, their frequent intermarriages into the native tribes, and their general knowledge of their language, had made them exceedingly popular with all the western Indians; who speedily learned to regard them as comrades and fast friends. In addition to these favouring circumstances, the successful labours of the Jesuit and other Canadian missionaries, who almost invariably united the political with the sacerdotal function, exercised great influence in attaching many of the tribes to French interests. From Champlain to Vaudreuil the governors of the old *regime* had sedulously cultivated alliances with the red man, deferred to his prejudices, and flattered his pride. Even the haughty Count Frontenac, plumed and painted like an Indian brave, did not hesitate to join the war dance, tomahawk in hand; and sing the war song at the camp fires of his delighted allies. Nor did his imitative complacency stop even here. On one occasion he caused an unfortunate Iroquois prisoner to be put to the torture and afterwards burned alive, to strike terror into his countrymen; and no doubt, also, to gratify the Indian friends of France. His subordinates did not hesitate to follow this cruel example when it suited their purpose.

In short, nothing could be more agreeable to the red man than his intercourse with the French soldier, trader or hunter, in whom he found a congenial spirit; and to whose hut he was always welcome. As a result of the recent war this pleasant state of things speedily disappeared. When the French garrisons evacuated one frontier post after another, they were replaced by the soldiers of a different race, who, as a rule, were wholly unacquainted with the language of the neighboring tribes; knew little or nothing about their manners and customs; and with whom the easy and agreeable relations which had been maintained with their predecessors could not be established. In fact, the English soldiers

usually regarded the presence of the Indians as a nuisance, to be abated at the earliest favourable opportunity. This conduct touched to the quick the pride and self-love of the Indian, and he speedily learned to dislike, with all the intensity of his savage nature, the new comers into his country. Times had indeed changed sadly for him. His alliance had hitherto largely constituted the balance of power between the two great contestants for North American empire. But the struggle was over, the victor required no aid, and the red man was about to be relegated to his original condition of savage in consequence. Added to these grounds of dissatisfaction, the western tribes now became apprehensive that the widely aggressive progress of the British colonies must soon cause disaster to themselves, in the destruction of game, and the loss even of their hunting grounds; and that, therefore, their true policy was to prevent farther encroachment on their territory. During the long struggle for supremacy between England and France, the influence of the western Indians had steadily increased. The Iroquois, whose authority, at one time, had extended over half of North America, had gradually been forced eastward, and had eventually to rest contented with their ancient hunting grounds in central and western New York, and in the desolated wilderness of Ontario, out of which they had swept almost every vestige of the Algonquin and Huron races. French alliance and intercourse, in addition to increasing, at the expense of the Iroquois, the power and influence of the tribes of the great lake region, and of the Ohio country as well, had also largely terminated their internecine warfare of former years, and knit them more closely together. The remnants of the Algonquin, the Huron, and the Ottawa nations, now descended from the inhospitable regions beyond Lake Huron, whither they had fled for refuge, and formed new homes for themselves nearer their ancient allies, the French, in the pleasant country lying along the upper end of Lake Erie, the Detroit River, and Lake St. Clair; the Indian's terrestrial paradise abounding with fish and game. With the exceptions of the Delawares from Pennsylvania, now settled in the Ohio valley, and the Shawnees and the Tuscaroras, old allies of the English, all the western Indians still remained the fast friends of the French, and would fly to their aid at any favourable moment.

Among the tribes which had supplanted the Iroquois, in the Detroit region, the Ottawas occupied a foremost position; while Pontiac, their chief, was regarded as the most intelligent and capable leader among all the western Indians; who already looked up to him with the greatest respect and confidence. Independent of the fact that his people had suffered severely during the late war, at Niagara and elsewhere, and that he would avenge them if he could, he detested the English as the allies of the Iroquois, the hereditary foes of his race. He deeply regretted the defeat of his ancient ally of France, and at the close of the war sullenly retired to the territory of his tribe. Here, near the site of the

1760. present city of Cleveland, and late in the autumn, he encountered the celebrated New Hampshire border ranger, Major Rogers, who had been despatched, by Amherst, to take possession of the French lake posts, and angrily demanded how he had dared to enter his country without his permission. "I have come," said Rogers, "with no hostile intent against you, but solely to remove the French from Detroit, and to restore a general peace to white and red men alike." And, then, Rogers told the chief, who listened eagerly, that Canada had been surrendered to the English, and that the power of France was at an end. Pontiac at first declined to accept the proffered wampum belt of peace, but after a night's consideration he deemed it his best course to bow to the inevitable, and informed Rogers he was willing to live in amity with the English, so long as they treated him with due respect and deference. He kept his word, and largely contributed to the safe passage of Rogers westward, and to the peaceable surrender, on the 29th of November, of Detroit. The Indians looked on in amazement as the French garrison defiled before Rogers, laid down their arms, and the *fleur de lis* was lowered from the flag staff, where it had so long flown, and the cross of St. George rose aloft in its place. They could not understand why the many surrendered to the few, and conceived an extraordinary idea of English prowess.

These occurrences made a deep impression on the astute mind of Pontiac ; and, two years afterwards, much as he had come to dislike the English, who had completely disappointed him in the interval, he was not the first to plot against them. During

1762. the recent war the Iroquois became greatly dissatisfied because Amherst would not permit them to scalp and plunder as they had formerly done ; and they were thus forced to return home comparatively empty-handed. Then, again, there was no occasion to court them as sedulously as in former days, as there was no France in the New World now to encounter, and even the usual presents were not forthcoming. The Senecas were the most

dissatisfied of all the confederates, and as early as 1761 commenced to intrigue among the Ottawas and other western tribes, with the view to the formation of a general

Indian confederacy. "The English," said the Senecas, "evidently intend to make slaves of us all, by occupying so many posts in our country, and we had better prevent them in time." And, in this way, one tribe after another was speedily drawn into the conspiracy, which Pontiac presently found ready-made to his

1762. hand, and then determined to give it more complete form and force. Towards the close of 1762 he sent messengers to all the Indian tribes, from the lake region to the Mississippi.—With the war belt and red tomahawk, these messengers went from camp to camp, and village to village, and told the story of the wrongs which their race had sustained at the hands of the English, who, in the month of May following, as they stated, were to be



driven forever from their country. And all the tribes eagerly accepted the war belt, and engaged to destroy, on the appointed day, the nearest garrison. Even the Delawares and the Shawnees, the ancient friends of the Pennsylvania Quakers, with whom they had ever been at peace, accepted the conspiracy, and took up the hatchet. The Senecas also joined it, although not very openly at first ; but the rest of the Iroquois tribes, now completely controlled by Sir William Johnson, remained faithful to their ancient alliance with the English, although unwilling to give them active aid against their kindred.

Widely extended as were the preparations for the approaching storm of massacre and plunder, the Indians concealed their purpose with the stolid dissimulation of their race. They still lounged about the forts with their wonted calm impenetrable faces, begging as usual for tobacco, gunpowder or whisky, but neither did anything, nor said anything, to cause alarm. Occasionally a trader, fresh from an Indian village in the interior, would report that he suspected some mischief was being concocted, but as he could give no facts in support of his statements, the warning passed unheeded. Early in March Ensign Holmes, in command 1763. of a small post at Miami, on the Mawmee River, in the Ohio country, got the first authentic intelligence of the desperate plot.—He was told by a friendly Indian that the warriors of an adjoining village had lately received a war belt, on the condition that they would destroy him and his garrison, and that they were preparing to do so. Holmes boldly charged the Indians with the design.—They expressed regret, laid the blame on a neighbouring tribe, and professed eternal friendship for the English. Holmes reported his discovery to his superior officer, Major Gladwyn, of Detroit ; who in turn reported it to General Amherst, whose headquarters were now at New York. But as both Holmes and Gladwyn thought the matter would soon blow over Amherst did not attach any serious importance to the news ; yet nevertheless deemed it advisable that steps should be taken to reinforce Detroit and some other western garrisons. But he was not sufficiently expeditious, and found, when too late, that he should have attached more importance to Gladwyn's warning.

Of all the western settlements of the French, Detroit was the largest and most valued. Situated on the beautiful and majestic river which discharges the waters of the upper lakes into Lake Erie, and in a climate at once mild and salubrious, it was a haven of happiness for the Indian hunter and the Canadian voyageur.—There the French had erected a fort twelve hundred yards in circumference, with picket walls twenty feet high, and containing buildings not only sufficient for an ample garrison, but also for the fur-traders and their half-breed families. The amicable relations subsisting with the Indians had gradually led to a considerable white settlement just outside the fort, and along the banks of the river. Here the Canadians dwelt on farms with a narrow water frontage

of three or four acres in width, and extending inland for eighty acres. The products of the rich and fruitful soil provided them not only with abundance for themselves, but also with a large surplus for the supply of the garrison, and to exchange with the Indians, whose traffic enriched them. All told, this settlement might amount to about a thousand souls.

In completing the arrangements for attacking the various military posts, Pontiac had reserved the capture of Detroit for himself. The possession of this important position would enable him to become the paramount power on the portal of the great west, and materially add to his authority with all its red people. Did he become master of Detroit the posts above it would be isolated, and, if not at once captured by surprise, must fall in detail. The garrison was weak in number, and thus invited attack. It was composed of the remnant of the 80th regiment of the line, now reduced to 128 rank and file, and eight officers. About two dozen traders and hunters could be relied on for help in case of an emergency, but from the Canadians little could be expected : and, in any event, they were too much at the mercy of the Indians to give active support to the garrison. The artillery for the defence of Detroit was very limited. It consisted of two six pounder guns, and a three pounder swivel gun. There were also three mortars, but their carriages were so rotten that they could not be used.—Two small armed schooners, the *Beaver* and *Gladwyn*, lay at anchor a little way from the fort, and securely covered its water front with their guns. Pontiac submitted his plan of attack to a council of the tribes who now built their wigwams in the neighbourhood of Detroit. On the 7th of May, under the pretext of holding a grand council with Gladwyn and his officers, he was to obtain access to the fort with sixty of his bravest warriors armed, in addition to their knives and tomahawks, with guns cut short in the barrel so that they could be concealed beneath their blankets. When Pontiac would rise to address Gladwyn he was to hold in his hand a belt green on one side and white on the other, the turning of which was to be the signal for a general massacre.

In order more fully to disarm all suspicion Pontiac, on the 1st day of May, paid a visit to the fort, attended by several of his followers, and when about to retire informed Gladwyn, that on the sixth day afterwards he would again visit him, to hold a solemn council, smoke the pipe of peace, and discuss some important business matters. But Gladwyn had not wholly forgotten the warning from Holmes, although it was now two months old. A friendly Canadian, too, had recently cautioned him to stand well upon his guard. It is also said that a young squaw, who had contracted an attachment for a soldier of the garrison, had made her lover acquainted with his approaching danger, and he in turn had warned his commanding officer. But from whatever source it came, Gladwyn was, sometime on the 6th, fully apprised of the plot, and made every preparation to defeat it. When Pontiac and his band

entered the fort next morning, at 10 o'clock, to hold the proposed council, he found the garrison drawn up in line with fixed bayonets, ready for action ; and the traders and hunters, armed to the teeth, standing here and there in groups. He saw at a glance that his treachery had been somehow discovered, and that a sudden surprise was no longer possible. But his courage and self-possession were equal to the occasion. He sedately proceeded to the council chamber, and there, in the coolest manner possible, delivered his speech, although frequently interrupted by the roll of drums and movements of the troops ; but the concerted signal of attack was never given. His calm demeanour made Gladwyn somewhat incredulous as to the correctness of the information he had received ; and being, at the same time, unwilling to be guilty of any breach of faith ; or to do any act to provoke an Indian war, Pontiac was permitted to retire unharmed. Yet the scouting parties of his tribe had already commenced hostilities, and during the morning murdered two English officers engaged in sounding the entrance into Lake Huron.

Two days afterwards Pontiac completely threw off the mask ; and moving all his followers from the Canadian to the opposite side of the river, formed a permanent camp two miles from the fort, just beyond a small creek, since known as Bloody Run, from the sad catastrophe that soon afterwards took place on its banks.—He now proclaimed the blockade of the garrison, not only as it regarded his own people, but also the Canadians. "The first man that shall bring them provisions, or anything else," said Pontiac, "shall suffer death." On the same day his followers brutally murdered and scalped an elderly Englishwoman and her family, who lived within sight of the fort ; and, also, an old soldier, named Fisher, who dwelt on an island in the river.

During the ensuing night the garrison remained under arms, or busied themselves in getting supplies from the schooners. All was quiet until early morning, when with the first blush of dawn the war-whoop of over a thousand savages, who bounded naked to the assault, were heard on every side. Ottawas, Wyandots, Pottawatamies and Ojibways, were there in strong force ; and from every available point, where cover could be obtained, sent their bullets in showers against the wooden palisades of the fort. But the garrison and the trader sharp shooters repaid them with compound interest, and, after six hours had elapsed, the Indians wearied of the attack and retired. Of the garrison only five men were wounded during the battle, and their assailants had kept themselves too carefully under cover to suffer much loss.

Gladwyn supposing that these occurrences were the result of a solitary Indian ebullition, which would soon subside ; and being moreover in want of provisions, of which he desired to obtain a supply from the French settlement, now resolved to open negotiations with Pontiac. Three Canadians were accordingly despatched to his camp, and urged him to agree to a peace. But Pontiac de-

clared that while anxious to do so, he could only hold council with the English fathers themselves. When Gladwyn heard this message he suspected treachery ; but finally, and after much urgent pressing, consented that his second in command, Captain Campbell, accompanied by Lieutenant McDougall, should proceed to Pontiac's camp to open negotiations. On arrival there they were met by the most hostile demonstrations ; and for a time it appeared as if they would be murdered. But this was no part of Pontiac's plan ; and he retained them as his prisoners ; assigning them quarters with a respectable Canadian farmer, who resided within the boundaries of his camp. Next day Gladwyn was formally summoned to capitulate ; and Pontiac threatened that, in the event of refusal, he would ultimately put the whole garrison to the torture.

The fort was now closely blockaded by land, but the schooners still held command of the river, and the fire of their guns sweeping the northern and southern faces of the works, kept the enemy from approaching them. The presence of these vessels had also another most important effect. They prevented the canoes of the Indians from passing along the river, and thus enabled a few friendly Canadians, who lived on the opposite shore, to convey secretly, at night, to the garrison the provisions of which it stood sorely in need. Nor were the besiegers much better off. The large number of warriors, which sometimes reached two thousand, speedily devoured their stores of provisions, and Pontiac soon found himself in no small difficulty to provide them with food. He accordingly organised a regular commissariat, which he placed under the control of some friendly Frenchmen, and made requisitions for supplies on the Canadian farmers—on friend and foe alike—to whom receipts on birch bark, signed with the otter, the totem of his tribe, were issued, and afterwards faithfully redeemed. This politic chief had also a secretary, a Canadian, whom he caused to write to De Noyan, the French commandant in Illinois, who had not yet surrendered his posts at Fort Chartres and elsewhere, to send him help to expel the English, and an officer competent to conduct siege operations.

Strong in the good-will of the western Indians, the French never had occasion to build posts of great strength amongst them. Where the English were likely to find their way, substantial forts, armed with cannon, were built ; but in the wilderness, distant from the frontier, their military posts were of the weakest construction, and most frequently consisted of a block house and a few log houses, surrounded by a stockade of cedar or hemlock, loop-holed for musketry fire. These were sufficient for the accommodation of a few soldiers, and occasional hunters and traders ; while the Indians in the neighbourhood were looked to for supplies of maize and game. These small forts were thinly scattered throughout the vast unbroken forest wilderness of the west and north-west, and usually stood by the side of some pleasant stream. In the Ohio region, and along the lakes, they had been surrendered to the

conquerors at the close of the war, and were now garrisoned by small detachments of regular troops—the grim repellant successors of the gay and accommodating Frenchmen, who had so successfully won their way into the hearts of the red men. Upon these weak and isolated posts the storm of savage warfare descended, during the early days of summer, with fatal fury. On the 7th of May the appointed day, or as soon thereafter as possible, each tribe danced its final war dance, and marched to attack the nearest English post, or suddenly burst from the forest on some defenceless frontier settlement, to slay and scalp, to burn and plunder. The woods, in every direction, were now alive with swarming troops of hostile savages, who speedily drove out or murdered all the English traders they could lay hands upon. On the 16th of May a party of Indians made their appearance at Fort Sandusky, garrisoned by fifteen soldiers under Ensign Paulli. Seven of these Indians were admitted to a conference. At a given signal the soldiers and traders were massacred; while Paulli was suddenly seized and bound, and afterwards sent a prisoner to Pontiac at Detroit. On the morning of the 25th of May, a party of Pottawatamies appeared at the post of St. Joseph, near the head of Lake Michigan, garrisoned by Ensign Schlosser and fourteen soldiers and traders. “We are come,” said they, “to wish the garrison a good morning.” A cry was suddenly heard in the log barracks, and in a few minutes all the English, with the exception of Schlosser and three others, were murdered. The captives were afterwards carried to Detroit, and there exchanged for an equal number of Indian prisoners. At Fort Miami, Holmes, who had warned Gladwyn of the approaching danger, and who understood a little medicine, was decoyed from his post on a visit of mercy to a neighbouring squaw, who was said to be sick, and treacherously shot dead. His sergeant, who went to search for him, was made prisoner; and the feeble garrison of nine men, deprived of their officers, surrendered at discretion. At Mackinaw, a little west of the strait, stood a fort of considerable strength, garrisoned by two officers and forty soldiers, under the command of Captain Etherington. On the 2nd of June a band of Chippewas, after sending their squaws into the fort with tomahawks concealed under their blankets, commenced a game of lacrosse. Presently the ball was pitched into the fort, the players were allowed to follow it, and, in a few minutes, an officer and sixteen men were killed, and the remainder of the garrison, and all the English traders, made prisoners; while the French traders were left at liberty. On the same day the fort at Presque Isle, (Erie) the chief point of communication between Pittsburg and Niagara, and garrisoned by an officer and twenty-four men, was weakly surrendered after a two days’ siege, and the officer and most of his soldiers carried in triumph to Pontiac. Sixteen miles from Presque Isle, near the head waters of the Alleghany, and on the road to Fort Pitt, stood Fort Le Boeuf, a single badly constructed block house, garrisoned by Ensign Price, two corporals



and eleven privates. On the night of the 3rd of June, this post was attacked by a body of Indians and set on fire; but in the confusion the garrison made their escape through a window, and eventually reached Fort Pitt, with the exception of two soldiers, who lost their way, and perished from hunger and fatigue. Some forty miles farther south on the Alleghany stood Fort Venango, occupied by some twenty men, under the command of Lieutenant Gordon. On the 2nd of June a large body of Senecas gained entrance into this fort under friendly pretences, closed the gates to prevent escape, and massacred the garrison. After compelling the unfortunate Gordon to write, at their dictation, a statement of their grievances, they tortured him until he died, when they burned the fort to the ground, and departed to murder and destroy among the settlements along the Susquehanna. The loss of Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango, completely closed the road from Niagara to Fort Pitt. Its second line of communication lay across the Alleghanies, into Pennsylvania, and was protected by Fort Ligonier, Bedford, and some other smaller posts, which fortunately succeeded in beating off the enemy.

And thus suddenly, by stratagem or force, or both combined, fell post after post in the great wilderness; while, at the same time, the blockade of Detroit continued to be closely maintained. In the last days of May, an effort was made to relieve it by a force, of 96 men, sent from Niagara, under command of Lieutenant Cuyler. While encamped at the mouth of the Detroit river, this force was suddenly attacked at night by Pontiac's Indians, and utterly defeated. Its loss in killed and prisoners was over sixty; and those who escaped fled for their lives down the lake. Nearly all the provisions and military stores were captured. Among these was a quantity of whisky, which during the night led to horrid scenes of riot and debauch among the Indians, when all the unfortunate prisoners captured on this occasion were massacred; and for several days afterwards, naked corpses, gashed with knives, and scorched with fire, floated down the river. Couriers carried to the tribes, in every direction, the news of Pontiac's success, in order to stimulate them to still greater exertions to drive the English back to the east whence they had come. But not content with destroying the military posts and murdering their defenders, the Indians slew over a hundred English traders, captured either at their villages or in the forest. The Delawares and Shawnees, forgetful of their ancient treaties of peace and friendship with the Quakers, crossed the Alleghanies into Pennsylvania, which now felt all the evils of savage warfare in its direst form. It had long slumbered in fancied security, had few frontier defensive posts, and no organized militia force equal to the protection of its borders. Scouting parties of cruel savages harried the border settlements in every direction down to Carlisle, and left wide swathes of destruction and death behind them wherever they turned their steps. The frontiers of Maryland and Virginia also felt the full effects of this terrible

savage irruption, and five hundred families, homeless and destitute, had to fly to Winchester for protection. For hundreds of miles flight was the only source of safety to the unhappy border population ; and the larger towns were speedily filled with fugitives—men, women and children—in the direst terror and distress it is possible to conceive. Strong parties of armed men, who went out to reconnoitre the raided districts, found everywhere habitations in ruins, amid which often lay the half-burned and mutilated bodies of the inmates, from the father and mother to the infant at the breast. In several cases these unfortunate people had some remains of life and consciousness still left. A thousand families had been driven from the Susquehanna valley alone ; the woods were full of flying fugitives, destitute of food and shelter ; and it was evident that, unless the havoc was speedily checked, the western part of Pennsylvania would be wholly deserted.

After Detroit, Fort Pitt was the most important of all the western posts, and the greatest menace to the Indians of the Ohio country. It had now a garrison of 330 men under a brave and prudent Swiss officer, Captain Ecuyer, who proved himself fully equal to the emergency. Early in May, bands of Delawares and Mingoes had been seen hovering round this post, as if for trading purposes ; but their true object was to ascertain if the garrison could be surprised. On the 27th of the month they exchanged, with some traders, twelve hundred dollars worth of furs for powder and lead, and shortly afterwards sent a message to Ecuyer, recounting the Indian successes against the various military posts, and threatening that if his garrison were not withdrawn it would share the same fate. To give emphasis to this warning they next day scalped and murdered a whole family, who resided near the fort, sparing neither women nor children, and then departed, but leaving behind them a tomahawk as their declaration of war. Next day two soldiers were shot within a mile of the fort ; while news reached it that everywhere the traders were being slaughtered. "I see," writes Ecuyer to his Colonel, Bouquet, "that the affair is general. I tremble for the outposts. I expect to be attacked to-morrow morning. I am passably well-prepared. Everybody is at work, and I do not sleep."

Thus fully warned of the great danger which threatened his post ; and aware that a long period must elapse before effectual aid could be given him, the gallant Ecuyer resolutely determined to prepare for every emergency. The fortifications of Fort Pitt had never been fully completed ; and the floods had seriously damaged it on the water faces. With the aid of a few ship-carpenters, who had come to build boats for the expedition to take possession of the French posts in Illinois, he soon put the works in a good state of defence, constructed a fire engine to use should any of the wooden buildings become ignited by burning arrows, and made every other preparation, which his limited means permitted, to repel attack. But independent of this danger he had other serious

difficulties to encounter. A small outside colony of settlers and camp followers had grown up under the protection of the guns of the fort, and as their log huts had to be destroyed, so as to give no cover to an enemy, over two hundred of their women and children had now to be sheltered within the works. Among these the small-pox soon broke out, and an hospital had to be built for the sick out of range of musket shot. Prowling parties of Indians, constantly hovering near the fort, scalped and murdered those who ventured outside, and fired at the sentinels on the ramparts at every opportunity. At length, on the afternoon of the 22nd of June, a strong body of the Delawares and Shawnees appeared before the fort, and opened a fierce fire on every side. It was replied to by the best shots of the garrison, and a discharge of howitzers which dropped their shells well among the assailants, who were greatly disconcerted at this, to them, new mode of fighting. At the close of the day the garrison had only one man killed and another wounded.

Finding that the fort was more than a match for them, and that they could make no impression on the works, the Indians determined to see what could be gained by a conference. At 9 o'clock, next morning, several of their principal men came to the outer edge of the ditch, and declared their purpose. Brothers said Turtle Heart, the principal chief of the Delawares, addressing Ecuyer and his officers, "we stand here as your friends, but we have bad news to tell you. Six great nations of Indians have taken up the hatchet, and have cut off all the English garrisons except yours. They are now on the way to destroy you also. We are your friends, and wish to save your lives ; but you must leave this fort with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements where you will be safe. If you go at once we will protect you." But Ecuyer promptly rejected their proposal ; and told them that three great armies were now on their way to punish the rebellious tribes. As for himself he was bound to stay where he was, and declared that the garrison was able to hold Fort Pitt against all the Indians who might dare to attack it. His courageous bearing disheartened the Delawares, and for the present they withdrew from the neighbourhood. Bad news soon came to Ecuyer from all sides. On the 26th, a fugitive from the garrison at Presque Isle brought intelligence of its surrender, the beleaguer of Detroit, and the destruction of the little forts of Le Boeuf and Venango, whose ruins he had passed in his flight. Ecuyer expected that the enemy, flushed with success, would again attack him. But he was mistaken, and left in peace for several weeks.

Meanwhile, the siege of Detroit was continued with varying fortunes to the assailed and the assailants ; but Pontiac had by far the best of it. On the 19th of June, a rumour reached the garrison that the schooner Gladwyn, which several weeks before had been despatched to Fort Schlosser, on the Niagara River, for supplies, had returned up the lake. Five days afterwards a great

commotion was observed among the Indians, large parties of whom were seen to pass along the outskirts of the woods. Baby, a friendly Canadian, brought news in the evening that the Gladwyn was again attempting to ascend the river, and that the Indians had gone to attack her. Two guns were now fired as a signal that the garrison still held out, and the final result was anxiously awaited.

Late that afternoon the schooner, with the aid of a gentle breeze, began to move slowly upwards, with nearly the whole of the sixty soldiers on board concealed between decks, in order to deceive the enemy, and draw them on to make an attack. When a short distance below Turkey Island the breeze died away, and the anchor was dropped. A strict watch was kept, but hours wore on, and no sound broke the stillness of the night, save the rush of the rippling current as it parted from the bow of the vessel, to speed lakewards between the wooded shores that lay black and silent in the deepening obscurity of midnight. And now, stealthily approaching through the darkness, came a hostile fleet of canoes to be received by a steady fire of grape shot and musketry, which killed fourteen Indians, wounded as many more, and drove the survivors in consternation to Turkey Island, whence they opened an ineffectual fire. Four days afterwards a fair wind enabled the Gladwyn to sail boldly up the river without having a man injured, although the Indians fired at her constantly. As she passed the Wyandot village, she sent, amid its wigwams and huts, a shower of grape shot, which killed several of the inhabitants ; and, in a few minutes afterwards, anchored by the side of her companion vessel off the fort. She brought a welcome reinforcement of sixty men to the garrison, a good supply of ammunition and provisions, and the news of the final ratification of peace between England and France.

Although greatly chagrined by the Gladwyn's successful relief of the garrison, Pontiac steadily continued the blockade, and endeavoured to win over the Canadians, the more respectable of whom, however, declined to aid him. But several trappers and voyageurs, loose birds of passage, who had nothing at stake and longed for excitement, agreed to attach themselves to his fortunes. Meanwhile the schooners, having now plenty of ammunition, frequently assumed the aggressive, and moved up and down the river to fire upon the Indian encampments at either side. The enemy, aided by some renegade Canadians, constructed fire rafts, which came floating towards the schooners but did no harm, as they were easily towed aside. Finding these attempts were useless, Pontiac removed his camp several miles up the river, where a wooded marsh protected it from the fire of the shipping.

While these events were transpiring, Major Dalzell, an aid-de-camp of General Amherst, had been despatched from Niagara with a force of over 200 men, among whom was a small body of rangers under Major Rogers, and an abundant supply of provisions and military stores. On the evening of the 28th of July, Dalzell

arrived off the Detroit River, which, favoured by a fog, he cautiously and safely ascended during the night. Next morning the early sun dispelled the fog, the Indians discovered the relieving force, while still a short distance from the fort, and a sharp but brief action ensued, in which the English sustained a loss of fifteen killed and wounded.

Dalzell was eager to distinguish himself, and on the day of his arrival proposed a night attack on the camp of Pontiac, in order to cripple him effectually before his retreat, which was now confidently anticipated. "He is too wary to be surprised," said Gladwyn, "and I fear the attempt will not succeed;" but after much persuasion, he reluctantly, and against his "better judgment," yielded in the end.\* Next day orders were issued for the meditated attack, and the necessary preparations made. But owing, it was said, to the carelessness of some of the officers, a Canadian spy, hanging around the fort, became aware of the projected attack, and speedily conveyed the news to Pontiac, who at once made skilful arrangements to repel it.

Not quite two miles from the fort, Parent's Creek descended through a wild and rough hollow to the Detroit River; and, a few rods above its mouth, was crossed by a narrow wooden bridge. Beyond this bridge, and parallel with the creek, the land rose in abrupt ridges, on which Pontiac had made slight intrenchments to protect his camp, which had formerly occupied the ground beyond. Here, too, the Canadian settlers had built several strong fences; while their wood piles also made excellent cover for a defensive force. Behind all these points of advantage Pontiac placed his warriors, who, with levelled guns, watched silently for Dalzell's approach. About two o'clock in the morning his column of two hundred and fifty men passed noiselessly out of the fort, and marched two deep along the road; while two armed batteaux rowed up the river abreast of them, every yard of their progress watched by the enemy's scouts. Presently the advance guard was half way over the bridge, and the main body just entering upon it, when a wild yell rose up in front, long lines of fire illumined the darkness, and in a few moments fully half the soldiers at the head of the column were shot down, when the whole force recoiled. But the troops quickly reformed, and charged furiously across the bridge to find the Indians had disappeared. A retreat was now determined on, but the Indians had taken post at every available point between Dalzell and the fort, and his whole force narrowly escaped being cut off. He was shot dead during the retreat, when Captain Grant, a brave and skilful officer, assumed command, and, after six hours continued fighting, led the shattered column back within the welcome shelter of the fort. In this action the English lost twenty killed and forty-two wounded; while the

\* Gladwyn to Amherst, Augt. 8th, 1763.



Indians loss scarcely amounted to twenty all told. And thus Parent's Creek came to be called the "Bloody Run."

This decisive victory gave fresh courage to the besiegers, and runners were despatched in every direction, through the forests, to tell the news, and to confirm the wavering tribes who were beginning to weary of the long contest. Fresh allies now poured into Pontiac's camp; and the besieging force was speedily raised to over a thousand warriors. Pontiac's success stimulated the Delawares and their immediate allies to make a fresh effort to get possession of Fort Pitt, but before they again attempted its attack they resolved to see what persuasion would accomplish. Accordingly, on the 26th of July, a small party of their principal chiefs, among whom was Turtle Heart, came to the fort, and were admitted to a council. Ecuyer heard them patiently, rejected their overtures, and told them he despised the Ottawas, and could hold his position, for three years, against all the Indians in the woods. On the succeeding night the Delawares and their allies, the Shawnees, Wyandots and Mingoës, surrounded the fort in large numbers, and, with their knives and tomahawks, dug rifle pits, whence they could fire with safety. The border sharpshooters, within the fort, lay close behind their parapets of logs; exposed themselves as little as possible, and gave the enemy much the worst of it. Occasionally the Indians shot fire arrows, but very few of these entered the fort, and no damage was done beyond giving Ecuyer a slight wound in the leg. This attack lasted for five days and nights, during which the whole injury inflicted on the garrison was one man killed and seven wounded. On the 1st of August the Indians raised the siege, and moved eastwards to attack the relieving force now on its way to Fort Pitt.

Late in June, Amherst began at last to clearly comprehend the great danger of the situation along the frontiers, and the necessity of checking the roving bands of Indians who still actively continued their depredations. But his position was one of no small difficulty. The armies which had conquered Canada had been either disbanded, or sent to other countries; and his only available troops were a few skeleton regiments, whose strength had been cut down by service in the deadly climate of the West Indies. Little aid could be hoped from the legislatures of the colonies most directly affected, owing to one cause of difference or another. The Pennsylvania Assembly was particularly obstinate, and regarding the Indians as the aggrieved party, even refused to give effectual assistance to protect its own borders. Under these circumstances, Amherst had to rely almost wholly upon the few regular troops at his disposal, to relieve the beleaguered garrisons at the west. To Colonel Bouquet, a brave and prudent Swiss officer, who had been a soldier from his boyhood, and thoroughly acquainted with frontier warfare, was assigned the difficult task of relieving his countryman, Ecuyer, at Fort Pitt. On the 27th of June Amherst wrote him from New York, that every soldier there had been sent on to him,

and that should the whole race of Indians rise in arms against him, he could do no more. Bouquet now pushed on to the frontier to make arrangements for his expedition. At his camp, at Carlisle, on the 3rd of July, he first heard of the fall of Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango, and at once despatched the news to Amherst. The little town was full of fugitives, reduced to the extreme of want and misery. The cries of distracted women and starving children filled the air; and Bouquet wrote to Amherst that the scene was painful to humanity, and impossible to describe.

At length, after surmounting numerous difficulties, the middle of July saw the relieving force prepared to move forward. It did not exceed 500 men all told, the most effective of whom were the 42nd Highlanders. The remnant of the 77th were scarcely able to march, and were only fit for garrison duty. As the expedition moved slowly onwards, desolation and ruin everywhere met the eye. At Shippensburg, a little hamlet twenty miles from Carlisle, another starving multitude, who had fled from the knife and the tomahawk, were encountered. Beyond this point lay a solitude whence every settler had fled. After a long and difficult march, through a country of rocky heights and deep valleys, the post of Bedford, hemmed in by encircling mountains, was reached on the 25th of July. The village was full of the wretched border population, now clustered in terror under the guns of the fort, as the neighbouring woods swarmed with prowling savages. Lieutenant Ourry, the officer in command, reported that for several weeks nothing had been heard from the westward, as all the messengers had been killed; but that the last news was that Fort Pitt was threatened with a general attack. At Bedford Bouquet engaged thirty backwoodsmen to act as scouts, as his own troops got lost in the woods; and, leaving his invalid soldiers to garrison the fort, again pushed forward. The march over the Alleghanies, along the rough road hewn out by Forbes, five years before, was of the most difficult and arduous description. But at length, on the 2nd of August, Fort Ligonier, on the western slope of the mountains, fifty miles from Bedford and one hundred and fifty miles from Carlisle, was reached. The Indians besieging this post at once disappeared. Its commandant, Lieutenant Blane, could give no intelligence of the enemy, as he had been closely blockaded for weeks, and all his expresses to Fort Pitt, distant 50 miles, had, during that time, been either captured or killed.

Leaving his cumbrous waggons at Fort Ligonier, and taking with him his pack train of three hundred and fifty horses, Bouquet resumed his march on the 4th. About twenty miles in front of him lay the dangerous defile of Turtle Creek, a most favourable point for an Indian ambush. About two miles nearer flowed another mountain streamlet, called Bushy Run, and here Bouquet determined to halt until night, and under cover of darkness make a forced march across Turtle Creek. On the morning of the 5th, the tents were struck at an early hour, and the advance resumed.

At one o'clock, and while still not quite a mile from Bushy Run, the advance guard was furiously attacked by a strong body of Indians. Bouquet ordered a charge, but no sooner were the Indians driven from one direction than they reappeared at another. Presently the convoy in the rear was attacked, and Bouquet had to fall back for its protection, and was soon assailed on all sides. All that sultry summer afternoon, for seven long hours, did the battle rage; and although suffering from fatigue and burning thirst, and the ranks at times disordered by the wild rush of wounded and terrified pack horses, that gallant band steadily withstood their savage foe. Night at length came on, and the fighting ceased. A space in the centre of the camp had been prepared for the wounded, and surrounded by a wall of flour bags. Here they were placed to suffer the agonies of thirst, as no water was to be had, and to await, passive and helpless, the issue of the battle. During the day the British had lost sixty killed and wounded; while the loss of the Indians, who fought always behind cover, or ran from the bayonet charges, was comparatively trifling.

On the following morning, at the first blush of dawn, the battle was resumed with the greatest fury. Grown bolder by their successes of the previous day, the Indians advanced closer to the troops; and, seeing their suffering condition, pressed them harder than ever, and even endeavoured, at times, to break through their ranks, now growing thinner and thinner as the killed and wounded dropped out. In this way the battle continued until ten o'clock, when Bouquet determined to profit by the increasing daring of his foes, and, if possible, draw them from their cover, and so bring them in a body under the fire of his troops. Skilfully reforming his line, so as to make it appear as if he were about to retreat, and, at the same time, placing two companies so as to take an attacking force in flank, he awaited the result. Deceived by these movements, and believing that the British were about to retreat, the Indians now moved out from their cover, rushed to capture the camp, and had almost succeeded, when the two companies in ambush suddenly appeared on their flank, and fired a close and deadly volley into the midst of the hurrying crowd. The Indians wheeled round and returned the fire, but the next moment the Highlanders, with yells as wild as their own, fell on them with the bayonet, and drove them into headlong flight. Two other companies, ambushed at another point, poured a second deadly volley into the Indians as they fled before the bayonets of the Highlanders. This completed their rout, and the four companies uniting drove the fugitives through the woods, killing many and scattering the remainder in hopeless confusion. The remaining Indians, at other points of attack, when they saw the defeat of their friends, also lost heart and fled. About sixty dead Indians, among whom were several prominent chiefs, lay scattered over the ground where the final rush was made. Several others of their killed lay out of sight among the woods, while the blood that plentifully stained the

bushes showed that many had fled wounded from the fatal field. The loss of the British, during the two days' engagements, was fifty killed, sixty wounded, and three missing.

Bouquet had litters made as speedily as possible for the conveyance of the wounded ; and having buried his dead, and destroyed all the stores he could not now carry forward, owing to the loss of so many of his pack horses, pushed forward in the afternoon to Bushy Run, where water was obtained. Here the camp was hardly formed when it was fired upon by the enemy, who was, however, easily driven off. Cumbered as he was by his wounded, and occasionally harassed by petty attacks from the savages, it took Bouquet four days' march to cover the intervening twenty-five miles to Fort Pitt, where the garrison joyfully welcomed their deliverers.

In the battle of Bushy Run, the most obstinately contested ever fought between Indians and white men, although the British loss was severe, the victory was nevertheless cheaply won. It destroyed the confidence of the Delawares and the Shawnees, the most powerful of the Ohio tribes, in their own prowess ; and so disheartened them that they declined to aid Pontiac by any fresh general movement during the remainder of the war. But their rage at their losses and the severe punishment they had sustained, was beyond all bounds, and they sought to avenge themselves on the border settlements. But the success at Bushy Run had given fresh courage to their men, defensive parties were organized, and the Indian raiders were frequently severely punished. Throughout the provinces the victory excited universal joy and admiration. The Quaker assembly of Pennsylvania passed an unanimous vote of thanks to Bouquet for his services ; and a gracious acknowledgment of his merits came also, soon after, from King George.

Meanwhile the Senecas, who had suffered no reverses as yet, continued hostilities, and sent war parties to ravage the New York border settlements, then extending from Albany County south-east to the Pennsylvanian frontier. Fortunately the influence of Sir Wm. Johnson was still sufficient to restrain the remainder of the Six Nations from overt acts, and even to cause them to take up arms, but in a half-hearted sort of way, in favour of the English. On the 13th of September a strong body of Senecas attacked an empty return train, of waggons and pack-horses, engaged in conveying stores from Niagara to Fort Schlosser, a little way above the Falls. The attack was made at the point known as the Devil's Hole. The escort of twenty-four soldiers was overpowered in a few moments, and frightened horses, teams and waggons, crashed over the terrific precipice, to be dashed to pieces on the rocks below. Stedman, the conductor of the convoy, and a wounded teamster, who concealed himself in the woods during the confusion, alone escaped to tell the story of the massacre. Nor was this the only damage that befell the British during the fall. Late in October Major

Wilkins, with a force of six hundred regulars, collected with great difficulty for the relief of Detroit, while attempting to ascend the strong current of the Niagara River, a short distance above Fort Schlosser, was assailed by a body of Senecas, and forced to retreat. This force afterwards got safely to Lake Erie, but when almost at Detroit was driven back again by a violent storm, in which seventy men perished, and all the stores and ammunition were lost.

And, thus, in mingled disaster and defeat, did the winter set in darkly upon the Northern American colonies, while Canada was left almost wholly undisturbed. The victory of Bouquet was the only bright spot in the horizon. Fort Pitt was securely held by Ecuyer, whose communications had been re-established with Pennsylvania ; and Detroit, the siege of which had been abandoned for the winter by Pontiac, was still a British garrison ; but outside these posts the red men had undisputed sway throughout all the western wilderness. They did not cease their forays even in the winter on the border settlements ; and districts re-peopled during the fall, were again made desolate, and the snow-clad valleys illumined by the flames of burning homes. Ere the winter had set in Amherst resigned in disgust, and General Gage was appointed to succeed him. Before Amherst's departure he notified all the threatened American colonies, that they would be called upon for troops to march against the Indians in the ensuing spring. To this they agreed ; and the more readily as fully two thousand persons had either been killed or carried off along their borders, and an equal number of families compelled to abandon their homes. The frontier people of Pennsylvania, driven to desperation by their sufferings, were strong in their resentment against their Quaker legislature, which had given them scant sympathy and little aid, and threatened to break out into desperate riot. During the winter great disorder prevailed throughout the province, the Christian Indians were forced to fly for their lives, and the citizens of Philadelphia, Quakers among the rest, had to arm themselves to protect the city from the enraged borderers.

When Pontiac abandoned the blockade of Detroit, he made insincere propositions of peace to Gladwyn, in order to lull him into a false security. He then withdrew with some of his chiefs to the Mawmee River, in order to induce the Indians in that quarter to renew the war in the following summer.

With the return of spring Pontiac resumed the siege of Detroit. But his allies were becoming wearied with the long struggle. Suffering, too, from the want of powder and blankets ; and 1764. compelled, in many cases, to resort to the bow and arrow to kill game, they began to miss the traders sadly, and to long for the return of the former state of things. The victory of Bouquet, and the rumour that large armies were about to advance against them during the summer, also tended to dishearten them. They did not, accordingly, flock, as in the preceding year, to the aid of



Pontiac, who now ceased to press the siege with vigour ; and, in the month of June, retired to his camp in disgust. Meanwhile preparations were being made to push forward, from Fort Pitt, a strong column under Colonel Bouquet, which was to march into the Delaware and Shawnee country, and compel the Indians of that region into submission. Another body of troops, under Colonel Bradstreet, was to move upwards to the relief of Detroit, and re-establish the posts along the lakes and towards Fort Pitt.

Meanwhile, Sir William Johnson was actively engaged in negotiations with the Indian tribes in every direction, with the view of inducing them to make a solid peace, and to send delegates to Fort Niagara for that purpose. In the month of July they thronged from every quarter to the appointed rendezvous, and when Bradstreet's force, consisting of some twelve hundred men, arrived at Niagara, the plain around the fort was dotted with numerous Indian encampments. Johnson fulfilled his task with the greatest skill ; made separate treaties with the various tribes, who were said to have fully two thousand delegates present ; and eventually sent them home well-pleased, and laden with presents. In the first week of August Bradstreet broke up his camp, and proceeded westward. On the 26th he arrived at Detroit ; and Gladwyn, at last, was effectually relieved. The surrounding tribes tendered their submission to Bradstreet ; who, however, exceeded his instructions in making treaties with them, thus trenching upon the functions of Sir William Johnson, and retired too soon, instead of waiting, according to Gage's orders, to support the advance of Bouquet. But although Bradstreet did not fully comply with his instructions, a circumstance which afterwards brought serious censure upon himself, his expedition produced most important results. On the 7th of September the Ottawas and Chippewas cashiered all their old chiefs, and appointed new ones, who made a treaty with Bradstreet, placed themselves under British protection, and engaged to give up the captives taken during the war.—The post at Mackinaw was re-established ; and the northern Indians settled down once more to peaceful pursuits.

Meanwhile, the Shawnees and Delawares, having removed their villages west of the Muskingham River, in the depths of the Ohio forests, where they fancied they would be safe from attack, again furiously assailed the frontier settlements to avenge themselves anew for their defeat at Bushy Run. But the provincial governments were now taking active measures to repel these attacks, and the Indians were frequently vigorously assailed, severely punished, and driven back into the woods. All this time Bouquet was busily preparing for his advance, but met with the greatest difficulties, owing to the desertion of many of the Pennsylvania militia, and the want of transport. Virginia, however, sent him a body of two hundred gallant back-woodsmen to take the places of the runaways, and on the 17th of September, he arrived at Fort Pitt. There he found three Delaware

spies in custody, and releasing one of them sent him with a warning to his tribe to leave the road open for his expresses to Detroit ; and that on their future good conduct would depend his making peace with them. This message had a profound effect upon the Delawares, made them anxious for peace, and Bouquet's expresses returned safely from Detroit.

After garrisoning Fort Pitt with provincials, so that he might take with him all the regular troops possible, and especially his trusty Highlanders, Bouquet, with a force of over fifteen hundred men, began, early in October, his march into the wilderness. The column was accompanied by many persons who had lost friends and relatives during the war, and who now went to seek them. The Virginia backwoodsmen formed the advance guard, and threw out scouts to clear the forest of any lurking foe ; while behind came a corps of axe-men to open roads for the main body. The Delawares and the Shawnees did not desire that he should penetrate into the recesses of their country, and soon met him to propose terms of peace, and in order to propitiate him delivered up eighteen white captives, and pledged themselves to surrender eighty-three more. But this did not satisfy Bouquet, who continued his march into the very heart of their country, where he had a large number of villages within easy striking distance, and there dictated his terms. "I give you twelve days," said he, "from this date to deliver into my hand all your white prisoners without exception ; Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children, whether adopted into your tribes, married, or living among you under any pretence whatever. And you are to furnish these prisoners with food and clothing, and horses to convey them to Fort Pitt. When you have done this you shall then know on what terms you may obtain peace. Completely cowed, and anxious to save their villages at any price, the Indians complied with Bouquet's demand, and in a few days two hundred captives were surrendered. Peace was now conceded them, but on the further conditions that they should send, without delay, a deputation of chiefs to make a treaty with Johnson, and give hostages for their good faith, which were agreed to.

Many of the restored captives were recognized by their relatives ; and the most tender and touching scenes took place. But others who had been adopted into the families of the tribes, and were much beloved, were most unwilling to return to civilization, and in some cases had even to be bound. Even the stoical red men were seen to weep bitterly at parting from those who had become the objects of their tenderest affections ; while their squaws made the forest resound with their cries of distress. Young women, who had been married to Indians, absolutely refused to be parted from their dusky husbands, and made their escape back to them at every opportunity. And when the red men could do nothing more for their white friends, they besought the English to be kind to the captives they had restored. Some of their young warriors accompanied the retiring column for several days,

in order to provide their loved ones with venison and small game.

The Indians faithfully fulfilled all their pledges, and afterwards delivered a number of other captives at Fort Pitt ; and profound peace reigned once more along the borders. The Assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia passed an unanimous vote of thanks to Bouquet, for his gallant and prudent conduct ; and also recommended him, in the strongest terms, for promotion. He was shortly afterwards appointed brigadier general, to the great gratification of the whole race of backwoodsmen, and assigned to the command of the southern military district. Three years afterwards he died from yellow fever, at Pensacola, to the unbounded regret of his troops of friends and well-wishers.

Finding that nearly all his allies close at hand were deserting his fortunes, Pontiac, in the latter part of June, proceeded to Illinois to stir up the tribes in that quarter to prosecute the war anew, and to ascertain if the French garrisons remaining in that country would assist him. But De Noyan, who still commanded at Fort Chartres, told him the French and English were now one people and had buried the war hatchet for good, and that he could do nothing for him. Not satisfied with this answer the chief sent messengers to De Noyan's superior officer, at New Orleans, to solicit help, and to ascertain the true state of affairs, who returned with a similar reply. Pontiac now saw that his cause was indeed wholly lost, that further war was no longer possible with the most remote chance of success, and that his wisest course was to sue for peace. In the last days of August, 1765, in a grand council of the tribes, at Detroit, he finally buried the hatchet forever with Croghan, the English agent ; and, in the following year, according to promise, paid a visit to Sir William Johnson, who entertained him most hospitably, and loaded him with presents on his departure. Pontiac's death was a tragic one. In 1769 while visiting some friends in the Illinois country, he was treacherously and fatally stabbed by an Indian. The tribe of the assassin espoused his cause, and was almost wholly extirpated by the surrounding natives, who thus avenged the death of their great chief in a torrent of human blood.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL MURRAY.

For the long period of one hundred and fifty-seven years—from the first settlement of New France by Champlain, to its surrender to Great Britain by the Marquis de Vaudreuil at Montreal—have we traced the fortunes of the French in this country as faithfully as possible. We are now about to enter on the annals of a new era, in which Canada is presented under a totally different aspect ; that of a British colony. Instead of painting the vicissitudes of a military settlement, governed by arbitrary law-givers, a sanguinary penal code, and oppressed by a proud and poor nobility, we have

now to record the progress of a peaceful community, in the enjoyment of an immeasurably larger liberty.\*

From 1760 to 1763 that part of Canada lying along the St. Lawrence River, and then the chief seat of its population, scarcely presents a single event of note to record. The *habitants* had gladly laid aside the musket and the sword to devote themselves to agricultural employments, and were soon in the enjoyment of abundance of food. These people had been taught to look for every outrage at the hands of the British, and were most agreeably surprised at the humane manner in which they were now treated. Their gratitude was also awakened by the generous way in which large sums of money had been subscribed, by British officers and merchants, to alleviate their sufferings during the recent famine. A disastrous war, the departure of French troops, and the return of many persons to France, among whom were a number of officials, had reduced the population of Canada to less than seventy thousand souls, and immediately after the conquest it was supposed that a large portion of even these would leave the country. But the daily instances of lenity which they now experienced, the cheap and impartial justice administered to them by the military tribunals, and the indulgence shown to their religion, soon reconciled them to their new condition, and their only dread was lest they might be torn from their country like the Acadians.†

No sooner had peace been established, than the attention of the British ministry was turned to the formation of governments in the conquered countries, which had been ceded at the termination of the war. In the month of October, 1763, a proclamation was published, under the great seal, erecting new civil governments in the colonies of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Granada. In this proclamation, the king exhorted his subjects to avail themselves of the advantages which must accrue, from his recent acquisitions, to commerce, manufactures and navigation. It was also stated, that, as soon as the circumstances of these colonies would permit, general assemblies of the people would be convened in the same manner as in the American provinces; in the meantime the laws of England were to be in force. Thus, all the laws, customs, and judicial forms of a populous and ancient Colony were in one hour overturned, and English laws, even the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, introduced in their stead. It was a rash and unwise measure, and history furnishes no instance of greater injustice to a conquered people, nor less true wisdom on the part of

\* They are extremely vain, and have an utter contempt for the trading part of the Colony. They were usually provided for in the Colony troops, consisting of thirty companies. They are in general poor, except such as have command of distant posts, when they usually made a fortune in three or four years. \* \* \* \* They were great tyrants to their vassals, who seldom met with redress, let their grievances be ever so just.—*Governor Murray's Report on the State of Canada, Quebec, 5th June, 1762.*

† Murray's Report.

conquerors. The disorders it produced led to a reaction, which has perpetuated the French civil law in Lower Canada to the present day ; whereas had changes been at first gradually and wisely introduced, as the altered condition of the people permitted, the laws of England, modified to suit existing ordinances, would have eventually become the rule of decision in that Province. Shortly after the publication of this proclamation General Murray was appointed to the governorship of Canada, or the Province of Quebec, as it was now styled, and proceeded, agreeably to his instructions, to nominate a council of eight members to aid him in the administration of government.

While the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau penetrated every corner of France, and planted the germs of revolution throughout Europe,—while newspapers and books were scattered broadcast over Great Britain and America, Canada still remained without a public journal. This medium of intelligence had been jealously excluded by the French governors as unsuited to their despotic sway ; but scarcely had the country been finally ceded to Great Britain, than William Brown and Thomas Gilmore, of Philadelphia, determined to publish a journal at Quebec. There was then no type-founder in America ; so Gilmore went to England to purchase the necessary printing material ; and, on the 21st of June, 1764,\* the first number of the *Quebec Gazette* made its appearance

\* The year 1764 was distinguished for the suppression of the Jesuit order. The lust for temporal power, and the engaging in trade and other secular pursuits, which had made the Jesuits unpopular in other countries, as well as in Canada, had already paved the way for the downfall of the Order. It had exercised almost sovereign authority in Paraguay while it remained a Spanish possession. The Jesuits were charged with inducing the Paraguay Indians to resist its transfer to Portugal, and of attempting the life of the king. A royal decree was accordingly issued in 1759 expelling the order from the Portuguese kingdom and colonies. In France a trial in the courts led to the disgrace of the Jesuits. Father Lavalette, as procurator of the order in Martinique, consigned two valuable cargoes of merchandise to Marseilles merchants, who accepted his bills. The vessels were captured by British cruisers, and the bills not being met when they became due, the order was sued, and judgment against it obtained. An appeal was made to the supreme court at Paris. The agitation which ensued greatly injured the order, and a royal edict was issued in 1764 suppressing it in French territory. Spain followed this example. To restore peace to the church Pope Clement XIX. issued, in 1773, his celebrated bull, "*Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*," suppressing the order throughout the world. In 1814, forty-one years afterwards, Pius VII. issued *his* bull rehabilitating the order, and it soon recovered much of its former influence. France never took kindly to its sway ; and in 1880 its parliament decreed its dissolution, and expelled the Jesuits from all their establishments. It is needless to say that in Canada the Jesuit Order has recovered its ancient prestige, and has become an important factor not only in ecclesiastical but also in civil matters.



half in French and half in English; and Canada had its newspaper, a new and potent element of civilization. The *Gazette* began with 150 subscribers, and after having been published for over a century ceased to exist a few years ago.

On the 17th of September a proclamation, based on the introduction of English laws into the Colony, was issued by the Governor, in council, establishing a court of king's bench for the trial of all criminal and civil causes, agreeable to the laws of England and the ordinances of the Province. A court of common pleas was also instituted, in which the French laws were to be only allowed in cases of action arising before its construction. The introduction of the English civil law occasioned much dissatisfaction among the public, and accordingly, in the month of November, the Governor, in council, enacted "that in actions relative to the tenure of land and the rights of inheritance, the French laws and usages should be observed as the rule of decision." A court of chancery was erected soon after, at the head of which presided the Governor as chancellor, with two masters, two examiners, and one register.

The English-speaking inhabitants of the Colony were few in number, and the sudden introduction of the English language, as well as English laws, into the courts of justice, was found to be productive of the greatest disorder. Trial by jury was of little value to a people who did not understand a word of the pleadings unless through an interpreter, and it was soon evident that some change must be made in this respect. All public offices, moreover, were conferred on British born subjects, of which there were scarcely four hundred in the country, exclusive of the military. Many of these came out expressly from England to assume office, and as they neither knew the language nor customs of the people they were sent to control, much disgust and dissatisfaction resulted. Nor were officials always selected with the sole view to the public good. The ignorant, the covetous and the bigoted, were appointed to offices which required knowledge, integrity and ability. Several of the principal situations were given away by patent to persons of influence in England, who farmed them out to the highest bidders. No salaries were attached to these patent places, the value of which accordingly depended upon the fees, which the Governor was directed to establish on the same scale as in the richest colony. As the necessary result of this state of affairs there was much extortion, and much oppression, which Murray found it most difficult to prevent. His endeavours to protect the French Canadians made him many enemies among the English of the Colony,\* who

\* In a letter to Shelburne, 30th August 1776, Murray, alluding to the English officials, declared them to be the most immoral collection of men he ever knew.

Murray was not popular with the English resident merchants and traders of Quebec, who petitioned for his recall and the establishment of a house of assembly. On the other hand, the leading French Canadian citizens of Quebec sent a memorial to the king highly eulogistic of Murray, and asking that he should be continued as governor. Vide Can. Archives Report of 1888.

were too apt to exhibit contempt for the old inhabitants, not even excepting the seigniors. The Governor, however, continued to alleviate the condition of the conquered people, to the best of his power, and won their sincere gratitude.

Complaints were soon sent to England relative to the establishment of the courts, the harsh conduct of law-officers, and  
 1765. the enormous fees exacted. These were laid, by the Board of Trade, before the English attorney and solicitor generals, who made an elaborate report thereon. They gave it as their opinion, that the introduction of the English language into  
 1766. the courts of Canada was inadvisable, and that it was unwise and arbitrary at once to abolish all the French usages and customs, especially those relating to the titles of land, the law of descent, of alienation and of settlement. They likewise supported the view that Canadian advocates, attorneys and proctors, should be permitted to practice in the courts.\*

During the summer several Canadians who had gone to France returned. Bishop de Pont Briant had died in 1760, and his successor also came out. On his arrival his friends received him with all the ceremony and respect which they had ever paid to bishops. These courtesies, however, he refused on the ground of altered circumstances. In pursuance of this humble determination he wore, for some time, only a common black gown like the other priests. But the liberal manner in which he found himself treated by the authorities, soon assured him that he might adopt a higher tone with safety, and he accordingly assumed all the insignia of episcopal dignity.†

In the following year Murray proceeded to England, leaving Brigadier Carleton to act in his absence. The offer of a  
 1767. more lucrative post prevented him from returning to this country, and Carleton was accordingly appointed Governor of Canada on the 12th of April. The humanity of the latter had made him popular with the Canadians, who already regarded  
 1768. him as a protector, and looked forward to his administration with confidence. Nor were they disappointed. Sir Guy Carleton ever proved himself their friend.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GUY CARLETON.

Montreal, the population of which had now increased to seven thousand souls, suffered severely this year by a most destructive fire, which broke out on the evening of the 18th April, and consumed nearly one hundred houses. The greatest sympathy was displayed towards the sufferers. In England a considerable sum was raised for their relief, but many were, nevertheless, reduced to poverty. Its citizens suffered also from the arbitrary conduct and

\* Yorke and De Grey to the Lords of Trade, 14th April 1766.

† Smith's Hist. Can., vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

petty extortions of the English justices of the peace, whose irregularities, however, were speedily restrained by the action of the Governor. Hitherto, these justices had been allowed a jurisdiction in civil cases to the amount of five pounds currency. This was now taken away, and they were only permitted to decide in criminal matters.\* Beyond these events there is not a fact of moment to record at this period. Although the old English colonies of North America were already heaving in the throes of revolution, the people of Canada remained peaceable, and tolerably contented. Trade was steadily reviving, and the population on the increase.

Carleton having obtained the royal permission to proceed to England on leave of absence, Mr. Cramahe, formerly Swiss secretary to General Murray, and the oldest member of the 1770. Executive Council, assumed direction of the government. Carleton had always been desirous that the French civil laws, or "*Coutume de Paris*," should be introduced again into the Colony, and had them carefully compiled by several Canadian advocates of acknowledged ability. This compilation he took with him on his departure for England, and where, soon after his arrival, it was revised by the principal law officers of the Crown, and at once became the chief authority, in the Canadian courts,† as regarded questions affecting land and inheritance. In cases of personal contract, and debts of a commercial character, the English laws remained the practical authorities. This arrangement was cheerfully acquiesced in by the people generally: and although there was no fixed standard of decision, and judgment was dealt out sometimes agreeable to French legal authorities, and at other times according to English law, still, as it was evident that justice was always intended, the public were tolerably satisfied with matters as they stood, and waited patiently until more permanent and better defined arrangements could be effected. The criminal law of England, including trial by jury and the *habeas corpus*, had been fully introduced into Canada,‡ and appeared to give general satisfaction among the bulk of the people, with the exception that Canadian jurors grumbled a good deal about not being paid for their loss of time. § The old French gentry, however, did not like by any means that labourers and mechanics should sit in judgment upon gentlemen, and wondered that the British people should be so fond of trial by jury. ||

\* Debates on the Quebec Bill, p. 128. In one case the cost on suing 11s. amounted to £4.

† Smith's Hist. Can., vol. ii. p. 60.

‡ At the present day the old French Code is the basis of civil law in the Province of Quebec, but the British system of criminal law has been fully in force there since 1770.

§ Under Canadian statute laws jurors are now paid.

|| General Carleton to the House of Commons, May 1774. The seigniors actually petitioned the British Parliament on this head in 1773, and against the general introduction of English law. See Debates on Quebec Bill.

The long peace had enabled the Canadian people to recover fully from the effects of war. Trade had now become more prosperous than ever. Many Canadians who had expatriated themselves after the conquest now returned from France ; numbers of the Acadians, scattered through the neighbouring colonies, also gladly proceeded to this country ; and in the space intervening between 1760 and 1773 it was estimated that the population had increased over a fourth. In May, 1774, General Carleton, in his evidence under oath before a committee of the House of Commons, estimated the population of Canada at one hundred thousand Roman Catholics and four hundred Protestants. The latter were chiefly merchants, officers, and disbanded soldiers, who resided principally at Quebec and Montreal ; in one hundred and ten rural parishes there were only nineteen Protestants.\* With the exception of the changes in the laws, that there was now less peculation on the part of public officials than under the old *regime*, and that the country was more prosperous, matters remained much in the same state as they were before the conquest. A governor and council, although with limited powers, still ruled the Colony, the common people were as uneducated and as simple as ever,† and the clergy received their parochial dues and tithes as punctually as during the period of French dominion. Still, the peasantry began to feel a stray glimmering of independence, and to resist such exactions of the seigniors as they considered were legally unjust.

As the country gradually became more and more prosperous, and thinking people had leisure to look around them and reflect on the unsettled condition of political affairs, a good deal of anxiety began to prevail as to the future government of the Colony, and whether the French or English laws would be permanently established. As might naturally be expected the British settlers

\* The royal proclamation of the 7th October 1763, which provided for the government of Canada, granted to the officers and soldiers engaged in the war in this country, lands in the following proportions—viz, To a field-officer, five thousand acres ; captain, three thousand ; subaltern, two thousand ; sergeants and other non-commissioned officers, two hundred ; and privates, fifty acres. Very few, however, claimed these grants, and soldiers preferred to keep public-houses, rather than engage in agriculture. Strangers to Canadian customs and the language of the people, British settlers disliked the Colony, and did very poorly. Many left it altogether in disgust.

† Volney, a distinguished French traveller, who visited Canada towards the close of the last century, does not draw a very flattering picture of the *habitants'* intelligence. After stating their easy and indolent habits, he observes : " Having several times questioned the frontier Canadians respecting the distances of times and places, I have found that in general they had no clear and precise ideas ; that they received sensations without reflecting on them ; in short, that they knew not how to make any calculations that were ever so little complicated. They would say to me, from this way to that is one or two pipes of tobacco ; you can or you cannot reach it between sunrise or sunset, or the like." Education in Canada before the conquest was entirely restricted to the upper classes and clerical orders. Common schools were unknown, and few of the peasantry could either read or write.

were unanimous in favor of English law, and a government based on popular representation. The inhabitants of French origin, on the other hand, generally desired the establishment of their old civil law, but were divided with a regard to a house of assembly. Some supposed that a representative constitution would give the settlers of English origin, who were much better acquainted with this mode of government than themselves, a great preponderance in public affairs. Others leaned to a governor and council, as the mode of government they best understood ; while a few of the better informed desired to be ruled by their own representatives, like the other British colonies. Mr. Lotbiniere, described by one of the principal law officers\* of Canada as a very sensible and reflecting man, and a large Canadian landed proprietor, gave it as his opinion before a committee of the House of Commons on the Quebec Bill, in June 1774, that if Roman Catholics were allowed to sit in a house of assembly there would be no objections made to its establishment. He also stated, that if a legislative council were established, and composed in part of the Canadian noblesse, it would have the best effects.†

Such was the unsettled condition of this country, when, in the month of October 1773, meetings were held at Quebec to petition the Deputy-Governor, Carleton being still absent from the Province, to summon a house of assembly in agreement with the royal proclamation of 1763. The principal Canadians were invited to attend these meetings and take part in the proceedings, but on their declining to do so, the British inhabitants determined to proceed alone in the matter, and, after some delays, presented their petition to Cramahe on the 3rd of December. He replied to it the next week, by stating "that the matter was of too great importance for the Council of the Province to decide upon, and the more so, as the government appeared likely soon to be regulated by act of parliament." A fresh draft of the petition was soon after presented to the secretary of the colonies, the Earl of 1774. Dartmouth, but beyond hints that the Province was not yet ripe for a general assembly, no answer was returned.

In Great Britain the reflecting portion of the community were gradually becoming more sensible of the fact, that unless Parliament receded from its assumed right to tax the American colonies, their independence was very near. The hostile position assumed by their houses of assembly was ill-calculated to make the British legislature regard popular colonial representation very favourably, and it was now determined to give Canada a different form of government. On the 2nd of May a bill, usually known as the Quebec Act, was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of

\* Mr. Maseres, an Anglicised Huguenot, and Attorney-General, author of "The Canadian Freeholder," and who was strongly opposed to the continuation of the French civil law in Canada.

† Debates on the Quebec Bill, pp. 160, 161,



Dartmouth, which passed without opposition, and was sent down to the House of Commons for its concurrence.\* This bill repealed all the provisions of the royal proclamation of 1763, annulled all the acts of the governor and council relative to the civil government and administration of justice, revoked the commissions of judges and other existing officers, and established new boundaries for the Province, which was now declared to embrace all ancient Canada, Labrador, and the countries west to the Ohio and Mississippi. The Quebec Act released the Roman Catholic religion in Canada from all penal restrictions, renewed their dues and tithes to its regular clergy, but as regarded members of their own church only, (Protestants being freed from their payment,) and confirmed all classes, with the exception of the religious orders and communities,† in the full possession of their properties. The French laws were declared to be the rule for decision relative to property and civil rights, while the English criminal law was established in perpetuity. Both the civil and criminal codes, however, were liable to be altered or modified by the ordinances of the Governor and a Legislative Council. This Council was to be appointed by the Crown, and to consist of not more than twenty-three, nor less than seventeen, members. Its power was limited to levying local or municipal taxes, and to making arrangements for the administration of the internal affairs of the Province; the British Parliament jealously reserving to itself the right of external taxation, or levying duties on articles imported or exported. Every ordinance passed by this Council was to be transmitted within six months, at furthest, after enactment for the approbation of the king, and if disallowed to be null and void on his pleasure becoming known in Quebec.

Such were the principal provisions of the Quebec Act, under which Canada was governed for a period of seventeen years. Taking into consideration the absence of education among the great bulk of the Canadian people, as well as their total ignorance of popular institutions, and of the English laws and language, there can be no doubt that this bill gave them the mode of government best suited to their condition, and was a real boon so far as they were concerned.‡ But to the inhabitants of British origin, who had settled in Canada or the valley of the Ohio, § and were subjected thereby to French laws, and deprived of the right of a jury in

\* The king, on opening Parliament, recommended the question of a government for Canada to its consideration. There can be no doubt that this bill owed its origin principally to himself.

† With the exception of the Jesuits, none of the religious orders or communities of Canada have ever been disturbed in the possession of their property. But their right to this property was clearly left an open question by the Quebec Act.

‡ Garneau vol. ii. p. 125.

§ It was estimated that over twenty thousand people had already settled in the valley of the Ohio. They were chiefly from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

civil causes, of the *habeas corpus*, and of a constitutional form of government, the measure was oppressive in the extreme, and at variance with all their previous ideas and experience of popular liberty. The law was based on the supposition that the French would remain the dominant race in Canada, as well as on a desire to restrain the progress westward of the Anglo-American population. The American revolution, and the rapid increase of a British-Canadian population, ultimately placed it in error in both respects, and compelled its repeal. It met with strenuous opposition in the House of Commons, chiefly on the ground of its being opposed to the British constitution, and granting too extensive territorial limits to Canada. "You have given up to Canada," said Thomas Townshend, "almost all the country which was the subject of dispute, and for which we went to war; extending, in the words of the bill, southward to the Ohio, westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company."

The bill, however, passed in the Commons by a majority of thirty-six, and was returned, on the 18th of June, to the House of Lords, whither Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, went to oppose it, although very ill at the time. "It will involve this country," said he, "in a thousand difficulties, and is subversive of that liberty which ought to be the groundwork of every constitution." And he prophesied "that it would shake the affections and confidence of his majesty's subjects in England and Ireland, and lose him the hearts of all the Americans." But the bill passed, nevertheless,—only six siding with Pitt, while twenty-six peers voted against him.

The city of London, always in the front of the battle for constitutional liberty, became speedily alarmed; and, on the 22nd of June, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council petitioned the king not to give his sanction to the bill. He gave them an evasive answer, and immediately after proceeded to the House of Lords, and signified his assent thereto; observing "that it was founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity, and would, he doubted not, have the best effect in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of his Canadian subjects."

As soon as the act reached Quebec, the English settlers met in the greatest alarm, and promptly petitioned the king, as well as both Houses of Parliament, for its repeal or amendment. They complained that it deprived them of the franchise they had inherited from their ancestors, that they had lost the protection of English laws, the *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury in civil causes, which was disgraceful to them as Britons, and ruinous to their properties.

In the American colonies the passing of this act awoke a storm of indignation. Almost all they had struggled for beyond the Alleghanies was taken from them at a single swoop. Their Congress, on the 24th of October, endeavoured, by a forcible address, to awaken the people of Canada to a just sense of what it deemed their true interests. They were now invited to elect delegates to

represent their Province in the "Continental Congress," to be held in Philadelphia on May 10th of the following year.\* But this document produced no effect among the simple Canadians. Not one in a thousand ever saw it, and even if they had seen it, cared little for the privileges of English freemen, and looked upon their own laws and customs as by far the most desirable. These had now been secured to them, and they were fully satisfied.

Sir Guy Carleton returned from England in the latter end of the year, when a meeting of the new council, into which several Roman Catholic gentlemen had been admitted, was held, and such measures taken under the Quebec Act as were deemed immediately necessary for the public welfare. The Governor's return was gladly hailed by the people, with whom his humane conduct and liberal sentiments had rendered him deservedly popular. On all possible occasions he had shown himself their friend, and had interfered in many instances to protect them from the extortion and oppression of the English civil officers.

Meantime, the final struggle of America for independence was rapidly approaching, owing to the arbitrary and vacillating conduct of the British Parliament, and the firm determination of the colonies to resist taxation without representation. Lord Chatham's bill for composing all difficulties and disputes was rejected; and, as Parliament would not recede from its assumption of the right to tax the colonies, on the one hand, nor the latter, on the other, give up the determination to preserve intact the privileges secured to them by their charters, and their heritage as British freemen, both parties now looked forward to a desperate contest. For a brief space a calm, with presage of a terrible storm, settled darkly over North America, and the crisis approached with the first days of early spring. On the 19th of April the Americans began 1775. the struggle for constitutional liberty with the battle of Lexington; and, blood once shed, it became evident that the sword alone could now decide the unnatural quarrel between the mother-country and her cis-Atlantic offspring,

While the New England militia besieged General Gage, the British commander in Boston, a small force was promptly raised in Connecticut and elsewhere for the capture of Ticonderoga. Led by Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allan, it crossed Lake Champlain on the night of the 9th of May, and succeeded next morning in capturing the fort, in which were only a few men, by surprise, without firing a shot. Crown Point had only a garrison of a sergeant and twelve men, and was immediately afterwards taken possession of. And thus the Americans, at the first outset of the contest, acquired two strongly fortified positions, and a large amount of military stores. The speedy capture, also, of the only British sloop

\* This Congress enumerated the Quebec Act among its grievances. Its provisions in favour of Roman Catholics gave great offence to the Protestant clergy of the American colonies, and led the majority of them to support the Revolution.

of war on Lake Champlain, gave them complete command of its waters.

On receiving intelligence of these offensive operations, Carleton at once resolved to possess himself, if possible, of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and regain the command of the lake. Considering that the French feudal law still prevailed in Canada, and that the seigniors, accordingly, as well as their tenants, owed military service to the king, and would forfeit their lands by not rendering it, he resolved to enroll the militia on these grounds. Many of the seigniors took the same view as the Governor of this matter, and showed great alacrity in assembling their tenants to explain to them the situation of the Province, the services expected from them, and the absolute necessity of preparing for hostilities. But the peasantry, who had not yet forgotten the hardships they had suffered during the last war, and whose long absence from military training had sunk them into inglorious and contented ease, stoutly resisted the claims of their seigniors. They stated that the latter had no right to command their military services; and that when they had paid them their quit-rent and the other seigniorial dues, no further claim on them could be established.

This determination of the *habitants* placed Carleton in an awkward position. For the defence of the Colony and its numerous frontier posts, he had only the 7th and 26th regiments, containing together scarcely eight hundred effective men; and he felt that unless aided by the Canadians he could only make a very ineffectual resistance in case of attack. He accordingly endeavoured to call out the militia of the Province by proclamation, and declared, at the same time, martial law to be in force in his government; but even these measures proved ineffectual. As a last resort the Governor applied to Bishop de Briand for his aid and influence. The bishop promptly responded by a mandate to his clergy, to be read in their churches, exhorting the people to take up arms in defence of their country. Even this appeal failed. The British authorities had as yet acquired no influence with the masses, who knew little of the quarrel in progress, and wished to give themselves the least possible trouble about it; and while they had no leaning whatever towards the Americans, they preferred to remain neutral as long as they could. In short, they felt like a conquered people; if their homes were threatened with danger they would defend them, but they cared little to take up arms in behalf of their rulers.

The American Congress, however, believed the Canadian people to be favourable to their cause, and resolved to anticipate the British by striking a decided blow in the north. They accordingly despatched a force of nearly two thousand men, under Schuyler and Montgomery, to penetrate into Canada by the Richelieu. After taking the forts along that river, they were next to possess themselves of Montreal; then descend to Quebec, and form a junction there with Colonel Arnold, who was to proceed up the

Kennebec with eleven hundred men, and if possible surprise the capital of Canada.

On the 5th of September the American army arrived at the Isle-aux-Noix, whence Schuyler and Montgomery scattered a proclamation among the Canadians, stating that they only came against the British, and had no design whatever on the lives, the properties, or the religion of the inhabitants. Schuyler being unwell now returned to Albany, and the chief command devolved on Montgomery, who having received a reinforcement invested Fort St. John on the 17th, and sent some troops to attack the fort at Chambly; while Ethan Allan was despatched with a reconnoitring party towards Montreal. Allan proceeded to the St. Lawrence, and being informed that the town was weakly defended, and believing the inhabitants were favourable to the Americans, resolved to capture it by surprise, although his force was under two hundred men. Carleton had already arrived at Montreal to make dispositions for the protection of the frontier. Learning, on the night of the 24th, that a party of Americans had crossed the river, and were marching on the town, he promptly drew together two hundred and fifty of the local militia, chiefly English and Irish, and with thirty men of the 26th regiment, in addition, prepared for its defence. Allan, however, instead of at once proceeding to attack Montreal, took possession of some houses and barns in the neighbourhood, where he was surrounded next day, and compelled to surrender after a loss of five killed and ten wounded. The British lost their commanding officer, Major Carsden, Alexander Paterson, a merchant of Montreal, and two privates. Allan and his men were sent prisoners to England, where they were confined in Pendennis Castle.

While these occurrences were transpiring at Montreal, Montgomery was vigorously pressing forward the siege of Fort St. John, which post was gallantly defended by Major Preston of the 26th regiment. His conduct was not imitated by Major Stopford, of the 7th, who commanded at Chambly, and who surrendered, in a cowardly manner, on two hundred Americans appearing before the works with two six-pounders. This was a fortunate event for Montgomery, whose powder was nearly exhausted, and who now procured a most seasonable supply from the captured fort. His fire was again renewed, but was bravely replied to by the garrison, who hoped that Carleton would advance and raise the siege. This the latter was earnestly desirous to do, and drew together, for that purpose, all the militia he could collect and the few troops at his disposal, and pushed across the river towards Longueuil on one of the last days of October. Montgomery had foreseen this movement, and detached a force with two field-pieces to prevent it. This force took post near the river and allowed the British to approach within pistol-shot of the shore, when it opened such a warm fire of musketry and cannon that Carleton was compelled to order a retreat on Montreal. Montgomery duly apprised Major Preston



of these occurrences, and the garrison being now short of provisions and ammunition, and without any hope of succour, surrendered on the 31st of October and marched out with all the honours of war.

With Fort St. John and Chambly a large portion of the regular troops in Canada was captured, and Carleton was in no condition to resist the American army, the main body of which now advanced upon Montreal, while a strong detachment proceeded to Sorel to cut off his retreat towards Quebec. With Brigadier Prescott and one hundred and twenty soldiers he hurriedly retired from Montreal, after destroying all the public stores possible, just as the American army was entering it. At Sorel, however, the retreat was effectually intercepted by an armed vessel and some floating batteries, and Prescott, finding it impossible to force a passage, was compelled to surrender. But the night before Carleton had fortunately eluded the vigilance of the Americans, and passed down the river in a boat with muffled oars. Montgomery treated the people of Montreal with great consideration, and gained their good-will by the affability of his manners, and the nobleness and generosity of his disposition.

While the main body of the American invading force had been completely successful thus far, Arnold sailed up the Kennebec and proceeded through the vast forests lying between it and the St. Lawrence in the hope of surprising Quebec. The sufferings of his troops from hunger and fatigue were of the most severe description. So great were their necessities that they were obliged to eat dogs' flesh, and even the leather of their cartouch boxes ; still they pressed on with unflagging zeal and wonderful endurance, and arrived at Point Levis, on the 9th of November. But their approach was already known at Quebec. Arnold had enclosed a letter for Schuyler to a friend in that city, and imprudently intrusted its delivery to an Indian, who carried it to the Deputy-Governor. The latter immediately began to make defensive preparations, and when the Americans arrived on the opposite side of the river, they found all the shipping and boats removed, and a surprise out of the question.

On the 12th, Colonel M'Lean, who had retreated from Sorel, arrived at Quebec with a body of Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in the country,\* were now re-embodied, and amounted to one hundred and fifty men. In addition to these, there were four hundred and eighty Canadian militia, five hundred British militia, and some regular troops and seamen for the defence of the town.† The *Hunter* sloop of war gave the garrison the command of the river, yet despite the vigilance exercised by her commander, Arnold crossed over during the night of the 13th, landed at Wolfe's Cove,

\* They settled at Murray Bay, about sixty miles below Quebec, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. Their descendants speak the French language only, as a rule, and are all Roman Catholics, still preserving, however, their Scotch names.

† Journal of an Officer of the garrison.

and next morning appeared on the Plains of Abraham, when his men gave three cheers, which were promptly responded to by the besieged, who in addition complimented them with a few discharges of grape-shot, which compelled them to retire. Finding that he could effect nothing against the city, Arnold retired up the river to Point-aux-Trembles, a distance of 19 miles, to await the arrival of Montgomery.

On the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison, Carleton arrived from Montreal, bringing down with him two armed schooners which had been lying at Three Rivers. One of his first measures was to strengthen the hands of the loyalists, by ordering those liable to serve in the militia, and who refused to be enrolled, to leave the city within four days. By this means several disaffected persons were got rid off, and the garrison speedily raised to eighteen hundred men, who had plenty of provisions for eight months.

On the 1st of December Montgomery joined Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles, when their united forces, amounting to about two thousand men, proceeded to attack Quebec, in the neighbourhood of which they arrived on the 4th, and soon after quartered their men in the houses of the suburbs. Montgomery now sent a flag to summon the besieged to surrender, but this was fired upon by order of General Carleton, who refused to hold any intercourse with the American officers. Highly indignant at this treatment, the besiegers proceeded to construct their batteries, although the weather was intensely cold. But their artillery was too light to make any impression on the fortifications, the fire from which cut their fascines to pieces and dismounted their guns; so Montgomery determined to carry the works by escalade. He accordingly assembled his men on the 30th of December, and made them an imprudent speech, in which he avowed his resolution of attacking the city by storm. A deserter carried intelligence of his intention that very day to General Carleton, who made the necessary preparations for defence. On the night of the 31st the garrison pickets were on the alert. But nothing of importance occurred till next morning, when Captain Fraser, the field-officer on duty, on going his rounds, perceived some suspicious signals at St. John's Gate, and immediately turned out the guard, when a brisk fire was opened by a body of the enemy, concealed by a snow-bank. This was a mere feint to draw off attention from the true points of attack, at the southern and northern extremities of the Lower Town. It had, however, the effect of putting the garrison more completely on their guard, and thus was fatal to the plans of the assailants.

Montgomery led a column of five hundred men towards the southern side of the town, and halted to reconnoitre at a short distance from the first battery, near the Pres de Ville, defended chiefly by Canadian militia, under Captain Chabot, with nine seamen to work the guns. The whole defensive force at this point was under the command of Captain Barnsfair. The guard were on the alert, and the sailors with lighted matches waited the order to

fire, while the strictest silence was preserved. Presently the officer, who had made the reconnaissance, returned and reported everything still. The Americans now rushed forward to the attack when Barnsfair gave the command to fire, and the head of the assailing column went instantly down under the unexpected and fatal discharge of guns and musketry. The survivors made a rapid retreat, leaving thirteen of their dead behind to be shrouded in the falling snow, among whom was the gallant Montgomery. Of a good family in the north of Ireland, he had served under Wolfe with credit, married an American lady, Miss Livingston, after the peace, and had joined the cause of the United States with great enthusiasm.

At the other end of the Lower Town, Arnold at the head of six hundred men had assaulted the barrier with great impetuosity, and met with little resistance. He was wounded in the onset and borne to the rear. But his place was ably supplied by Captain Morgan, who forced the guard, and drove it back to a second barrier two hundred yards nearer the centre of the town. Owing to the prompt arrangements, however, of Carleton, who soon arrived on the ground, the Americans were speedily surrounded, driven out of a strong building with the bayonet, and compelled to surrender, to the number of four hundred and twenty-six, including twenty-eight officers.\* In this action the garrison had ten men killed and thirteen wounded; the American loss in killed and wounded was about one hundred.

The besieging force was now reduced to a few hundred men, who were at a loss whether to retreat towards home or continue the siege. As they were in expectation of soon receiving aid they at length determined to remain in the neighbourhood, and elected Arnold as their general, who contented himself with 1776. a simple blockade of the besieged, at a considerable distance from the works. Carleton would have now gladly proceeded to attack him, but several of the Canadians outside the city were disaffected, as well as many persons within the defences, and he considered, with his motley force, his wisest course was to run no risk, and wait patiently for the succour which the opening of navigation must bring him.

During the month of February a small reinforcement from Massachusetts, and some troops from Montreal, raised Arnold's force to over one thousand men, and he now resumed the siege, but could make no impression on the works. His men had already caught the small-pox, and the country people becoming more and more unwilling to supply him with provisions, his difficulties increased rather than diminished. When the Americans first came into this country the *habitants* were disposed to sell them what they required at a fair price, and a few hundred of them even joined their army. But they soon provoked the hostility of the bulk of

\* Journal of an Officer. Garneau vol. 2, p. 142.

the people by a want of respect for their clergy, by compelling them to furnish articles below the current prices, and by giving them illegal certificates of payment, which were rejected by the American quartermaster-general. In this way the Canadians began gradually to take a deeper interest in the struggle in progress, and to regard the British as their true friends and protectors, while they came to look upon the Americans as a band of armed plunderers, who made promises they had no intention of performing, and refused to pay their just debts.

All the Canadians now required was a proper leader, and a system of military organization, to cause them to act vigorously against Arnold. Even in the absence of these requisites they determined to raise the siege, and, led by a gentleman of the name of Beaujeau, they advanced towards Quebec, on the 25th of March, but were defeated by the Americans and compelled to retreat. This check, however, did not discourage the Canadians, who next resolved to surprise a detachment of the enemy at Point Levis. By some means their design became known, and they were very quickly repulsed.

The month of April passed over without producing any events of importance. The Americans had meanwhile been reinforced so as to raise their strength to over two thousand men, and Major-General Thomas arrived to take command. The small-pox still continued to rage amongst them ; they could make no impression on the fortifications, and the hostile attitude of the Canadians still further disheartened them. On the 5th of May Thomas called a council-of-war at which an immediate retreat was determined on.

On the following morning, to the great joy of the besieged, the *Surprise* frigate and a sloop arrived in the harbour, with one hundred and seventy men of the 29th regiment and some marines, who were speedily landed. Carleton at once resolved on offensive operations, and marched out at noon with one thousand men and a few field-pieces to attack the Americans. But the latter did not await his approach, and fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving all their cannon, stores, ammunition, and even their sick behind. These were treated with the utmost attention by Carleton, whose humanity won the esteem of all his prisoners, who were loud in his praise on returning home. For his services during the siege he was subsequently knighted by his sovereign.

The Americans retreated as rapidly as possible for a distance of forty-five miles up the river, but finding they were not pursued they halted for a few days to rest themselves. They eventually proceeded in a very distressed condition to Sorel, where they were joined by some reinforcements, and where, also, Thomas died of the small-pox, which still continued to afflict them. He was succeeded in the chief command by General Sullivan.

Meantime, some companies of the 8th regiment, which had been scattered through the frontier posts on the lakes, descended to Ogdensburg. From thence Captain Forster was detached, on the

11th of May, with one hundred and twenty-six soldiers and an equal number of Indians, to capture a stockade at the Cedars, garrisoned by three hundred and ninety Americans under the command of Colonel Bedell. The latter surrendered on the 19th, after sustaining only a few hours' fire of musketry, and the following day one hundred men advancing to his assistance were attacked by Indians and a few Canadians. A smart action ensued which lasted for ten minutes, when the Americans laid down their arms, and were marched prisoners to the fort, where they were with difficulty saved from being massacred by the savages.

After providing for the safety of his numerous prisoners, Forster pushed down the river towards Lachine, but learning that Arnold was advancing to attack him with a force treble his own number, he halted and prepared for action. Placing his men in an advantageous position, on the edge of the river, and spreading the Indians out on his flanks, he made such a stout defence that the Americans were compelled to retire to St. Anne's. Forster, encumbered with his prisoners, now proposed a cartel, which Arnold at once assented to, and an exchange was effected, on the 27th of May, for two majors, nine captains, twenty subalterns, and four hundred and forty-three privates. This cartel was broken by Congress, on the ground that the prisoners had been cruelly used, which was not the case. They had been treated with all the humanity possible, when the difficulty of guarding so large a number, with less than three hundred men, is taken into consideration.\*

While these events were in progress above Montreal, a large body of troops arrived from England under the command of Major-General Burgoyne, and Brigadier Fraser was at once sent on by Carleton with the first division to Three Rivers. While the troops still remained on board the fleet of transports, General Thompson advanced with eighteen hundred men to surprise the town, and would have effected his object had not one of his Canadian guides escaped, and warned the British of his approach. Fraser immediately landed his troops, as well as several field-pieces, and posted them so advantageously that the Americans were speedily defeated, and their general and five hundred men made prisoners, while the retreat of their main body being cut off, it was compelled to take shelter in a wood full of swamps. Here the enemy remained in great distress till the following day, when Carleton, who had meanwhile come up, humanely drew the guard from the bridge over the River du Loup, and allowed them to escape towards Sorel. Finding themselves unable to oppose the force advancing against them, the main body of the Americans retreated to Crown Point, whither Arnold also retired from Montreal on the 15th of June. Thus terminated the invasion of Canada, which produced no advantage to the American cause, but

\* Smith's Hist. Can., vol. ii. pp. 139, 140. Frost's United States, p. 207.



on the contrary aroused the hostility of the *habitants* and drew them closer to great Britain.

The military operations in the United States during the Revolutionary War, do not properly come within the scope of a history of Canada. We have, therefore, only to add that Carleton followed up his successes by launching a fleet on Lake Champlain in October, which, after several actions with the American naval armament, obtained complete command of its waters. He likewise obtained possession of Crown Point, evacuated by the Americans, who concentrated all their strength for the defence of Ticonderoga. At the close of the campaign a number of the British troops, were quartered along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence on the Canadians, who willingly received them as their protectors from invasion.

General Burgoyne visited England soon after the troops had gone into winter quarters, and concerted, with the ministry, a plan of operations, against the Americans, by way of Lake 1777. Champlain. He returned the following spring to assume the chief command of the army, much to the dissatisfaction of Sir Guy Carleton, who at once demanded his own recall, on the ground that he had been treated with injustice. Burgoyne opened the campaign at the north by the capture of Ticonderoga ; and after an advance at first distinguished by victory but afterwards by defeat, he was compelled to surrender his entire army, amounting to six thousand men, on the 17th of October, at Saratoga.

The first regular sitting of the Legislative Council, constituted by the Quebec Act, was held in the spring of 1777. At this session sixteen acts were passed, which received the sanction of the Governor and the approval of the Home Government. One of these acts erected a court of king's bench, a court of common pleas, and a court of probates for testamentary and succession causes. The whole Council were constituted a court of appeal, and any five of their number, with the Governor or chief justice, were declared competent to try all causes brought before them. Owing to the ignorance, however, of the judges of these courts with regard to French law much confusion was caused, and matters did not proceed as smoothly as they should.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR-GENERAL HALDIMAND.

THE new Governor was a native of Switzerland, and a soldier by profession. Like several others of his countrymen, among whom were Bouquet and Ecuyer, he had rendered most important services to the British Government during the wars of the conquest, and in the succeeding decades. He was the author of what is known as the Haldimand collection of letters and papers, most voluminous in their character, and throwing considerable historical light on the period between 1755 and 1790.\* In 1756 he was commandant at Philadelphia, whence he was ordered to Albany, to take charge of a battalion of the Royal American Regiment, then being raised for service against the French. During the several campaigns which followed, Haldimand was actively employed in various parts of North America, was looked upon as an able and prudent officer; and as a reward for his services was raised, in 1767, to the rank of brigadier-general, and was created a major-general in 1773. The British Government was now about to appoint him commander-in-chief in America; but finally, instead, sent him to the West Indies as inspector-general of the forces there. In August 1777 he received the appointment of Governor-General of Canada, being regarded as the fittest person to fill that important, and, under existing circumstances, difficult position.—He was unable, however, to proceed to his government until the following year, when he landed at Quebec, on the 30th 1778, of June, and took over the administration of the Province from Carleton, who at once left for England.

Haldimand's new position was one of no small difficulty. The Quebec Act had rendered a number of the British residents of the Province very lukewarm in their loyalty; and much secret sympathy existed with the American struggle for independence and constitutional liberty. While the clerical order was opposed to revolution, from principle and tradition, and in favour of a monarchical system of government, the great majority of the

\* This collection now forms part of the Canadian Archives at Ottawa.—*Vide* Brymner's official report for 1887-8-9 to Canadian government.

*habitant* population knew very little, and cared still less, about the merits of that struggle, and were indifferent as to the final result. Haldimand saw clearly, from the first, that he need not expect much support in any extremity from the French Canadian population. He had, therefore, to rely wholly on his own resources, not only to confront open foes outside the boundaries of his government, but secret foes within it as well. Under all these circumstances he had, from necessity, on several occasions, to resort to arbitrary measures, in order to preserve the authority of the Crown; and to rule, at intervals, from the military standpoint instead of from that of the civil governor. They were times of peril, communication with the seaboard was very difficult during the long Canadian winter, and a strong hand was required to direct public affairs, and to preserve the Colony from internal treason as well as from external attack. The Home Government felt satisfied that he was equal to the duties of his position; and did not abate its confidence until the crisis had been safely passed. Haldimand's military ideas, and sense of duty, may have occasionally led him to go somewhat too far; and to arbitrarily invade personal rights without sufficient cause; but, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that he brought this country safely through a very dangerous period, and afterwards satisfactorily performed a large amount of important work in connection with laying out the loyalist settlements, especially in Ontario, where a county still bears his name, as well as a township and a village.

Under instructions from the English ministry Carleton, in 1776, had formed from the Legislative Council an Executive Council of five members. Small as the former body was it already had an "opposition party," led by an Englishman named Alsopp, which occasionally raised embarrassing questions. To remedy this state of things, and give the Governor an executive entirely in accord with himself, the new Council was created. In 1779 the

Legislative Council only sat a few days, its principal work 1779. being to renew some expiring laws. During its session no protests or objections of any kind were made to the action of the Governor, in causing the arrest of several persons suspected of disloyalty, and his course, in this respect, appears to have been regarded as a necessary one. Nor was anything said about the accusation against him of violating the rights of private correspondence passing through the mails, and opening the letters of suspects; a very common practice in those days, and regarded by the authorities as a necessary precaution against secret treason.

As might naturally be expected, in these troublous times, the gaols of the Province were full to overflowing; not only with ordinary criminals, but also with persons suspected of treasonable practices, as well as with prisoners of war. During Carleton's government this condition of matters also existed, and even then it had become necessary to use a part of the Recollet monastery for the purposes of a prison. It is therefore perfectly plain, that

the wholesale imprisonment of suspects charged against Haldimand has been unduly magnified by his enemies. That this was the true state of the case is very clearly shown by his letter of the 22nd November, 1781, to Colonel Speth, commandant at Montreal.—After ordering therein that certain accusations made against suspected persons, be substantiated by additional evidence before being acted on, he added “we shall, otherwise, have our prisons filled upon trifling suspicions. The liberty of the subject being by our laws very sacred, it is necessary that suspicion should be well founded to justify imprisonment.” And he then gave orders, “that no arrests shall take place in future for state offences until each case shall be reported to the civil governor.” This letter demonstrates very clearly that Haldimand was not by any means the military tyrant he is represented to have been, but rather a cautious and prudent man, who was forced to resort to arbitrary measures from necessity rather than from choice. Additional proofs of this will be found in the fact, that when actions were subsequently instituted against him in England, by persons who had been arrested without due warrant during his administration, and damages recovered, the British Government paid the whole cost of the proceedings.

Among other persons suspected of treason was a Huguenot of the name of Du Calvet, a merchant, and at one time a magistrate, of Montreal. During the American occupation of that city he had furnished the enemy very freely with supplies, and was suspected of keeping up a correspondence with them afterwards. He was accordingly arrested, on the 27th September, 1780, and taken a prisoner to Quebec, where he was confined in the Recollet building, in the debtors' ward, for thirty-two months, and eventually discharged without trial, in 1783, on the conclusion of peace. Du Calvet went to France shortly after his release, and there made claims through Benjamin Franklin, the resident ambassador at Paris for the United States, for payment for the supplies he had furnished to their soldiers in Montreal. Franklin transmitted the papers in the case to Congress, but with what result does not appear. Du Calvet afterwards went to England, and there complained bitterly to the government of the manner in which he had been treated by Haldimand without, however, being paid much attention to. He subsequently published a book, detailing all his grievances while in prison and otherwise, many of the statements in which, however, were flatly contradicted, under oath, by the Recollet father, Felix de Berry, superior of the order in Canada.\*

Aside from the stringent measures taken by the Governor to preserve the Colony from revolution, few events of importance took place within its borders. The records of this 1781. period are chiefly distinguished by the many petitions to the king and Parliament, from the British colonists, praying for an

\* Report in Canadian Archives for 1888, p. 53.

alteration in the laws, so as to bring them more in unison with the English constitution.

The treaty of peace, the preliminaries of which were arranged on the 30th November, which acknowledged the independence of the United States, strengthened the hands of the advocates of reform, and made them more earnest in their demands for a house of assembly, and for the other privileges they deemed necessary to their welfare. But the close of the Revolutionary War was destined to have a still more important influence on the condition of this country, by adding largely to the Anglo-Saxon portion of the population, a circumstance which soon produced of itself the desired reforms. During the progress of the contest several families had removed to Canada; and soon after the surrender of Burgoyne there was a considerable emigration of loyalists from the State of New York. On the close of the 1783. war a still larger number followed, and to make proper provisions for these devoted servants of the Crown, became a question of serious moment with the British ministry.

Among the fugitives who now crossed the border into Canada were the whole of the Mohawk Iroquois, those ancient and faithful allies of the British Crown, who had, under their superintendent, Colonel Guy Johnston, taken an active part against the Americans during the war. Defeated by General Sullivan, who had marched against them with a strong force and driven them out of their country, so fair and fertile; their crops destroyed, their smiling orchards cut down, and their villages burned, they passed over into Canada with the other United Empire Loyalists, and were mostly settled on the Grand River, in western Ontario, where their descendants still remain. The adjoining city of Brantford took its name from their celebrated chief Joseph Brant, whose memory will thus be perpetuated for all time.

Western Canada at this period was a mere forest wilderness, the greater part of it being wholly uninhabited. A few military posts along the St. Lawrence, and the French settlements in the neighbourhood of Detroit, embraced the entire European population, which scarcely amounted to two thousand souls. The military post at Frontenac, or Kingston, as it will in future be termed, had been abandoned immediately before the conquest; Toronto had also been long deserted. There was still a small military post at Niagara, but with the exception of an occasional trapper, or a few wandering Indians, human being rarely trod the vast and fertile districts stretching along the northern shore of Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence.

The British government fancied it would not be at all politic to bring the two dominant races in Canada closely together, being desirous to preserve the French element as a safeguard to future revolutionary tendencies. It now conceived the idea of establishing a new colony farther westward, and at the same time of rewarding the American loyalists, who might desire to join it, by



liberal gifts of land. With regard to those who had served in the army, the scale of grants was the same as after the peace of 1763, with the exception that all loyalists, under the rank of subaltern, now received two hundred acres.\* In pursuance of this determination, Haldimand was instructed to grant patents for land, on applicants taking the usual oath of allegiance, and subscribing a declaration acknowledging the three estates of Great Britain as the supreme legislature of the Province. He was instructed, however, to state, that this declaration had no reference to internal taxation, and that Parliament only reserved to itself the right of legislating for the regulation of trade and commerce. "By this they could not be affected, or deprived of any indulgence or encouragement to which they were entitled."† The grants to royalists and disbanded soldiers were directed to be made free of every expense.‡

In the following year the Governor appointed commissioners to take a census of the population of Lower Canada. The districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, were found to contain one hundred and thirteen thousand and twelve inhabitants; 1784. twenty-eight thousand of whom were fit to bear arms, and had been enrolled in the militia.§ As this census, however, only embraced the more populous districts, it may reasonably be presumed that the entire population of Canada, at this period, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand souls. At the same time, surveys continued to be made of the lands lying along the banks of the St. Lawrence, from the highest French settlement at Lake St. Francis upwards, and round the Bay of Quinte, which were speedily divided into townships, and subdivided into concessions and lots. These townships were numbered, but not named till several years afterwards. The original settlers long continued the habit, even after distinct names had been given them, of describing them by first township, second township, and so on. This survey having been completed, the American royalists and disbanded officers and soldiers of the 84th regiment, with a few other German and English soldiers, took possession in the course of the summer of their allotments. During the same season, also, royalist settlements were formed along the Niagara River and at Amherstburg, where surveys had also been made. And thus began the first effective settlement of Upper Canada, and before the close of the year its population amounted to about ten thousand souls.

The greater part of these settlers were poor and dependent. Some had served in the army, and from the small pay of a British soldier, amounting then to only sixpence sterling per diem, nothing had

\* In 1798, owing to complaints of the profuse manner of granting lands, the allowance was limited to a quantity from two hundred to twelve hundred acres.

† Lord North to Governor Haldimand, 24th July, 1783.

‡ Gourlay, vol. i. p. 11.

§ Smith's Hist. Can., vol. ii. p. 168.

been saved ; others again had lost their properties by the war ; so for the first two years government was obliged to assist nearly all with provisions, farming utensils and clothing.\* Although cast thus destitute in the wilderness, these courageous people did not despond. The greater part had been bred to agricultural pursuits, speedily adapted themselves to circumstances, and courageously resumed their former occupation. The axe of the backwoodsman was swung as vigorously in the forests of Canada, as it had been in the woods of New England and New York. Clearings were speedily made, log-houses erected ; in a few years the wilderness blossomed as the rose, and waving fields of grain bent to the summer winds along the ancient hunting-grounds of the Wyandots and the Algonquins.

It being now deemed desirable by the government to draw as many emigrants to the new Province as possible, lots of two hundred acres each were granted to settlers, on condition of actual occupation, and the payment of expenses of survey and fees of office, amounting together to about thirty-eight dollars. This soon led to an emigration from Great Britain ; and when the passions excited by the recent war had somewhat subsided, and royalists went back to their old homes among the New England hills, or the more fertile districts farther south, to visit relations and friends they had left behind, many of these were induced to settle in Canada.

The close of the war with the United States largely stimulated the settlement, also, of the seaboard colonies of Canada. As early as 1758 Nova Scotia had been granted a constitutional form of government, and in that year her House of Assembly, (the first of

\* “ ‘ To put a mark of honour,’ as it is expressed in the Orders of Council, ‘ upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the empire, and joined the royal standard in America, before the treaty of separation in the year 1783,’ a list of such persons was directed, in 1789, to be made out and returned, ‘ to the end that their posterity might be discriminated from the then future settlers.’ From the initials of two emphatic words, the *unity* of the *empire*, it was styled the U. E. list ; and they whose names were entered on it were distinguished as U. E. loyalists, a distinction of some consequence ; for in addition to the provisions of such loyalists themselves, it was declared that their children, as well those born thereafter as those already born, should upon arriving at the age of twenty-one years, and females upon marriage within that age, be entitled to grants of two hundred acres each, free from all expenses. In pursuance of that declaration these gratuitous grants continue to be made. Thousands of acres are thus granted every year. As the sons and daughters of those whose names are on the U. E. list become of age, they petition the Lieutenant-Governor in council, stating the facts, and verifying them by their own oath, and affidavit of one witness, and upon such petitions obtain orders for land, which they locate in some of the new townships, and then take out their patents without cost.

“ To encourage the further population of the province, a lot of two hundred acres was allowed to every settler, upon condition of actual settlement, and payment of the expense of surveying and fees of office, amounting in the whole to a little less than thirty-eight dollars.”— *Gourlay*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

the Dominion) consisting of twenty-two elected members, met at the court house of Halifax, on the 2nd of October, in its maiden session, which was opened in due form by Governor Lawrence.—Self-governed, and freed from internal danger by the deportation of the Acadians, of whom only a small remnant now remained, and at peace with the Micmac Indians, who presently buried the hatchet for good, the Province at once started on the road of great prosperity. In 1759 six hundred immigrants came from Boston and other parts of New England, and three hundred from Ireland.—Whilst the tide of war broke fiercely on the Canada of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, but little occurred to trouble Nova Scotia. In June, 1762, four French men-of-war captured St. John's, Newfoundland; and some alarm was created at Halifax lest the victorious fleet should attack it. But the danger soon passed away. At the close of the war a large number of French colonists, finding themselves entirely abandoned by France, took the oath of allegiance to King George, and new immigrants continued to pour into the Province owing to the liberality with which government grants of land were made. In 1784 a large body of expatriated U. E. Loyalists, mostly from the New England States, settled in Nova Scotia. In that year New Brunswick was set apart as a separate Province, with Colonel Thomas Carleton, the brother of Lord Dorchester, as its first governor, a post which he filled with great tact and ability, and with much benefit to the public, for the long period of nineteen years. The new colony attracted loyalist settlers from all parts of the Union, the city of St. John was founded, and there the first session of the legislature was held two years afterwards. At the close of 1784 the U. E. Loyalists alone, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, had swelled in number to nearly twenty thousand souls.

In 1770 Prince Edward's Island was separated from Nova Scotia, and became a Province by itself, although it had then only one hundred and fifty families, and contained but 365,400 acres of land, nearly all of which, however, was fit for agricultural purposes. In 1767 the island was divided into allotments, which were distributed by lottery among officers of the army and navy, and other persons having special claims on the Crown. The payment of a small annual quit-rent was stipulated, which subsequently became a source of much trouble to the little Province, which commenced its existence with a governor, a combined executive and legislative council, and an assembly of eighteen members. In 1773 its first parliament sat at Charlottetown. Despite the great fertility of the island its population increased very slowly,\* mainly owing to the fact that the grantees never settled upon their lands, but sold them instead to speculators who lived mostly elsewhere. In 1770 it had only five resident proprietors.

The arbitrary course of procedure which untoward circumstances

\* In 1798 the population of the island was only 4,372 souls.

had forced General Haldimand to adopt, necessarily made him many enemies, and largely rendered his position one of isolation and unpleasantness. In addition, the numerous complaints preferred against him to the Home Government, made his tenure of office still more uncomfortable. He had, accordingly, asked for his recall in 1783 ; but ministers declined to receive his resignation, and nearly two years more elapsed before they consented to release him. Mr. Henry Hamilton, a retired officer of the army and a member of the Council, was appointed as his successor, but as lieutenant-governor only, as a suitable person for governor-general had not been determined on. One of the last measures of importance taken by Haldimand was to have a careful census of the population made. The Province had now one hundred and thirteen thousand and twelve inhabitants, among whom were three hundred and four slaves of both sexes. The number of men, between fifteen and sixty years of age, able to bear arms, and enrolled in the militia, was 28,249.

After Haldimand's return to England, although it does not appear that he was afterwards appointed to any important post, he stood well at court, and with the government. We cannot find any information as to the date of his death. His private diary closes in 1790, and it is probable he died shortly afterwards.\*

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF HENRY HAMILTON.

The new Lieut.-Governor, who arrived in this country in the spring, had been an officer in the army, but had retired, like numbers of others, on the establishment of peace. One of his first measures was to assemble the Legislative Council ; and, pursuant to his instructions, to recommend to its consideration the re-introduction of the law of *habeas corpus* into the Province.—The Canadians were now well acquainted with the objects of this law, and evinced great satisfaction when it came up for consideration in the Council ; the Roman Catholic clergy, in particular, expressed their approbation. It was proposed to exclude the religious female communities from its benefits, at which they expressed no small indignation, on the ground that ill-disposed persons might suppose the exception was necessary to retain them in their cloisters. The bill was accordingly extended to embrace them, and speedily passed.

Beyond the establishment of a public library, and a great darkness which fell suddenly on Canada on the 9th of October, the incorporation of the *habeas corpus* Act into the statute law of the Province was the only event of importance which marked the government of Mr. Hamilton. He was recalled after a single 1786. year's administration, and the direction of Canadian affairs

\* *Vide* Report in Canadian Archives 1889.

again committed to General Carleton, who had, in the meantime, been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester. He did not, however, immediately proceed to Canada, and in the interval the government was administered by Colonel Hope, a member of the Legislative Council.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD DORCHESTER.

In the month of June, Lord Dorchester received his appointment as Governor-General of all the British North American Provinces, and on the 23rd October arrived at Quebec, where he was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants. He soon after assembled the Legislative Council, and forming them into committees, directed them to inquire into the state of the laws, the commerce, the police, and the education of the Province. An investigation by the chief justice was also made, at the instance of the Council, with regard to the administration of the laws, when it was clearly shown that English judges followed English law, Canadian judges, French law, and some judges, no particular law whatever, but decided according to what they deemed the equity of the case.\* Commerce was also represented to be far from being in a flourishing condition, owing to the active rivalry of the United States and other causes; while education was at the lowest ebb. The Jesuits had discontinued teaching, and there was not a school in the Province where the higher branches of learning were taught.†

This condition of things, in connection with the rapid increase of the English-speaking population, strengthened the hands of the reform party, who finally employed an agent, Mr. Lyburner, to advocate their views in England. He was ultimately successful in attracting the attention of ministers, and a bill was prepared by the colonial secretary, William Grenville, to give a new constitution to Canada, which, after being sent to Dorchester for correction, was laid before Parliament shortly after it assembled in the spring.

Pitt, ‡ in introducing the bill, briefly stated its provisions. The Province of Quebec was to be divided into Upper and Lower Canada, in order to prevent any dissensions between the French

\* Garneau, vol. ii. p. 190. † Smith's Hist. Can., vol. i. p. 176.

‡ Our readers will bear in mind that there were two great Pitts in the eighteenth century. William Pitt the elder, the great Commoner as he was styled, was the son of a plain country gentleman, Robert Pitt, of Boconnoc, in Cornwall, and was born in 1708. After completing his education he obtained a cornetcy in the Life Guards, and in 1735 entered Parliament as a member for Old Sarum, one of the rotten English boroughs so numerous at that period. He soon distinguished himself, and opposed Walpole, who meanly deprived him of his commission. In 1756 Pitt became Secretary of State in the Newcastle administration, but he was virtually premier. His



Canadians and settlers of British origin. Each province was to have its own legislature, composed of a legislative council, the members of which were to be chosen for life, and a house of assembly, to be elected in the usual manner by the people. The *habeas corpus* act was to be a fundamental principle of the new constitution. Provision was likewise to be made for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy in both Provinces, by the allotment of lands, (the Clergy Reserves) and, while Parliament reserved to itself the right of regulating trade and commerce, the local legislatures were to have the sole power of internal taxation.

Fox warmly opposed the bill on several grounds. He argued that it would be wiser rather to unite still more closely than to separate the British and French settlers; and that the legislative council should be also elective, with a higher qualification on the part of the elected and electors than was necessary for the lower house. "By this means," said he, "Canadians will have a real aristocracy, chosen by persons of property, from among persons of the highest property, who would thus have that weight and independence necessary to guard against the innovations of the people, on the one part, or of the Crown, on the other." But Edmund Burke supported the bill with equal warmth, and a breach ensued between him and Fox which was never afterwards closed.

The Quebec reformers were also dissatisfied with the bill, and instructed Lymburner to oppose it, chiefly on the ground that the division of the province would interfere with commerce, and would be really injurious to the inhabitants of Upper Canada.—Lymburner was heard at the bar of the House of Commons against the bill, on the 23rd of March, and opposed its principles in a long and lucid argument. But his efforts failed to prevent a separation of the province. The bill finally passed into law despite a strong opposition in the House of Lords, and continued to be the constitution of the Canadas until the Union.\*

vigorous policy led to the conquest of Canada, and vast successes elsewhere. In 1766 he became Earl of Chatham, having in the meantime been raised from comparative poverty to affluence, by large legacies left him by the Duchess of Marlborough and Sir William Pynsent. He died in May, 1778, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His second son, the still more celebrated William Pitt, was born in 1759. At the age of 23 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Shelburne administration. In 1784, at the age of 25, he became premier, and was now the most powerful subject that England had seen for many generations; and was at once the favourite of the sovereign, the Parliament and the nation. He was out of office from 1801 to 1804, when he again became premier. The victories of Napoleon were virtually the cause of his death in 1806. He died a poor man, and Parliament voted £40,000 to pay his debts.

\* THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION OF 1791.—The Constitutional Act repealed so much of the Quebec Act as related to the appointment of a council for the affairs of the province of Quebec, and the powers given it to make ordinances for the government thereof.

His Majesty's message expressive of his intention to divide the province of

One of the first measures rendered necessary by the new order of things, was the division of both provinces into electoral districts, and giving to each a fair proportion of the number of representatives fixed by the Act. In making this arrangement regard was had solely to the number of the male population in each district, and the superficial extent of which was not taken into consideration. A

Quebec into two separate provinces, as previously noticed, to be called Upper Canada and Lower Canada, being recited, it was enacted that a Legislative Council and Assembly should be established in each province, with power to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government thereof.

The members of the Legislative Council were to be appointed by the King for life, and in Upper Canada to consist of not fewer than *seven*, and in Lower Canada not fewer than *fifteen* persons.

The Governor had the right of appointing a Speaker to the Legislative Council. Each province was to be divided into districts or counties, or cities, or towns, or townships, which were to return representatives to the Assemblies, the Governor fixing the limits of such district and the number of representatives to be returned for each. The whole number of members of the Assembly in Upper Canada was to be not less than sixteen, and in Lower Canada not less than fifty, and to be chosen by a majority of votes. The county members were to be elected by owners of land in freehold or in fief or roture, to the value of forty shillings sterling a year, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same. Members for the town or township were elected by persons having a dwelling-house and a lot of ground therein of the yearly value of five pounds sterling or upwards, or who, having resided in the town for twelve calendar months, next before the date of the writ of election, shall *bona fide* have paid one year's rent for the dwelling-house in which he shall have resided, at the rate of ten pounds sterling per annum, or upwards.

No person being a Legislative Councillor, or a clergyman of the Church of England or Rome, or a teacher of any other religious profession, was eligible to the House of Assembly in either province.

Power was given to the Governor to fix the times and places of holding the first and every other session of the Legislative Council and Assembly in each province, giving due notice thereof, and to prorogue the same from time to time, and to dissolve it whenever he deemed such expedient. They were to be convoked once at least in every twelve months, and each Assembly was to continue four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the members; subject, however, to be sooner prorogued and dissolved, at the pleasure of the Governor.

The Governor was authorised to give or withhold his Majesty's assent to all bills, passed by the two branches, and to reserve such as he might think fit, for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure thereon. Copies of all bills he might assent to, were also to be forwarded to the Secretary of State; and his Majesty might, at any time within two years after receipt by the Secretary, disallow them if he thought fit.

Bills reserved by the Governor for his Majesty's pleasure, were not to have effect till sanctioned, and notice thereof given by message to the two Houses of the Provincial Parliament, or by proclamation; nor could the royal assent to bills so reserved be given, unless within two years next after the day when presented to the Governor for the royal assent.

All laws, statutes, and ordinances in force in either province, except as repealed or altered by this Act, were to remain in force, as they might be at the time of its coming into operation.

The Governor and Executive Council, which, by an ordinance of the Province of Quebec, had been constituted a court of appeal, were, in each province, to continue so; liable, however, to such other provisions as might be deemed necessary by the new Legislature.

careful census made the preceding year showed that the males in Canada, above sixteen, amounted to thirty-seven thousand four hundred and eleven, while the entire population numbered about one hundred and fifty thousand souls,\* being an increase of some thirty thousand in the preceding six years.

Having obtained leave of absence, Dorchester departed for England on the 7th of August, leaving Major-General Clarke to act as Lieutenant-Governor. The winter passed over without producing any event of note. On the 14th May writs, returnable on the 12th of July, were issued for the election of representatives. The election took place in June, and in several instances were warmly contested. Among the members returned were some of the principal merchants of Montreal and Quebec.— On the 17th of December Clarke opened the first Parliament of Lower Canada with a short and appropriate speech. William Smith, the historian, now the Chief Justice of the Province, was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council, while J. A. Panet, an eminent Quebec advocate, on a vote of 28 to 18, after a long and somewhat acrimonious discussion between the French and English

It was enacted that an allotment of Crown lands, in each province, should be made for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the same, equal in value to a seventh part of the lands granted, and to be granted.

His Majesty was authorised to empower the governors in each province to erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents or ministers of the Church of England, subject and liable to all rights of institution and all other spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, lawfully granted to the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Power was given to the Provincial Legislatures to vary and repeal the provisions relating to such allotments for the support of a Protestant clergy, parsonages and rectories, and presentation of incumbents or ministers; but it was provided that no bills in this behalf were to be assented to by his Majesty, until thirty days after they had been laid before both Houses of Imperial Parliament, nor was his Majesty to assent to any such bill in case of an address from either of the Houses during that period, requesting him to withhold the royal assent from it.

The British Parliament reserved to itself the right of providing regulations or prohibitions, imposing, levying, and collecting duties, for the regulation of navigation, or for the regulation of commerce, to be carried on between the said two provinces, or between either of them, and any other part of his Majesty's dominions or any foreign country, or for appointing and directing the payment of duties so imposed; leaving, however, the exclusive appropriation of all moneys so levied, in either province, to the Legislature thereof, and applicable to such public uses therein, as it might think fit to apply them.

The Governor, pursuant to the King's instructions, was to fix upon and declare the day when the Act should commence, which was not to be later than the 31st December, 1791, nor was the calling together of the Legislative Council and Assembly, in each province, to be later than the 31st December, 1792.

\* Smith gives a much larger number, but his estimate was evidently based on no correct data. A census was only taken of the adult males at this period, and the proportion of the rest of the population could not be much greater than four to one.

members, was chosen to fill the same office in the Lower House.\*

Shortly after the session commenced considerable discussion arose as to the language in which the business of the House should be conducted. It was finally decided that the journals of the proceedings should be kept in both languages, that motions made in English should be translated into French, and *vice versa*, before being put, and that each member should have the privilege of using his mother tongue when addressing the House. As the session progressed the subject of education was taken up, and an address voted to the king praying for the establishment of a Canadian college, as well as another address, of a loyal character, when intelligence was received of the breaking out of a war with the French Republic. Beyond these proceedings little business of importance was transacted, and the members being weary of attendance, General Clarke, after giving assent to eight bills, prorogued the House in the beginning of May, when all gladly returned to their respective avocations.†

While constitutional liberty thus gradually developed itself in this country, events were transpiring in the Old World of the deepest importance to civilized humanity. The American colonies had largely contributed to win Canada from France, and thus paved the way for their own independence. To achieve that independence, France, in revenge, gave most important assistance. Her conduct in this matter precipitated her own revolutionary crisis, which had its origin in the national poverty and distress and the tyranny and venality of the aristocracy, brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold, and drove the iniquitous House of Bourbon forth as fugitives. The French soldiers, whilst fighting in the cause of American liberty, had gradually imbibed the principles of their allies, and returned to their native country to disseminate the arguments of Otis, of Franklin, and of Jefferson, in favour of the inherent rights of man. However much the bulk of the British nation might have sympathized, at the commencement of the French Revolution, with the struggles of a gallant people for a greater measure of liberty, the horrid atrocities of the Jacobins soon produced a most unfavourable impression on their minds. A hostile feeling, on both sides, was engendered. France declared war against England, and the latter stood forth as the champion of legitimacy and aristocracy, and issued a counter-declaration of hostilities against the new republic. From that period till Bonaparte became a prisoner at St. Helena, Great Britain was destined to be a stranger to the blessings of peace, and to spend countless treasure in forcing a Bourbon sovereign on a people by whom he was afterwards speedily rejected.

But although this long war militated seriously against the

\* Christie, vol. i. pp. 126, 127.

† During the summer the Protestant bishopric of Quebec was created by the Crown.

prosperity of Canada, and checked emigration thither from the mother-country, it was happily exempt from its evils otherwise ; and in the enjoyment of a greater degree of liberty, was left to develop its resources as best it might. In the present age, when our rivers and lakes are covered with floating palaces, which frequently traverse their waters at the rate of twenty miles an hour ; when railroads annihilate space, and the electric telegraph and the telephone speak with the rapidity of the lightning's flash, it is difficult to form an accurate idea of the condition of matters in Canada a century ago, or to imagine what a "slow people" our Canadian ancestors were. It took a month for the mail to travel from New York to Quebec ; the same period was necessary for the transmission of letters to Halifax ; and four months must expire before an answer to a communication could be looked for from England. A mail from Montreal twice a month \* to the New England States, was regarded as quite a progressive event ; now the inhabitants of every little hamlet in Canada would grumble if they did not receive their letters and newspapers at least three times a week. Still, with all these disadvantages, the commerce and general prosperity of the country were steadily on the increase, and from ninety to one hundred vessels, from British and foreign ports, annually visited Quebec,† while the net annual revenue of the Lower Province, from the sale of lands, and the customs' duties and licenses, was a little under £5000 sterling. ‡

The prudent legislators of Lower Canada, in those days, travelled through the public business fully as slowly and cautiously as the mail bags journeyed to Halifax or New York. † Dorchester arrived from England on the 24th of September, and again assumed the reins of government. On the 11th of November, he opened the second session of the Legislature ; it sat till the 23rd of May 1794. in the ensuing year, when it was prorogued after the royal assent had been given to *five bills*. One more bill had indeed been passed, relative to a change in the judicature, which was reserved for the royal pleasure. Emissaries from France had arrived in Canada to propagate revolutionary principles, so the Assembly, in the fulness of its loyalty, levelled one of its bills against aliens who inculcated treason, and gave the Governor large powers to ferret out and punish such persons.

The next session of the Legislature, commenced in the January following, when for the first time the public accounts were 1795. laid before the Assembly. From these it appeared that the expenses of the civil administration of the Province amounted to £19,985 sterling annually. To defray this sum the revenue was wholly inadequate ; £5000 sterling were all the Assembly could give, the remainder had to be supplied by 1796. the mother-country. In the year ending January 1796, the revenue of the Province had largely increased, and amounted to £10,425 currency, while the public expenditure was

\* Quebec Gazette, 20th December 1792, † Ibid. ‡ Christie, vol. i p. 152.



£24,711 currency, including £1205 paid to Upper Canada, as the proportion of the duties levied on her imports at the ports of Montreal and Quebec.

On the 7th of May the first Parliament of Lower Canada closed its final session. Dorchester declared himself highly satisfied with the course it had pursued. "In expressing my approbation of your proceedings," said he, addressing both Houses, "I must further observe that the unanimity, loyalty, and disinterestedness manifested by this first Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada have never been surpassed in any of his majesty's colonies."

On the 9th of July Lord Dorchester took his final departure from Quebec, greatly to the regret of the inhabitants, all classes of whom presented him with addresses, couched in the warmest and most respectful language. From first to last he had been a true friend to Canada; and its people had been largely indebted to his humanity, sound common sense, and love of constitutional liberty, for the comparatively happy condition in which they now found themselves. He was in his seventy-first year, and spent the remainder of his life in England, where he died in November 1808.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR GENERAL PRESCOTT.

Major General Robert Prescott, the successor of Lord Dorchester in the government of Canada, was at once a gallant and a humane soldier. He had served with great credit to himself in the American revolutionary contest, and after war had again broken out between England and France, was ordered to the West Indies, and took command of the expedition against Martinique, which he completely subdued. He afterwards became its governor; and his rule, at once firm and judicious, was much appreciated by the inhabitants, with whom he became very popular. In January, 1795, ill-health compelled his return to England. On the 10th of April, 1796, he received orders from the Home Government to relieve Lord Dorchester, as commander-in-chief of Canada, and to act as Lieutenant Governor. Two days afterwards he embarked with his family at Portsmouth, and after a tedious voyage reached Quebec on the 18th of June. On the 3rd of that month writs for a general election for the Province had been issued, and the new Legislature met on the 24th of the ensuing January. In the Assembly the French-Canadians were largely in the 1797. majority, and numbered thirty-six out of the total of fifty members. Panet was proposed for speaker, and was elected over his English opponent, Young, by a vote of thirty-two to eighteen. In his opening speech, Prescott alluded to the recent treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between Great Britain and the United States, as being highly favourable to the Province. "From the flourishing state of commerce," he observed, "amidst the hazards and obstructions of war, well-founded hopes may be

entertained of the future prosperity of the Colony, when the blessings of peace shall be restored." And he then warned the Legislature that while it could rely on the superiority of the British navy for external protection, it must take measures against treacherous attempts to disturb the internal tranquillity of the country. The Governor was fearful that revolutionary emissaries from France might tamper with the people he had been sent to rule, and, the more so, as Attorney General Sewell had reported, in the preceding summer, that there was a good deal of latent disaffection in and about Montreal,\* and that Adet, the French ambassador to the United States, had sent a secret address to the Canadians, in which he told them that the Republic of France having vanquished Spain, Austria and Italy, was about to subdue the British Empire, also, and desired to raise troops in their country. Adet's address, however, had little effect upon the Canadians. The clerical order loved their own interests, and royalty and the Bourbons, too well to lift a finger in behalf of French republicanism ; and were too grateful, also, to England, for championing their cause, to permit of any overt acts among their flocks. There was, therefore, no reason for alarm, as Prescott must have seen had he understood the people better. To meet his views, and re-assure him as well as other alarmists, the Assembly promptly responded to his recommendations, by re-enacting the Alien Bill, which was about to expire, and passing a temporary act suspending the *habeas corpus*, and giving the Executive power to apprehend and commit to prison, during pleasure, any persons accused or suspected of treasonable practices ; and to hold them in custody without trial, bail or mainprise.

While the session was in progress Prescott received his appointment as Governor-General, and was now voted an unanimous address of congratulation, which also set forth the gratitude felt by the House for the "paternal attention of its august Sovereign," in giving it such an excellent Governor. And this address was duly presented by the speaker and all the members. Six bills were passed during the session of over three months ; and, on the 2nd of May, the Legislature was prorogued by the Governor in highly complimentary terms, as it had "faithfully performed its public duties."

Adet's intrigues, and the uneasy feeling they had produced in the Province, presently led to a most tragic occurrence. David McLane, an American citizen, and a bankrupt trader of Providence, Rhode Island, was used by Adet as his agent in Canada, and had paid it a visit during the preceding year, without, however, acquiring any partisans or friends who could be of any use to him. McLane returned to the Province in the following spring, by way of St. John's, in the neighbourhood of which he engaged a *habitant*, named Frichette, to accompany him to Quebec. When he got there

\* Minutes of the Executive Council for 1796.

he put himself in communication with a member of the Assembly, named Black, a ship-carpenter, and with whom, it appeared, he had some previous correspondence. Having fully obtained his confidence, Black denounced him to the authorities, and he was promptly arrested, and put on his trial for high treason. McLane's plans for the capture of Quebec were proved to be of the most chimerical and impracticable character, and embraced a sudden pike charge upon the garrison, and dosing the troops with laudanum to keep them quiet. He was convicted, however, and on the 21st of July met a traitor's doom on the glacis near St. John's gate, where he was hung, drawn and quartered, with all the revolting accompaniments of ancient English usage. McLane had made a confident of Frichette, and told him of his insane plans; and not having informed the authorities of these plans, the latter, despite his being an illiterate and ignorant person, was tried and convicted of misprision of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. But calmer counsels presently prevailed; the authorities became sensible, on reflection, that they had acted too hastily and severely in the matter of McLane, and Frichette was accordingly pardoned and set at liberty. Black was duly rewarded for his share in this unhappy business. Being regarded, however, by the public as more of a traitor than McLane, he was treated with universal contempt, lost his business in consequence, became a wretched pauper, and died in misery.

The Legislature opened on the the 28th of February, and was told by the Governor that "the unremitting spirit of animosity against the king, his subjects and government, that 1798. is openly avowed by the present ruling power in France," rendered it necessary that they should not relax their vigilance for the preservation of tranquillity. The address, in reply, showed the good understanding that now prevailed between Prescott and the Assembly. "We cannot be otherwise than unanimous," they said, "when the support of the mild and orderly government under which we happily live is the subject of our deliberations."

The Legislature assembled on the 29th of March, somewhat later than hitherto, and continuing in the same amicable mood the Executive got all the authority it desired for the preservation of the public peace. One bill passed provided for the erection of court houses, with the proper offices, in the several districts of Quebec and Montreal. When the Governor prorogued the Legislature he warmly thanked it for the zeal and unanimity with which it had attended to the public business. The public accounts showed that the civil expenses of the Province amounted, during the year, to \$125,702 and the revenue to \$101,708. The deficiency, as usual, was made good by the Crown. The expenses of the Legislature were of the very modest proportions of \$5997.\*

But while Prescott stood well with the Legislature and the

\* Christie's vol. i. p. 202.

people, and was able to maintain the most satisfactory relations with them, a storm was brewing to his disadvantage within the ranks of his own Executive Council. Some of the Board charged with the management of the Crown lands, of which Chief Justice Osgoode \* was the chairman, under one pretext or another, had acquired for their own benefit, or for that of their relations or friends, large tracts of the public domain in the Eastern Townships, and in other newly surveyed districts. The claims of actual settlers were, somehow, interfered with, and these settlers now made complaints to Prescott, who espoused their cause with warmth, and laid the matter before the Home Government, who issued instructions to remedy the evil. The Executive Council was greatly incensed at the action of the Governor, refused to publish the new instructions, and sent two petitions to the colonial minister, the Duke of Portland, complaining of his conduct.† Judge Osgoode, especially, had, through his friends, great influence at court; and the result of the pressure brought to bear upon the minister 1799. was, that, to avoid further difficulty, Prescott was recalled, much to the regret of a large majority of the people, who deemed him an honourable and upright man. Although relieved of the active governorship of Lower Canada, he was still, however, continued in the position of Governor General, and drew £2000 per annum as his salary therefor until he was finally superseded by Craig in 1807. It does not appear that he was afterwards intrusted by the Home Government with any important public position; and he finally settled on his estate at Rose Green, in Sussex, where he died in December, 1815, at the great age of 89.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR ROBERT SHORE MILNES.

On the recall of Prescott, Sir Robert Shore Milnes received the appointment of Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada. He had commenced life as an officer of the Horse Guards, but not liking the military service retired from it after a few years' experience. In 1795 he succeeded Prescott as governor of Martinique, in which position he appears to have given satisfaction to the Home Government. Hitherto the salary of the Governor General of Canada was £2000 sterling per annum, and that of the lieutenant governor £1500, in addition to which Milnes was now to be paid £1000. Each member of the Executive Council received annually

\* This gentleman was born in England in 1754, graduated at Oxford, and embraced the profession of the law. He was appointed Chief Justice of Upper Canada in 1791, and came out, in the following year, in the same ship with Governor Simcoe. Two years afterwards he was translated to Lower Canada. Osgoode Hall still commemorates his memory in Ontario. He resigned his Chief Justiceship, and other offices in Lower Canada, at the close of 1801, and returned to England, where he died in 1824. He never married.

† These petitions were signed by Judge Osgoode, Bishop Mountain, Hugh Finlay, Francis Baby, Thomas Dunn and John Young.

£100 sterling for his services. There were now nine paid members in that council, five English and four French-Canadians, among whom were Chief Justice William Osgoode, of Quebec, and Chief Justice James Monk, of Montreal.

As regards the closing year of the past century, Lower Canada presented few events of importance to record. Its people were blessed with abundance and peace ; and despite the slight racial antagonisms, which occasionally cropped up, all classes of the community were tolerably contented. The inhabitants of British origin felt they had all they could reasonably expect in a House of Assembly and a Legislative Council ; while the population of French descent, in the full enjoyment of their language, their customs and their religion, as well as of a large measure of self-government, lived on in an easy and good-natured state of existence which nothing appeared to disturb. Meanwhile the Province was steadily progressing in population and material resources.

The Legislature assembled on the 5th of March. The opening speech of the Lieutenant Governor contained little that was of much interest. He congratulated the members on 1800. the loyal and liberal manner, in which a voluntary subscription had recently been made to assist the British Government, in carrying on the war ; and the friendly intercourse now subsisting with the people of the United States, which he trusted would continue. The Assembly responded in a loyal and courteous spirit. Trouble, however, was close at hand. On the 12th of March Plante, a member of the Assembly, moved "that the House do resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the most proper measures of obtaining information concerning the rights and pretensions which this Province may have upon the Jesuits' college of Quebec, and the estates thereunto annexed." On the question being put, John Young, a member of the Executive Council, said, "that he was authorized by his excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, to state, that the Home Government had given orders to take possession of the Jesuits' estates in the name of, and as the property of, the Crown."\* Despite this notification the House went into committee of the whole, and on a vote of 16 to 8, agreed to an address to the Lieutenant Governor, asking for access to the report made on the 30th of June 1789, by a commission that had been previously appointed by Lord Dorchester on the 29th of December, 1787, to enquire into the matter of the Jesuits' estates, and as to all title deeds and documents connected therewith, and allow copies to be made of the same for their use. To this address the Lieutenant Governor replied that the whole of the documents in question had been submitted to the king, and laid by him before the Privy Council ; and that, as the result of its consultations, orders had been transmitted to the government of the Province,

\* When Frontenac wrote to Louis XIV. that the religious orders were largely monopolizing the best lands of Canada, he was nearer the truth than many might suppose. At the conquest these orders owned about two-sevenths



in the preceding month of April, to take the entire property into the hands of the Crown. He further stated, that should the Assembly persist in their demand, he would give orders that they be at liberty to make copies of all reports and papers, which had existed before the 25th of August 1790, connected with the Jesuits' estates. But, he added, "after the information I have now given, the House of Assembly will certainly deem it incumbent on them, to consider whether it is consistent with that respect which they have hitherto uniformly manifested towards their sovereign, to reiterate any application on the subject." The Assembly winced under this rebuke, and resolved, a few days afterwards, "to postpone, to a future time, the enquiry into the rights and pretensions alluded to." This resolution was, however, adopted by way of

of all the granted lands, as the following table will show. The Jesuit order heads the list :—

LANDS GRANTED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT EXCLUSIVE  
OF ISLANDS.

Contents of the total French Grant                    -s                    -                    7,985,470 acres.

Granted to the Jesuits as follows :

Charlesbourg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	119,720
Lorette	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,944
Sillery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,979
Isle au Reaux	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	360
Cape de la Magdelaine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	282,240
Batiscan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	282,240
La Prairie de la Magdelaine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56,448
St. Gabriel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104,850
Isle St. Christophe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80
Pachirigny	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	585
La Vacherie at Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	73
St. Nicolas, opposite Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,180
Tadousac	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
								<hr/> 891,845

RECAPITULATION.

Ursulines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	164,616
Three Rivers Ursulines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30,909
Recollets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	945
Bishop and Seminary, Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	693,324
Jesuits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	891,845
St. Sulpicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	250,191
General Hospital, Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,497
Do. Montreal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	404
Hotel Dieu, Quebec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14,112
Sœurs Grises	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42,336

Total Grants to the R. C. Church up to the conquest—2,115,178 acres.

Total Grants to the Laity                    -                    -                    -                    -                    5,870,292

amendment to a motion made by Mr. Grant, a Scotch member of the Assembly, to have a committee of five appointed to draft an address to the king, setting forth the deplorable state of the education of the youth of the Province, and praying that the Jesuits' estates, or some other estate, or waste lands of the Crown, be devoted to educational purposes. The main object of the Assembly was evidently to obtain control of the Jesuits' estates as provincial property, and not to have them administered by the Crown in any way, even for educational purposes, and so adroitly got rid of Grant's motion by an amendment. Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, was anxious that schools to teach the English language especially, should be established in the principal towns and villages, at the expense of the government. The Lieutenant Governor was so impressed by his views on this head, that in a despatch, dated April 5th, he proposed to the colonial minister, that portions of the Crown lands, and what remained of the Jesuits' estates, should be set apart to defray the costs of general education. He added, that such a measure would not only add to the popularity of the government, but be very advantageous, from a moral and political aspect, and promote the use of the English tongue, a knowledge of which was still so rare in the Province that it was useless to speak it even in the House of Assembly, as the great majority of the members did not understand it.\* The minister approved of the plan, and asked that a return of the values and revenues of the Jesuits' estates be submitted for his information.† Meanwhile Casot, the last of the Jesuit fathers in Canada, had died on the 16th of March, four days after the first debate in the Assembly, touching the estates of his order, had taken place. Up to his death the government had permitted him to use, as he pleased, the large revenues arising from these estates, which the father applied almost wholly for charitable purposes. His death was, therefore, bitterly regretted by the poor.

\* Although the debates in the Assembly were conducted in French, the journals of the House were kept in both languages. Bills introduced were also put into both languages, after their being read a first time. This rule of the House gave general satisfaction ; and with slight modifications has been continued to the present day. It also prevails as regards the Dominion Parliament.

† It is almost unnecessary to say that any project of this kind found little favour with either the majority of the Assembly or their constituents, with whom the preservation of their language as well as their religion was the first consideration. This feeling was sedulously fostered by the clerical order, who then as now saw in the continued ascendancy of the French language, the grand element of the preservation of its own influence and authority. But, independent of this state of things the English leaven in the Province of Quebec, has always been too slight to affect the language of the majority ; and to this fact, and not to any legislation of the British Parliament, as some suppose, is mainly due the perpetuation of the French language therein. Not only has that language always held its own in that province, but it has been decidedly aggressive, and English settlers in many instances, as in the case of the Fraser Highlanders, forget in time their mother tongue.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 26th of May, after it had passed eight bills. The second Provincial Parliament ended with this session ; and, on the 7th of June, the writs were issued for the general election, which produced several warm contests. Fourteen of the new members were of British origin ; one German was elected, and thirty-five French-Canadians. The Legislature met on the 8th of January when Panet was again chosen speaker. The opening speech of the Lieutenant Governor, among other matters, set forth "that his majesty had been graciously pleased to give directions for the establishment of a competent number of free schools, for the instruction of children in the first rudiments of useful learning, and in the English tongue ; and, also, as occasion might require, for educational foundations of a more enlarged and comprehensive nature." Crown lands were to be set apart to create a revenue for this purpose. There was nothing said, however, about the future disposition of the Jesuits' estates. The Assembly passed an act for the establishment of free schools, and of an institution for the advancement of learning. Under the provisions of this act endowed colleges were afterwards established at Montreal and Quebec, with Bishop Mountain at their head. Religious jealousy paralysed the scheme from the beginning. The Roman Catholic clergy declined to countenance any educational project they could not direct. Although shorn of the persecuting authority of the "Old *Régime*," they had abated nothing of its principle of intolerance and exclusion. Milnes chafed at this condition of things, seriously interfering, as it did, with his educational projects, and complained to the Duke of Portland, still colonial secretary, of the emancipation of the Roman Catholic clergy from state control, and that the royal instructions, "that no one shall be invested with holy orders, or be charged with a cure of souls, without the sanction of the Governor" were now practically ignored. He also complained that the seigniors still retained much of their ancient authority over the *habitants* ; and recommended that the militia be disbanded, as not being trustworthy. The duke comforted him by recommending that the militia laws should be amended so as to increase the authority of the government ; and that as the seigniors' influence was based on ancient laws and customs it was useless to seek to abate it.

Meanwhile Bonaparte had returned from Egypt, where his prospects of empire had been completely blasted by the victory of Nelson at Aboukir Bay ; and aided by Talleyrand and Fouché, had possessed himself of supreme power in France and established the provisional government of the Consulate. An European peace at length became possible, and the Treaty of Amiens was signed on the 25th of March, a circumstance which caused a good deal of rejoicing in Canada, as well as in other parts of the empire. But the peace was but a short-lived one, and in the month of August, 1803, the Lieutenant Governor found it necessary

to call the Legislature together to acquaint it with the renewal of hostilities between England and France, and to ask it to renew those stringent temporary laws, which had been found so beneficial, during the late war, in keeping dangerous characters out of the Province. This was done within the next ten days, and the Legislature adjourned. Its ensuing session, which opened on the 10th of February, had little to distinguish it beyond 1804. the fact, that it was still difficult to keep a quorum of the Assembly together for the despatch of business. The general election took place in July, and gave a fresh majority in the Assembly of twenty French-Canadians. Much of the time of its ensuing session was occupied in dealing with contested 1805. cases. A bill was introduced "to enable the seigniors to compound their feudal rights and dues with their vassals and censitaires," which from some unexplained cause was not pressed. It was the first step taken in a much-needed direction. Towards the close of the session a breeze was created by the Executive refusing to increase the salary of Desbarats, the French translator of the House, which had, in the meantime, dwindled down to fifteen members. The Lieutenant Governor promptly suppressed the agitation, by proroguing the Legislature. Having obtained leave of absence he sailed for England on the 5th of August, and never returned to this country, but nevertheless drew his salary for three years longer. He continued to enjoy two pensions on the civil list of England till his death, which took place in 1836. He was a man of very average abilities, and after leaving Lower Canada does not appear to have been again trusted with any important post by the Crown. He was rather unpopular with the French-Canadians.

#### GOVERNMENT OF THE HON. THOMAS DUNN.

On the departure of Sir Robert Shore Milnes, Judge Thomas Dunn, as the senior member of the Executive Council, became administrator of the government. He had arrived in this country shortly after the conquest, married a French-Canadian lady, Miss Guichaud, had become a seignior in her right, and was exceedingly popular with the majority of the people. He was an enlightened, able and impartial man; and always displayed much wisdom and prudence in legislating for, and dealing with, the antagonistic social elements of the Province. The commencement of his government was signalized by the first attempt to curb the public press. In its session of 1805 the Legislature had passed a bill providing for the erection of gaols in Quebec and Montreal, and imposing duties upon commerce to defray the necessary expenditure. The mercantile community contended that instead of levying an impost on commerce, the system of land tax should have been adopted, and petitioned the Crown to disallow the bill, after it had received

the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor before his departure. While the act was under discussion, a public dinner was given at Montreal, by its merchants, to the parliamentary representatives of the city and county, at which Isaac Todd presided. Several toasts were proposed condemning, although in very mild terms, the Legislature for imposing a tax on commerce. The 7th toast was "Our representatives in the Provincial Parliament, who proposed a constitutional and proper mode of taxation for building gaols, and who opposed a tax on commerce for that purpose, as contrary to the sound practice of the parent state." The proceedings on this occasion were duly published by the *Montreal Gazette*, which publication was voted a libel and breach of privilege by the Assembly. Shortly after the Legislature had been opened, 1806. on the 21st of February, the House accordingly directed its sergeant-at-arms to proceed to Montreal, and take Todd and Edwards, the publisher of the *Gazette*, into custody. Neither of these gentlemen, however, could be found, and so the matter ended with respect to them. While these events were transpiring in the Assembly, the *Quebec Mercury*, in an article headed "French influence," criticised its illiberal proceedings in a manner highly distasteful to the members. The publisher, Cary, was summoned to the bar of the House, and compelled to apologise "for having presumed to render an account of its proceedings," when he was released. In the present day, when the action of Parliament is so narrowly watched and criticised by the public press, the course pursued on this occasion must appear sufficiently despotic. But Canada was only imitating the mother-country, where the press, at this period, was shackled by the most odious restrictions, and where the proceedings in Parliament dare not be published. Even in the present day reporters for the press are admitted to the Houses of Parliament in England, and also in Canada, by sufferance merely, and not as a matter of right, and may be excluded at any time they deem proper.

Following up its proceedings against Todd and the newspapers, the Assembly petitioned the king not to disallow the act; and, on the advice of the Privy Council, he complied with its prayer. The gaols were accordingly built from the duties it imposed upon commerce. These affording a considerable revenue were afterwards continued, and made available towards the defence of the Province during the war with the United States.

In those days the members of the Legislature were not paid for their services, as they are now, and tenacious as they were of their privileges, they could with difficulty be kept together for the transaction of business, which was frequently retarded for the want of a quorum. The novelty of legislation had evidently worn off to a large extent, and in the absence of excitement of any kind many of the members, especially those who lived at a distance, preferred staying at home, to attend to their private affairs, than to remain at Quebec, at considerable expense and inconvenience to themselves,



to transact the business of the public. When proroguing the Legislature, on the 19th of April, Dunn expressed his dissatisfaction with this state of things. The necessary business, said he, has not been completed, which would not be the case had not so many members declined giving their customary attendance.

Hitherto the newspapers of Lower Canada had been exclusively owned and conducted by persons of British origin, who, as a mere matter of course, were far from being friendly to French laws or customs. However prudent the different editors might be, their articles were undoubtedly biased by their feelings and their prejudices, and the educated portion of the French-Canadian population felt the want of an organ which would represent their own opinions, and repel the aspersions of the other journals. This feeling led to the publication, by a company, of a newspaper, *Le Canadien*, exclusively in the French language, the first number of which was issued at Quebec in the month of November. Had this journal restricted itself to a moderate and sensible advocacy of French-Canadian interests and opinions, matters would have gone on smoothly. But, instead of pursuing this course, it devoted itself largely to the publication of extreme anonymous communications, appealed to national prejudices, and regarded the British immigrants as strangers and intruders. Being conducted with ability it soon became popular, and the reign of agitation and discord between the two races, subsequently productive of so much injury to Lower Canada, now set in.\*

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and the Governor-General, continuing absent, Dunn, on the 21st of January, again convened the Legislature, and congratulated it on 1807. the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and the other successes which had distinguished the arms of Great Britain in the war with France and her allies. In responding to this address the Assembly expressed its appreciation of Dunn's personal worth, in very handsome and well-merited terms. The session was chiefly distinguished by a motion to obtain an allowance for mileage expenses of the members residing at a distance from Quebec, which was negatived by a majority of two, sixteen voting against it and fourteen in its favour; and for the election of Ezekiel Hart, a Jew, by the people of Three Rivers. Hart was highly esteemed by his neighbours and fellow townsmen, as a man of irreproachable life and upright character. But the good Christians nevertheless took exception to his religion, and demurred to his return to the House.

During this year a difficulty arose in connection with the Roman Catholic bishopric of Quebec. The royal patent appointing Bishop Mountain, designated him as the Bishop of Quebec; and it was now contended by Attorney General Sewell, and also by Mr. Ryland, who had acted as secretary for all the Governors of the Province, from Lord Dorchester's time, and for the Executive

\* Christie, vol. i. p. 252.

Garneau vol. ii. p. 241, 242.

Council, and possessed much influence, that no other person could legally bear the title. The Roman Catholic bishopric of Quebec having become vacant, M. Plessis became entitled thereto by virtue of a bull issued by Pius VII., and it became necessary, accordingly, that he should take the customary oath of fealty to the sovereign before he entered upon the duties of his office. Despite the obstructive policy of Ryland and his friends, Dunn recognized the new prelate, and administered the required oath in full council. Lord Castlereagh, then colonial minister, had already sustained his action, by stating that Plessis was not a foreigner, nor his clergy aliens, and were entitled to all their rights as British subjects.

The wisdom of Dunn's sensible policy in this matter was speedily apparent. During the progress of summer serious apprehensions arose of a speedy war with the United States. The commerce of that country was seriously suffering from the action of Bonaparte, on one hand, and the British Government, on the other ; and the feeling of hostility towards the latter, on the part of the neighbouring republic, was presently aggravated by the affair between the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*. The Americans now talked of capturing Canada, as a matter desired by its people, and of easy accomplishment. As the most fitting answer, Dunn issued an order to embody a fifth part of the militia for active service, which was responded to with the greatest alacrity and even enthusiasm. Bishop Plessis circulated a pastoral, to be read in all the churches, recommending the people to respond cheerfully to the demand made upon them for the defence of their country, and directing a *te deum* to be sung.

The gallant Colonel Brock, who now, as senior military officer, commanded at Quebec, seconding the views of Dunn, promptly set to work to put the garrison and fortifications in a good state of defence, and made every addition to its natural strength that science and prudence could suggest. On the 19th of October, Lieutenant General Sir James Craig, the successor of Prescott as Governor General of British North America, arrived at Quebec, and immediately assumed charge of the administration.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF LIEUT-GENERAL SIR JAMES H. CRAIG.

The new Governor General was of Scotch descent, and born, in 1750, at Gibraltar, where his father held the appointment of civil and military judge. At the early age of fifteen he entered the army as an ensign, and rose, by distinguished gallantry and merit, from one grade to another, until in 1794, he became a major general. In that year, also, he was given the command of the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, and after its conquest became its first British governor. He afterwards served in India and else-

where with distinction, and in 1801, was raised to the rank of lieutenant general. As war with the United States was already regarded, by the Home Government, as a possible contingency, the great military experience of Craig, and his thorough knowledge of this country, acquired by services during the Revolutionary War, pointed him out as the most suitable person to send to Canada as its Governor General.

A very general feeling now prevailed in the United States, that, in the event of a war with England, the people of Canada, and especially those of French origin, would be disposed to make common cause with them; and if they did not take active steps in their favour, they would at least gladly hail them as their deliverers. Craig, like his predecessor Dunn, regarded this idea as illusive; and, on the 24th of November, issued a general order to the militia of Lower Canada, in which he spoke in terms of warm approbation of the measures which had been already taken for the defence of their country, in case of attack, and of their recent expressions of loyalty to the Crown. He also alluded to the depots of arms which were being formed for their use, and to which they were to resort promptly on the approach of danger. He warned them, at the same time, to beware of emissaries from the United States, who might seek to weaken their allegiance to their lawful sovereign. The active force was to consist of one-fifth of the whole militia, from which it would be selected by ballot, and was to hold itself in readiness for service at the shortest notice.

On the 29th of January the Governor proceeded in state to open the Legislature, and on his way was loudly cheered by the assembled crowd. Beyond an allusion to the pending difficulties with the United States, his opening speech contained little that was remarkable. The Assembly responded in the most courteous language, thanked "his excellency" for the flattering terms in which he had recently spoken of the militia of the Province, and assured him of its co-operation in every measure for the benefit of the public.

A feeling had gradually arisen in the Province, and was now very generally diffused, that the judges of the different courts should not be eligible for election to the Assembly. A bill to carry out this object was accordingly introduced, but negatived by the Legislative Council. The next measure of the Commons was, on a vote of 22 to 57, to unseat Mr. Hart, the member for Three Rivers, on the grounds of his being a Jew, although there was nothing in the Constitution to warrant such course. He was again re-elected by that constituency; but only, however, to be unseated the second time. The militia bill was continued till repealed; and the alien act, and the act for the better preservation of his Majesty's government, were passed for one year. On the whole this session, which terminated the fourth Parliament, pleased the Governor, who signified his approval when proroguing the Legislature on the 14th of April.

The general election took place in May, and passed off rather quietly. The late speaker, Panet, presented himself as a candidate for the Upper Town of Quebec, largely inhabited by government officials of every class, who voted against him almost to a man, in consequence of his being one of the owners of the *Canadien*, and thus secured his defeat. His friends, however, anticipating this result, had also nominated him for another constituency, for which he was returned. Out of the fifty members, elected to the Assembly, only fourteen were of British origin. The elections left a good deal of bad blood behind them. During the canvass inflammatory hand bills had been circulated, which described the government as feeble and of the king log order; and Panet and others had made speeches reflecting on the Executive, which were represented to the Governor as bordering on the disloyal, and were therefore exceedingly distasteful to him. So an order was issued dismissing Panet from his lieutenant colonelcy of militia; and two captains, and a lieutenant and a surgeon, shared the same fate.

Summer brought with it few Canadian events of any importance. Some improvements were made in the fortifications of Quebec, and the old Castle of St. Louis, the residence of the governors, repaired. The American non-intercourse and embargo system, and the partial exclusion of British shipping from the Baltic, created a great increase in the square timber trade of Lower Canada; and produced a period of prosperity which led to a large demand for English manufactures. The American farmers and lumbermen living along the south shore of the Upper St. Lawrence, sought to share in this prosperity by smuggling, usually without detection, rafted timber to Quebec, and selling it there as the Canadian article.

On the 9th of April, in the following spring, the new Assembly was convened. It was generally expected that Panet would again be elected speaker, an office he had filled during the four preceding Parliaments, and considerable curiosity was excited as to whether the Governor, in that case, would assent to the choice of the Assembly. He wisely confirmed Panet's election, after it had taken place, although, as had been anticipated, not in very gracious terms.

In his opening speech to the Legislature, Craig alluded, among other matters, to the prosperous condition of the Province, owing chiefly to the impetus given to the lumber trade by the American embargo on all intercourse with Great Britain; and expressed his regret at being obliged to call the House together at that busy period of the year, but excused himself on the ground of public expediency. Some of his remarks implied an indirect censure on the members, and were unfavourably received.

The question of the eligibility of judges for election to the Assembly was again taken up, as well as the expulsion of Hart, who had been elected a third time for Three Rivers. A bill was introduced to disqualify Jews from a seat in the House, but five weeks had already elapsed when it underwent a second reading.

Craig's patience became exhausted ; and regarding the Lower House as a refractory body, which had not a proper sense of its duty, he went down in state, from the castle of St. Louis, on the 15th of May, and dissolved the Assembly in terms of unmeasured censure. At the same time he complimented the Legislative Council on its general good conduct.

In the ensuing month the Governor made a tour of the principal towns of the Province, was well received, and presented with several very complimentary addresses, which were criticised with considerable asperity by the *Canadien*. The election took place in October, when either the recent representatives, or others still more opposed to the wishes of the Executive, were returned. The Governor had gained nothing by his arbitrary policy.

While the public mind was still disturbed by the disagreement between the stern old general and the refractory Assembly, John Molson, an enterprising and spirited merchant of Montreal, was busily engaged in fitting out the first steamer that ever ploughed the waters of the St. Lawrence. On the 3rd of November, this ever-to-be-remembered little craft got up steam, shot out into the current, and after a voyage of thirty-six hours' duration arrived safely at Quebec, where the whole city crowded to the river to have a look at the nautical phenomenon. "The steamboat *Accommodation* has arrived," said the old *Mercury*, in the fulness of its wonderment, "with ten passengers. \* \* \* No wind or tide can stop her. The price of a passage is nine dollars up, and eight down.—The wheels are put, and kept, in motion by steam operating within the vessel." Fulton's first steamboat navigated the Hudson, the *Accommodation* cleaved the more magnificent waters of the St. Lawrence. A new light had burst upon the mind of Canada ; a fresh impetus had seized upon her prosperity. It was highly creditable to the Province that the second steamer built on this continent was launched at Montreal.

The new Assembly met on the 29th of January, when Panet was again elected speaker, and confirmed in that office by the Governor, whose opening speech was as formal as usual. He 1810. alluded to the probable war with the United States, to the necessity of checking the forging of bills of exchange, touched upon the dissolution of the last Assembly, and declared himself prepared to give assent "to any proper bill for rendering his Majesty's judges of the Court of King's Bench ineligible in future to a seat in the House."

The conciliatory tone of the speech gave fresh courage to the Commons of Lower Canada. "The Governor had incurred the displeasure of the Home Ministry," it was said, "by his arbitrary conduct," so the Assembly now determined to become arbitrary in turn. By a vote of twenty-four to eleven they decided, by resolution, "that the Executive's approving the conduct of one part of the Legislature, and censuring that of the other, was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, a breach of their privileges, and dangerous



to the rights and liberties of his Majesty's subjects in the Province. At the same time an address was voted to the king, breathing the most ardent and devoted loyalty. The Assembly likewise offered to defray the expenses of the civil list, now amounting to some \$200,000 annually. This offer was coolly received by Craig, on the ground that all money grants should be first recommended by the Crown, and as the Assembly had been dissolved before the estimates could be laid before it, no action for the present was taken thereon. The breaking out of war postponed its subsequent consideration.

Meanwhile, a bill had been introduced in the Assembly to disqualify judges from sitting there, and was transmitted to the Legislative Council, which returned it with the amendment that it was not to come into force during the present Parliament. The Assembly now became indignant and declared, by a vote of eighteen to six, the seat of M. de Bonne, a judge, vacant. This brought matters to a crisis; and down came the resolute old general to dissolve them again. He was loudly cheered by the people, who were more amused than otherwise by these novel occurrences, and the military promptitude of their veteran Governor. The late members, however, aided by their friends, soon took measures to arouse another feeling in the minds of the multitude. Songs and pasquinades, suited to the vulgar taste, were written and circulated; while the *Canadien* became more abusive than ever. The breach became wider and wider every day. The colonists of British origin, ranged themselves, almost to a man, on the side of the despotic Governor; those of French descent stood up for the more constitutional Assembly.

Lower Canada, at this period, had five weekly newspapers, four of these favoured the Government and the British minority, while the *Canadien*, the smallest of the lot, was the sole advocate of the majority. Its tongue cut keen, and it stoutly stood its ground, although there were four to one. This will never do, thought the Governor and his council, insubordination must not be permitted in the ranks, and an election approaching. Treasonable matter was supposed to be discovered in three issues of the obnoxious newspaper, the publication of which was sworn to by two innkeepers, and thereupon Chief Justice Sewell issued his warrant to arrest the printers. So, on the 17th of March, a party of soldiers, headed by a magistrate and two constables, proceeded to the office of the *Canadien*, seized the press, and all the papers they could find, and conveyed them to the vaults of the city court-house. Lefrancois, the unlucky printer, was also pounced upon; and, after an examination before the Executive Council, committed to prison. The guards were strengthened, patrols scoured the streets, and a miniature "Reign of Terror" had begun. Six prominent French-Canadians were apprehended a few days afterwards, on a charge of treasonable practices, and the public looked for the revelation of some terrible conspiracy. But nothing was discovered. The

presumed conspirators were released one after another, without trial, as time progressed ; and although the Governor, on the 21st of March, issued a warning proclamation, as tedious as one of his parliamentary speeches, little ever came out of the business.

This despotic and unconstitutional conduct, on the part of the Executive, merely daunted the French-Canadians for the moment. Time had inoculated them with a portion, at least, of the spirit of British freemen, and they determined on an independent exercise of their franchise. The old members of the Assembly, for the most part, were re-elected, Panet was again chosen speaker, and the Governor once more submitted to stern necessity, and confirmed him in that capacity.

A third dissolution would scarcely have been orthodox parliamentary usage, so Craig met the new Assembly in a more conciliatory spirit, and its members, disliking the idea of being unceremoniously turned out of doors a third time, Cromwell fashion, were disposed to conduct themselves more amiably. A sly war of words took place between the belligerents, but the Assembly passed, however, with unusual speed, the measures recommended by the Governor, among which was "the continuation of the act for the better preservation of his Majesty's government," under which the late arrests had been made, and under which, also, Bedard, one of their own number, was still held in durance. The medicine was decidedly bitter ; but the Assembly swallowed it, nevertheless, though with a clause in favour of their own body ; but as this clause had only a prospective effect, the Executive still kept Bedard in prison. The Assembly now passed a resolution declaring this course illegal, and voted a humble address to his Excellency, praying that Pierre Bedard, Esq., might be released, and allowed to take his seat in the House. But the committee appointed to present it had not sufficient moral courage to beard the 1811. stern general in his castle of St. Louis, and the Assembly were fain to sympathize with their want of nerve, and relieved them from this duty. The victory was decidedly on the side of Craig, so he released Bedard, at his own pleasure, shortly afterwards.

The session of the Legislature, assembled in the beginning of 1811, passed smoothly over. The bill to disqualify judges from becoming members of the House was passed, and received the royal sanction through the Governor. The health of the latter was very feeble ; he was about to return to his native country ; and, after alluding to the great prosperity of the Province, recommended the Legislature to act unanimously for the public good. "I am earnest in this advice, gentlemen," said he. "It is probably the last legacy of a very sincere well-wisher ; who, if he lives to reach the presence of his sovereign, would be proud to be able to say that the people he had found separated by mistrust and jealousy, he had left cordially united, and rivalling each other only in the affectionate attachment to his Majesty's government, and in generous exertions for the public good."

This language bears every mark of sincerity ; and even if Craig, from previous habit, and a long training in the camp and barrack-room, was arbitrary in his conduct, and unfitted otherwise to direct a popular administration, there can be no doubt that his intentions were of the purest character. Although he had overstepped the bounds of constitutional government, and thereby caused some individual suffering, his firmness had still one salutary effect ; it repressed the unwholesome spirit of dissension which had begun to manifest itself in the Assembly, and tended on the whole to the public good. Still, it must be admitted, he could have been equally firm, without being equally arbitrary, and that he would have promoted the public weal just as effectually had he not imprisoned innocent men, and violated the rights of private property. Having obtained leave of absence, he departed from Canada, on the 19th of June, to the great regret of the British population, who collected in large numbers to bid him a last farewell, took the horses from his carriage and drew it to the Kings Wharf, where he embarked on the man-of-war *Amelia*. His frame had long been sinking under dropsy and other infirmities. The shadow of death was already falling on him, and he died in England in the January of the next year, at the age of sixty-two, having well served his country forty-seven years in all parts of the world. Simple, earnest and honest, there can be little doubt that Craig was the victim of circumstances, and that his confidence had been abused by the oligarchy, who, as in Upper Canada, then held supreme sway in the Province. An irresponsible Executive was at the root of various public disorders, and as time progressed it became evident that Lower Canada had to pass through the same constitutional revolutionary ordeal as its western sister. In both provinces identical causes were producing precisely similar results, and at nearly the same time. The lesson had still to be learned, that a rudimentary form of constitutional government can only be regarded as the educator for that more advanced condition, which permits the fullest measure of political control to the citizen. Once concede the first step in British freedom, and every other step, to the last rung of the ladder of human liberty, must necessarily follow as the logical sequence of cause and effect.

On the departure of General Craig, Mr. Dunn again assumed charge of the civil administration, while Lieutenant General Drummond became commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada, consisting of 445 artillery, 3783 troops of the line, and 1226 fencibles : in all 5454 men, scattered from Quebec to Amherstburg at the different military posts.

## CHAPTER XII.

### UPPER CANADA FROM 1791 TO 1811.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR GENERAL SIMCOE.

COLONEL, and Brigadier-General, John Graves Simcoe,\* was a man of mark in many ways. A native of England, he was born at the town of Cotterstock in 1752, and therefore in his fortieth year, that fortunate period of human existence in which the physical forces are still unimpaired, and the intellect at its meridian, when he assumed charge of the government of Upper Canada. His father, John Simcoe, was a naval officer of excellent reputation and solid ability, who obtained his captaincy at the early age of twenty-nine. He commanded a man-of-war at the siege of Quebec; and, shortly after Wolfe had won his last victory, was killed during an action with the enemy. He left two sons behind him, one of whom was accidentally drowned; the other, the future Governor of Upper Canada, received a good education, and finally completed it as a student of Mereton College, Oxford. While still in his nineteenth year he entered the army as an ensign in the 35th regiment of the line, then serving in North America, and arrived in Boston as the memorable battle of Bunker Hill was in progress. He was an ardent soldier, loved military knowledge for its own sake, and his zeal for his profession soon led to the favourable notice of his commanding officer, who appointed him to fill the responsible position of adjutant. Some time afterwards he purchased a captaincy in the 40th regiment, led his company gallantly at the battle of Brandywine, and was severely wounded. On his recovery his desire to distinguish himself induced him to seek some independent command. In 1777 his wishes, in this direction, were at length gratified by his appointment to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Queen's Rangers, a mounted infantry partisan corps, recruited principally in New York and its neighbourhood. It became greatly distinguished under Simcoe's command; and, despite occasional lapses from strict military virtue, rendered important services to the British cause until its final surrender at York Town with

\* Promoted to Major-General in 1794.

Lord Cornwallis's army, to which it was attached. The Revolutionary War now speedily came to an end ; and as a recompense for their gallant services, the officers of the Queen's Rangers were allowed to retain their provincial rank in the regular army, and retired upon half pay. Shattered in health, and shattered somewhat, also, in fortune, for he had largely used his private means for the benefit of the Queen's Rangers and the Crown, Simcoe returned to England to be graciously received by his sovereign, in consideration of his meritorious services. He shortly afterwards married an estimable woman ; and for a time settled down contentedly into the life of an English country gentleman. In 1790 he entered Parliament as the member for a Cornwall borough, and cordially supported Pitt's measure giving a constitution to the two Canadas.

In the following year he accepted the lieutenant governorship of the Upper Province, resigned his seat in the

Commons, and, in the fall, sailed for Quebec, where he passed the winter. He was accompanied by William Osgoode, a man of literary tastes and solid legal attainments, although by no means a brilliant pleader, who had been appointed as his chief justice, and who, some three years afterwards, was translated to Lower Canada, where a wider field of usefulness and emolument lay open to him. Several of the first statutes of Upper Canada bear the impress of his wisdom and legal learning ; and as a fitting memorial of their first Chief Justice its people have founded "Osgoode Hall," at Toronto, containing all the superior law courts of the Province ; while a township and a village also bear his name.

When Lieutenant Governor Simcoe arrived in Upper Canada, in July 1792, beyond a small village at Kingston and another at Newark, or Niagara, and an occasional cluster of log cabins at wide intervals, there was nothing in the Province entitled to the name of town. Newark being the most central, and at the same time the most populous, of these villages, he determined should be his capital, at least for the present, and until he had more fully considered the matter. And here, accordingly, he fixed his residence in a small wooden house formerly occupied by commissariat officials of the lake transport department ; a most unsuitable residence for his family and himself, but the only available one. Here, three years afterwards, he was found

still domiciled by the French travellers, the Duke de la Rochefoucault and his two companions, all of whom were most hospitably entertained by Simcoe, for eighteen days, while waiting for Dorchester's permission to visit Quebec, which was ultimately curtly refused. The Duke gossips pleasantly, in the story of his travels, about Simcoe and his household ; about his plans for settling the country, and his likings and dislikings ; and draws a picture of those primitive times in the life of the existing great and populous Province of Ontario, which possibly some of our readers may wish to contemplate for a brief space. Chief Justice Osgoode had departed to assume his duties in the other Province,



and the Legislative Council was thus deprived of its speaker.—Simcoe had put off, from time to time, the meeting of Parliament, in the hope that a new chief justice would be sent him from England. But Osgoode's successor not making his appearance, and the expiration of the one year's legal sessional interval being close at hand, the Legislature had to be at last convened. It was early harvest time, labour was scarce and very dear, for a dollar in those days was the equivalent in value to double that amount now, and the majority of the members were more anxious to assist in saving their crops than to legislate for their country. Only two legislative councillors out of seven made their appearance, and five assembly men out of sixteen. Although this number did not supply the necessary quorum, Simcoe opened the session, in the hope that ships from Detroit and Kingston would shortly bring sufficient members for the transaction of business. Fifty soldiers, from the fort across the river, formed Simcoe's guard of honour; and with his hat on, in royal fashion, and richly dressed in silk velvet, he entered the shabby little hall where Parliament assembled and laws were made, attended by his adjutant and two secretaries.—One of the pair of legislative councillors present had been appointed speaker, and now summoned the Commons of Upper Canada, in the persons of its five representatives, to attend at the bar of the House, to hear his Excellency's opening speech. It was duly framed after the royal model; touched gingerly on recent political events in Europe; enlarged on the favourable treaty just concluded with the United States; and finally dealt with the peculiar affairs of the Province.

"In private life," gossips the Duke, "Governor Simcoe is simple, plain and obliging. His guard consists of four soldiers, who every morning come from the fort and return thither in the evening.—He lives in a noble and hospitable manner. He discourses with much good sense on all subjects, for he is remarkably well read and informed; but his favourite topics are his projects of settlement, and possible war with the United States, which he dislikes most intensely, and frequently boasts how he harried their borders with his Queen's Rangers during the struggle for independence, and what he would do along the Genesee Valley, with five thousand Indians at his back, should there be a fresh outbreak of hostilities." This fanatical hatred of America Rochefoucault declares to be the only dark spot in Simcoe's character. And, then, the voluble Frenchman lifts up the curtain from his host's domestic life, so unlike the domestic life of the gay and volatile France he still loved so well, although banished and proscribed by Robespierre, and his estates confiscated, and sketches a charming picture of a pure and holy English home, transplanted amid the forests of Canada. "Mrs. Simcoe" he says, "is a lady of thirty-six years of age. She is bashful and speaks little; but is a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, and fulfils all the duties of a mother and a wife with the most scrupulous exactness. The performance of the latter she

carries so far as to act the part of a private secretary to her husband. Her talent for drawing, the practice of which she confines to maps and plans, enables her to be extremely useful to the Governor."

"The scarcity of men servants," continues the Duke, "is greater here than even in the United States. Those who come here from England soon settle upon farms or emigrate into the Union; and owing to a recent statute negroes cannot be brought into the country to supply their place. All persons belonging to the army use soldiers for servants. Every officer is allowed one private to wait on him, to whom he pays a shilling a week. The Governor, who is also colonel of the regiment of Queen's Rangers, stationed in the Province, is attended in his house and at dinner by privates of his regiment, who also take care of his horses. Among other good things his table is abundantly supplied with the finest fish, with which the lake and rivers literally swarm. With a net four feet wide and one hundred feet long, drawn three times, Ontario yielded up five hundred fish, among which were some thirty sturgeon."

"Upper Canada pays no taxes except a small duty on wine. A tax of twelve dollars is imposed on tavern licenses. The total annual revenue amounts to \$4,380, out of which are paid the salaries of the speaker of the Assembly and the secretaries. The quarter sessions are held in every district. The three superior judges hold four sessions annually in the town in which the Governor resides, and go on circuit once a year. The district judges sit at shorter intervals to try small causes, and the justices of the peace exercise the same jurisdiction as in England."

Before Simcoe entered upon his duties lands had been granted in the most lavish manner. Colonels of regiments, who had served in the Revolutionary War, were entitled to five thousand acres, and several of them had drawn their allotments in the Niagara District. Among these was Butler, formerly of Wilkesbarre in Pennsylvania, the commander of "Butler's Rangers," who led the massacre of Wyoming. He now lived at Newark in the enjoyment of a crown pension of £200 sterling a year, an Indian agency worth £500 more, and the privilege of taking supplies for his own use from the government stores. But, in accordance with instructions from the Home Government, land was to be granted with more care for the future. One of Simcoe's first public acts, and while still at Quebec, was to issue a proclamation, dated the 7th February, 1792, prescribing the conditions under which land grants were in future to be made in Upper Canada. One-seventh of each township was to be first set apart as a Clergy Reserve, and another seventh for the Crown, and the remaining five-sevenths were to be granted to actual settlers in lots of not more than two hundred acres each. Larger grants, not to exceed a thousand acres, could only be made on special application to the Executive Council. Settlers had first to take the oath of allegiance, and to establish the fact that they were

in a position to work their farms. The Executive, if it then deemed it advisable, issued its warrant to the government surveyor, to make the necessary allotment. This warrant was returnable within six months, with the surveyor's certificate of the number of the plot attached thereto, when the patent was issued on the payment of a small authorised fee. Mines, minerals, and timber fit for building vessels for the royal navy, were reserved to the Crown.—But, to make matters still easier for settlers, Simcoe afterwards ordered that justices of the peace, who were even more numerous then in proportion to the population than they are now, could allot land to applicants who took the oath of allegiance before them, and satisfied them of their loyalty and good conduct. Such were the easy and simple conditions on which farms were granted to settlers, other than U. E. Loyalists, in the early days of the Province of Upper Canada. We have detailed them as fully as our limits permit, as they form the key to subsequent occurrences of importance. Fortunately for the Province there were no Indian titles to extinguish. The tomahawk of the Iroquois had inexorably swept them away many years before.

We have already seen that Upper Canada, or Ontario as it is now termed, remained a mere wilderness, with the exception of a few trifling settlements, till the termination of the American War of Independence. From that period to its separation from Lower Canada, it continued a portion of the Province of 1791. Quebec, and was under the immediate control of its government. Its population had in the meantime slowly increased, and when erected into a separate Province, with a legislature modelled on the same principle as that of its sister government, Upper Canada contained about twenty thousand souls. These were scattered along the St. Lawrence from Lake St. Francis upwards to Kingston, thence around the Bay of Quinte; along the Niagara frontier, at Amherstburg, in the old French settlement on the Thames, and in the Iroquois' settlement at Grand River.\*

The backwoodsman, whose fortunes are cast in the remote inland settlements of the present day, far removed from churches, destitute

\* The Mohawk tribe, almost to a man, quit their beautiful valley and retired to Canada with the loyalists, under the leadership of their celebrated chief, Joseph Brant, on whom Campbell conferred an unenviable, though it would seem unjust, immortality in his "Gertrude of Wyoming." Stone asserts, in his *Life of Brant*, that he was not even present at the massacre of Wyoming, and with every appearance of truth. Brant was a Christian, and a member of the Church of England. In 1786 he built a church on the Grand River, for which he collected funds during a visit to England, and there he placed the first "church-going bell" that ever tolled in Upper Canada. Shortly before his death he built a commodious dwelling-house, two stories high, for himself near Burlington Bay. Here he died on the 24th of November 1807, at the age of sixty-five years, after a painful illness borne with Christian patience and resignation. He was succeeded in the chieftainship of the Mohawks by his fourth son, John.—See *Stone's Life of Brant*, vol. ii. pp. 494-500.

of ministers of the gospel and medical men, without schools or roads, or the many conveniences that make life desirable, can alone appreciate, or even understand, the numerous difficulties and hardships that beset the settler among the ague-swamps of Western Canada. The clothes on his back, with a rifle or old musket and a well-tempered axe, were not infrequently the full extent of his worldly possessions. Thus lightly equipped he took possession of his two hundred acres of closely-timbered forest-land, and commenced operations. The welkin rings again with his vigorous strokes, as huge tree after tree is assailed and tumbled to the earth ; and the sun presently shines in upon the little clearing. The best of the logs are partially squared, and serve to build a shanty ; the remainder are given to the flames. Now the rich mould, the accumulation of centuries of decayed vegetation, is gathered into little hillocks, into which potatoes are dibbled. Indian corn is planted in another direction, and perhaps a little wheat. If married, the lonely couple struggle on in their forest oasis, like the solitary traveller over the sands of Sahara, or a boat adrift in the Atlantic. The nearest neighbour lives miles off, and when sickness comes they have to travel far through the forest to claim human aid and sympathy. But fortunately our nature, with elastic temperament, adapts itself to circumstances. By-and-by the potatoes peep up, and the corn-blades modestly show themselves around the charred maple stumps and girdled pines, and the prospect of sufficiency of food gives consolation to the little household. As winter approaches a deer or other large game, now and then, adds to the comforts of the solitary people. Such was the life of the great majority of the first settlers in Western Canada. Within the brief space of a single century how marvellous has been the change.

The preliminary arrangements having been completed the Lieutenant Governor opened the first Parliament of Upper 1792. Canada on the 17th of September. The Lower House was composed of sixteen members, the Upper House of seven, the minimum number in both cases permitted by the constitution. The majority of the Assembly was composed of plain farmers or country shop-keepers. Yet the acts of the first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada displayed great common sense, and an intimate acquaintance with the necessities of the country. They were eight in number. One introduced the English civil law ; another established trial by jury ; a third provided for the easier recovery of small debts. There was an act to regulate the toll to be taken in mills ; from which we may gather that millers, in those days, were as much disposed to take more than their share as at a later period. They were now restricted to one-twelfth as their proportion for grinding and bolting. Another act made provision for building a gaol and court-house in each of the four districts, into which the Province had been divided. These comprised the Eastern, or Johnstown district ; the Middle or Kingston district ;

the Home, or Niagara district ; and the Western or Detroit district. These districts were sub-divided into nineteen counties.

Even in these rude times when men flung down the axe, left the plough to repose, or ceased to swing the scythe in order to mature laws, in what was little better than a log barn, at Niagara, there was more of the spirit of real progress in Upper than in Lower Canada. It took the courtly seigniors of the latter seven months, at their first session of Parliament, to mature eight bills ; the home-spun legislators of Upper Canada did precisely the same amount of work in five weeks. They were evidently men after Lieutenant Governor Simcoe's own heart, to judge from the speech with which he closed the session on the 15th of October.\*

It was a matter of surprise to Rochefoucault that Simcoe who still retained the command of a regiment, held the staff rank of major general, and owned extensive estates in England, † should bury himself, and his charming wife and young family, in the Canadian wilderness, "among bears and savages." Upper Canada was a new country, or rather a country yet to be formed, and he might be ambitious to direct its primitive fortunes for the benefit of his native land. His enlightened and liberal policy lead to the supposition that he was actuated by patriotic motives in the main, and a desire to provide a new and better home for the poor dwellers in the congested districts of his own country. Possibly these motives were not unmixed with his passion for military glory, which, in the event of a new war between Britain and its revolted colonies, his position as commander-in-chief of a Province would enable him to gratify.‡ And then, again, having voted for Pitt's

\* "It is with very great satisfaction, said Simcoe, that I have considered the acts which you have found it expedient to frame, and to which, in consequence of the power delegated to me, I have this day given my assent, that they shall become laws of Upper Canada.

"As the division which his Majesty, in his wisdom, thought proper to make of the late Province of Quebec obviated all inconveniences, and laid the foundation for an establishment of the English laws in this Province, it is natural to presume that you would seize the first opportunity to impart that benefit to your fellow-subjects ; and by an act to establish trial by jury, and by that, which makes the English law the rule of decision, in all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, you have fully justified the public expectation. Your other acts seem calculated to promote the general welfare and convenience of the Province.

"I cannot dismiss you without earnestly desiring you to promote, by precept and example, among your respective counties, the regular habits of piety and morality, the surest foundations of all private and public felicity ; and at this juncture, I particularly recommend to you to explain, that this Province is singularly blest, not with a *mutilated constitution*, but with a constitution which has stood the test of experience, and is the *very image and transcript of that of Great Britain* ; \* by which she has long established and secured to her subjects as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed under the subordination necessary to civilized society."

† Rochefoucault's Travels, 1795.

‡ Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 144.

\* In making this statement Simcoe evidently forgot the irresponsible executive of Canada.



Bill giving a constitution to the Canadas, he may have been desirous of assisting in practically carrying out the measure he had advocated. But whatever may have been Simcoe's motives for accepting his position of Lieutenant Governor, he filled it in such an honest and worthy manner as to entitle him to the perpetual gratitude of the Canadian people. He was one of that eminent band of proconsuls, greater than the Roman Empire produced in her best days, which Britain has sent out, during the last and present centuries, to direct the affairs of its provinces in every part of the world. It may be indeed partly true that he lacked experience in the art of governing, that his speech was not always as prudent as it ought to have been for one in his position, and that his plans at times were on too large a scale to be practicable. But these were slight blemishes on his public escutcheon ; and did not seriously impair the value of his designs, which were commensurate with the vastness of the Province he came to govern, and for the great subsequent prosperity and progress of which he laid the solid and secure foundation.

When Simcoe first came to Canada he supposed that the Home Government would retain possession of the fort on the American side of the Niagara River, \* which was still strongly garrisoned by British troops. When he found it was to be surrendered, 1793. he abandoned the design of making Newark his capital, as it would be too near the frontier. "The chief town of a province must not be placed under the guns of an enemy's fort," said Simcoe, and he accordingly turned his attention to procuring a more suitable site for the metropolis of Upper Canada. In the summer he coasted along the upper shore of Lake Ontario ; took a look into Welland River and Twenty-mile Creek ; surveyed Burlington Bay ; and finally halted near the ruins of the old French fort, Toronto, so called after the Italian engineer Tarento, who originally constructed it, † where the inmates of a solitary wigwam ‡ represented the Huron nation on their ancient hunting-ground. Here a neck of land stretching boldly out into the lake formed a secure harbour for shipping. Lake Ontario rolled thirty-six miles of its waters between it and the American shore, thus lessening the dangers of invasion ; and the vast forests of beech and maple, and other hard woods of Canada, that stretched away along the old French track towards Lake Simcoe, showed the land in the interior to be fertile. The geographical situation of Toronto was excellent. To the east, and south, and west, the broad lake gave easy access. To the north, thirty miles gained the Holland River, then navigable for its short intervening distance to the

\* During Simcoe's government the construction of Fort George on the British side of the river was commenced nearly opposite to Fort Niagara. Another fort was soon after commenced at Amherstburg, to which the garrison from Detroit was withdrawn.

† On the early French maps it is called *Presq'île de Tarento*.

‡ Bouchette's Topography, p. 607.

beautiful lake into which it falls. From Lake Simcoe it was easy to penetrate to Lake Huron, on the one hand, and to the chain of small lakes lying towards the Upper Ottawa, on the other. All these considerations no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Simcoe, whose industry had already made him 1794. extensively acquainted with the geographical and physical resources of the country ; and he determined that at Toronto should be his capital city. The result has amply justified his choice. In a locality where a century ago the beaver gambolled in solitary streams, rarely visited by human footsteps, and where fever and ague reigned supreme, has arisen one of the most beautiful cities of the American continent, with a population of nearly two hundred thousand souls. In 1795 the infant 1795. city was described by Rochefoucault, as containing twelve houses, besides the barracks in which Simcoe's regiment was quartered. The inhabitants he stigmatised as not possessing the fairest character.

The liberality with which land was granted to actual settlers, quickly induced many persons to emigrate from the United States to Upper Canada. Its population soon rose to thirty thousand souls, and Simcoe now began to dread that the country would be chiefly settled by Americans ; who, despite their oath of allegiance, might not always make the most loyal subjects. They were hard-working peaceable citizens, nevertheless, and his desire to see the country prosper would not allow him to hinder their settlement within his government. Here was a new difficulty. If Toronto, or York,\* as he named it, should be chiefly settled by Americans, he might just as well make Newark his capital. He now conceived the idea of establishing the metropolis of Upper Canada on a river, named De La Trenche in old French maps, but which he re-christened by the name of Thames, and on which his London of the New World was to arise. A belt of loyal settlers extending along the coast of Lake Erie was to give additional security to the future city, as regarded internal disaffection, and to form an efficient militia in time of war.

Simcoe's plans, however, were thwarted in a direction he did not anticipate. In civil matters he was supreme in his Province, and with regard to them communicated directly with the British Ministry. But Upper Canada had little public revenue of its own ; the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, held the imperial purse-strings ; was, moreover, commander-in-chief of British North America, and had therefore the disposition of troops and vessels of war. He directed that Kingston should be the principal naval and military station of Lake Ontario ; such it accordingly became, and such it remains to the present time. Forty-three years afterwards, Sir John Colborne carried out, in part, Simcoe's plans, by erecting

\* The Americans contemptuously called it Little York to distinguish it the better from their own New York. Its dirty clay streets caused it to be dubbed Muddy Little York.

barracks on the spot he had chosen for his metropolis. Houses rapidly sprung up in their neighbourhood; and the London of Canada has already expanded into a flourishing city of thirty thousand inhabitants, the centre of an extensive system of railroads, and the capital of the most fertile district in the wide Province of Ontario.

The second session of the Legislature commenced at Niagara on the 31st of May, and thirteen useful bills were passed. One of these provided for the payment of members at the rate of two dollars per day; a very moderate allowance for legislators at a time when ordinary farm-labourers received half the sum for eleven hours' work. But by far the most important law passed at this session was one levelled against slavery, which, although opposed to the spirit of the common law of England, had nevertheless been permitted to exist in the British colonies by an act of the Imperial Parliament. This act licensed the importation of slaves into the Province of Quebec, and under its authority a few negroes had been already introduced into Upper Canada. But slavery was fully as repugnant to its rustic legislator as it was to the Magna Charta of King John, and he now declared that no more slaves were to be imported into the Province under certain pains and penalties, and that even voluntary contracts for personal service were to be limited to nine years. But he did not think even this a sufficient step forward in the cause of human freedom. While the act confirmed the property of masters in slaves, imported under authorised licenses, provision was made that their children, born after it came into force, should be manumitted at the age of twenty-five years. Thus, five years before slavery was abolished in Lower Canada, by the decision of Chief-Justice Monk, at Montreal, the legislators of Upper Canada had struck a blow fatal to its existence, and in the lapse of a few years every semblance of it had disappeared from the Province.\*

\* As we have already noted, on page 95, slavery was legally established, in 1705, in the Province of Quebec, by Louis XIV., during the second government of the Count de Frontenac. In 1709 an ordinance was issued, by the intendant Raudot, reciting the king's decree as to slavery, and providing that negro and Pawnee Indian slaves should belong to their owners in full proprietorship. The 47th article of the capitulation of Canada, in 1760, provided that the property in slaves still remain good. The act of 5 George II. (1732) legalised slavery in the colonies of Great Britain, and enacted that slaves might be sold for debt like any other chattel property. That Act was partially repealed in 1797, so far as the compulsory sale of slaves was concerned. Shortly after the passage of this last act, Lord Mansfield decided that negro slaves could not be legally held in England; and in the following year (1798) Chief Justice Sir James Monk released, at Montreal, a slave brought before him on a writ of *habeas corpus*; and stated that in his opinion slavery no longer existed in the Province. Other authorities, however, held that slavery legally existed in Quebec until 1833, when the imperial act removed it from all the colonies of the empire. When the Upper Canada statute, as above recited, was passed, there were about 300 negro slaves and a few Pawnees in the Province, mostly owned about Niagara and in the western district. Chief Justice Osgoode, whose active duties

The Assembly of Upper Canada, in those days, was elected every four years, just as it is now, and the first House accordingly terminated with the session of 1795, held at Niagara. 1795. The laws were all of a useful and eminently practical character, and reflected considerable credit on their framers.

Beyond the information to be gleaned from the Statute Book and the scant public records, little is known of the social condition of Upper Canada at this period, although time stood on the threshold of the present century. The public press of the Province was limited to a demy sheet, issued as a government *Gazette* at Niagara, not the fourth part of the expense of which was repaid by its circulation, averaging from fifty to one hundred and fifty copies. It was published weekly, and contained short abstracts from the New York and Albany papers, as well as from the *Quebec Gazette*, of news usually a month old. The little press on which it was thrown off served also to print the acts of the Legislature, and the proclamations and circulars issued by the Lieutenant Governor, which gave it the greatest share of employment.

It has been already seen that Simcoe was an out-spoken soldier, and made no secret of his dislike to the American people ; a feeling he was not at all careful to conceal even from his Indian allies. This encouragement led the latter to give the American government no small trouble, and the final result was that serious complaints of his conduct were made to the British minister at Washington, and duly forwarded to England. These complaints

commenced on the 29th of July, 1792, is supposed to have framed the manumitting bill. When proroguing the Legislature Simcoe expressed his satisfaction at the passage of this act, and the relief he experienced at being no longer liable to sign permits for the importation of slaves into the Colony. In the *Niagara Herald*, one of the first papers published in Upper Canada, advertisements frequently appeared relating to slaves. In the issue of August 28th, 1802, Charles Field forbids all persons to harbour his Pawnee slave Sal. W. and J. Crooks, of West Niagara, advertised in the *Niagara Gazette*, of 1797, that they desired to purchase a negro girl from 7 to 12 years of age. Among the records in the register of St. Mark's church, Niagara, is a certificate, under date of February 5th, 1797, of the marriage of Moses and Phoebe, negro slaves of Secretary Jarvis. Several slaves were also owned in Kingston. Lower down the St. Lawrence, at Waddington, on the American shore, Judge David A. Ogden built, in 1810, a fine mansion, at a large outlay, on a charming island, and was the owner of twenty-five slaves, who were so well treated that none of them deserted to Canada. The Ogden mansion, and the island on which it stands, containing nearly two hundred acres, were sold a few years ago to a dairyman for some seven thousand dollars. The Ogdens were at one time the most important persons along the Upper St. Lawrence, and gave their name to the present pretty little city of Ogdensburg. But their glory has long since departed, and Waddington, so flourishing under their sway, has become a poor border village, of little importance in any respect, despite a very fine water power fed by a branch of the St. Lawrence. The Ogden family were at one time large property owners in South Carolina, but the civil war, and the loss of their slaves under Lincoln's proclamation, brought ruin to their fortunes there also. With regard to the northern states of the Union, they gradually followed the example of Canada, and slavery also wholly disappeared from them during the earlier quarter of the present century.

which could not well be ignored, as well as the fact that neither the Home Government nor Lord Dorchester 1796. approved of his plans of settlement, led to Simcoe's recall. But he was shortly afterwards appointed governor of the island of St. Domingo, and did much, during his brief stay there, to reconcile its natives to British rule, despite the opposition of the official class, both French and English. In 1798 he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general. In 1806 he was appointed as the successor of Lord Lake, the commander-in-chief of India. Before, however, he could depart for that country it was determined to use his services temporarily elsewhere, and he was placed in command of a force to assist Portugal. On the voyage thither he was taken dangerously ill, and had to return to England, where he died shortly after landing, at Torbay, at the early age of 54. But his connection with Canada, and not his high military rank, perpetuates his memory with posterity. Lake Simcoe, to which, with the aid of his regimental workers, he made a broad highway from Toronto, bears his name, as well as a county and a town of Ontario.

No sooner had Simcoe departed from Upper Canada, than several of his principal projects were at once abandoned, and the Executive Council, which secretly disliked the paternal despotism he exercised towards it, and longed to have its own way, hastened to violate many of his engagements. Several Americans of means had agreed to settle whole townships at once, but the promised grants to them were now cancelled, on the plea that they were illegal, and twelve hundred acres offered instead. A few accepted the alternative, but the majority refused to do so, and went home to proclaim the bad faith they had experienced, which gave a serious check to further emigration from the adjoining states, and which still continued to supply the larger number of settlers. Simcoe had planned a great highway leading through the Province, which he called Dundas Street, and gave grants of land along its course to settlers, on condition that they completed the road in front of their lots. Several settlements were accordingly made, but as the project was now abandoned the links of the road were not completed, and the disgusted backwoodsmen, isolated from their neighbours, were left to battle with the surrounding wilderness as best they could. Lands which Simcoe designed should be given to actual settlers, were seized upon, by favourites of men in power, for purposes of speculation. In these and various other ways, great injury was inflicted upon the farming community, whose properties were insulated by forest tracts, which shut them out from that mutual intercourse and help so necessary in a new country,\* and therefore rendered much less valuable than they should have been. Wild lands paid no taxes in those days, nor for several years afterwards.

\* Gourlay, vol ii. p. 310.



## THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HON. PETER RUSSELL.

On Simcoe's departure the Hon. Peter Russell, the senior member of the Executive Council, assumed temporary charge of the administration. Very little is known about this gentleman. He had been sent out to Canada in 1792 as inspector general, and Simcoe at once appointed him a member of both the Legislative and Executive Councils. He had not very long administered the government before stories began to circulate to his prejudice ; and he was accused of illegally making grants of land to himself and to his relatives, and to particular friends as well. Searches in the registry offices have fully confirmed these accusations.\* His successor in the government, in a letter to a friend, designated him as an avaricious man, who would make land grants on the slightest pretext.† But while industriously advancing the personal fortunes of himself and his friends, Russell appears to have lived a quiet and decorous life, and made few personal enemies. Even Gourlay has not a word to say to his disparagement. But his avarice, and the manner in which he permitted land monopolies to arise, seriously interfered with the settlement of the Province, and laid the foundation of many evils, and of much future dissatisfaction and agitation.

This year Newark ceased to be the capital of Upper Canada. The government offices were removed to Toronto, where the second Parliament of the Province assembled, on the 1st of June, to hold its second session, in which seventeen acts were 1797. passed. Among these was an act for the better securing the Province against the king's enemies. It prohibited the residence therein of subjects of powers at war with Great Britain, unless under special license from the Lieutenant Governor.

The Home Government was too closely occupied, during the ensuing two years, in endeavours to check the rising power of Napoleon, so hostile to British interests, and in suppressing the Irish Rebellion of '98, to be able to turn its attention to Canadian affairs. Nor was much attention required in this direction. Peace and good order reigned supreme from the seaboard to Lake Huron—from one end of the land to the other—and Russell was, accordingly, left undisturbed at the head of the administration. On the 5th of June he again opened the Legislature at Toronto, 1798. when seven acts were passed and duly assented to. On the 12th of June, in the following year, he performed a similar duty, when after a short session five bills, of no great importance, became law. The Province did not now require much legis- 1799. tion. The measures already passed had been mainly of a practical and useful character. Commerce and trade, the legal and medical professions, marriage and dower rights, and various social

\* Dent's story of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 47.

† Russell never married and died at Toronto a rich man,

and municipal matters otherwise, had all been wisely and well dealt with, and a solid foundation of law and order laid for the future.

But while Canada now restfully reposed, and enjoyed all the prosperity it could reasonably hope for, the mother-land was sorely menaced with peril. The ambition to rule as a king, and not as a strictly constitutional sovereign ; to make the Parliament of that rotten borough period subservient to his will ; and to be in fact his own prime minister, had led George III. into numerous fatal errors that brought repeated disaster to his country. The ministry which bore the name of Lord North had been a mere screen for the personal administration of the king, and for ten long years, up to 1782, he had wielded a personal power and authority that, fortunately for the empire, neither he nor his successors could ever wield again. His meddling and his muddling had mainly produced the War of Independence, the consequent loss of the American colonies, and the vast increase in the national debt, which in 1796 stood at nearly two thousand millions of dollars. To his narrow and short-sighted policy was chiefly due the Quebec Bill, so distasteful to English speaking people generally on this continent, and the persistence of Parliament in its impolitic measures towards the American colonies. And in his hostile bitterness he did not hesitate to stigmatise the noble Chatham, when he stood up manfully for the rights of these colonies, as the "trumpet of sedition." Had there been no War of Independence there could have been no French Revolution, at least after the fashion in which it came, and no Bonaparte to place the British Empire in the perilous position in which it stood towards the close of the last century, and in the earlier years of the present one. The supposed weakness caused by the loss of her trans-Atlantic dominion, and its own continental successes, emboldened the French Republic to declare war against England, despite the strenuous exertions of the younger Pitt to preserve peace, and Bonaparte made the policy of the Republic towards England his own. In 1795 his cannon scattered the National Guard before the Tuilleries, and saved the government of the Directory. In the following year, by a single brilliant campaign in Italy, he broke the power of Austria and her allies ; and France became supreme on the European Continent. In 1797 Spain, under French pressure, declared war against England, Holland had already deserted her alliance, and she stood almost alone among the powers of Europe. Three of its principal navies now threatened her supremacy on the ocean, made an invasion of Ireland possible, and in the month of December the able French general Hoche was ready to put to sea with a fleet of more than forty sail, and an army of 25,000 men. It was indeed a period of gloom and great distress for the British nation ; and that distress was presently increased by the Bank of England suspending cash payments. In the superiority of her navy lay now the great hope of Britain ; and that superiority was dangerously

imperilled, at this crisis, by the demands of her seamen for increased wages, and the mutiny at the Nore. That mutiny was suppressed not a moment too soon. But the winds and the waves fought against Hoche's expedition, as they had fought against the Spanish Armada two hundred and ten years before. His fleet was parted by a fierce gale, shortly after it had put to sea, and scattered in every direction. Seventeen ships reached Bantry Bay, in the south of Ireland, but Hoche was not on board; and so, despite the entreaties of the soldiers to be permitted to land, they sailed back again to Brest. Another division of the fleet reached the mouth of the Shannon, to be scattered by a new storm, and also driven home; while twelve vessels were wrecked or captured, and Ireland was saved. The victories of Nelson, of Jervis and Duncan, destroyed, in succession, the hostile fleets of Spain, of Holland, and of France, restored the supremacy of the seas to Britain, relieved the impending gloom, and taught the nation to realise more fully that the darkest hour is ever before day.

In Ireland the progress of the War of Independence had evoked the most profound sympathy. The threat in 1779, of a French invasion, and the want of any regular troops to oppose it, compelled the Home Government to call on Ireland to provide for its own defence. Forty thousand Protestant volunteers, commanded by Protestant officers, responded to the call. Grattan and Flood, in the Irish House of Commons, had demanded the repeal of Poyning's Act, which took all power of initiating legislation from the Irish Parliament, and the constituting the Irish House of Lords a final court of appeal. The Volunteers supported this demand, as well as Roman Catholic Emancipation. The king and his ministers had to give way on all but Emancipation, and the Irish Parliament became virtually independent, and Ireland a separate nation, but under one crowned head with England. But the first favourable opportunity was seized upon to peaceably disband the dangerous Volunteer army, and regular troops and yeomanry corps took its place. The success of the French Revolution speedily recoiled upon Ireland, where the refusal of Emancipation, and the disabilities under which the Presbyterians of Ulster still laboured, led to much soreness and dissatisfaction. The country was speedily honeycombed with secret societies, foremost among which stood the United Irishmen, formed ostensibly, at Belfast, by Wolfe Tone and others, to bring about measures of Parliamentary reform, but with the real purpose of separating Ireland from the British Empire, and founding a republic, a project to which the French Directory promised substantial support. As 1798 approached every preparation had been made for an armed rising, but the government became aware of the dangerous plot, and nipped it in the bud by the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other leaders. The partial rising which followed was aimless and unsuccessful. At the North, in Antrim and Down, it was but slightly felt, but in the opposite direction, within the limits of the old English Pale, in the counties

of Wicklow and Wexford, it burst out with fury, assumed the terrible form of a religious struggle, and led to the cruel massacre of numbers of the Protestant population. The horrors of Wexford Bridge, Vinegar Hill and Scullabogue Barn, effectually stayed the hands of the Presbyterian insurgents of the North ; and the Southern insurgents were left to continue the hopeless struggle unaided by their Protestant friends. Towards the close of the summer help came to them from France, in a small force of nine hundred men, under General Humbert, which landed at Killala Bay, on the west coast, and at once moved inland on Castlebar. This force was captured in the course of a month by Lord Cornwallis. The Irish Rebellion paved the way for a speedy parliamentary union with England. The bad blood it engendered, between old neighbours and former friends, eventually led, also, to an extensive Protestant emigration from the south-east of Ireland to Upper Canada ; where whole townships, and even counties, were largely settled by Wexford and Wicklow people, whose descendants to this day retain many bitter feelings as regards the terrible struggle of "'98."

The supremacy of Britain at sea taught Bonaparte the hopelessness of naval operations against her coasts, and he now conceived the idea of attacking her empire in India, and of carrying out the old idea of French conquest there. When the empire of the Moguls was crumbling in detail, and feudatory princes, or mere adventurers, were creating independent kingdoms for themselves, the genius of Hyder Ali had built up a powerful Mahommedan state in the Carnatic, which seriously threatened the British at Madras, and at one time brought them to the verge of ruin. On his death he was succeeded in the sultanhip of Mysore by his son Tippoo, who was even still more hostile, but who was soon taught, by the victories of Lord Cornwallis, that he was no match for the British. Tippoo fruitlessly sought assistance from the Nizam and the Affghans, and he next solicited help from the French to drive the English from the Carnatic. That help was promised in 1797, and Bonaparte fixed upon the Mysore as the basis of operations against the British empire in Hindostan. But the sea was now virtually closed against the French fleets, and the only road open for the attack was by way of Egypt and the Red Sea. Preparations for an expedition were made with the most profound secrecy, and in May, 1798, Bonaparte sailed for Egypt with a powerful fleet, and an army of 30,000 veterans who had served under him in Italy. Subduing Malta on his way, he landed near Alexandria at the close of June, and an easy conquest of Egypt followed. But all his plans were dashed to pieces by the destruction of his fleet in Aboukir Bay by Nelson. Warned by the intrigues of Tippoo, Lord Wellesley assumed the offensive. A British army speedily invaded Mysore, when the sultan's capital was stormed and himself slain. Bonaparte was defeated, before Acre, by a British and Turkish force under Sir Sydney Smith. He now hurriedly returned to France ; and the remains of his army, left behind,

were finally defeated by Sir Ralph Abercrombie. These successes produced a period of comparative calm in Europe, which enabled the Home Government to at length turn its attention to the distant dependency of Upper Canada ; and to send out a successor to Simcoe, in the person of Major General Peter Hunter, who was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Province, and commander-in-chief of British North America.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER.

Beyond the fact that he was born in 1746, and belonged to a clever Scotch family ; and that his brothers, William and John, were celebrated physicians and medical authors, very little is known about Hunter. A soldier by profession, he rose from small beginnings to the rank of lieutenant general, to which he attained in 1803. His reign in Upper Canada was a mild and colorless one. He devoted much of his time to his military duties, and does not appear to have troubled himself overmuch about civil matters. Although fully sensible that public lands had been made away with improperly, it does not appear that he actively interfered to correct abuses in that direction ; and he certainly permitted the Executive Council to do a good deal as it pleased. He opened Parliament, at Toronto, on the 2nd of June. The legislation, as usual, was limited in quantity, and embraced only six bills.

Canada under French dominion, as we have already frequently seen, was never able to compete effectually with the British colonies for the western trade. The rapids of the St. Lawrence, and the long portages which they rendered necessary in its ascent, made the communication with the great lakes tedious and difficult ; and, aside from a restricted trade, placed a formidable barrier in the way of inland commerce. The road to Lake Ontario was comparatively easy from New York or Albany, and the greater rapidity with which merchandise consequently traversed to and from the sea-board, gave the merchants of those cities an immense advantage over traders in Lower Canada. The same state of things prevailed long after the first settlement of Upper Canada, which became almost immediately tributary to the trade of the State of New York, and it so continued till the construction of the St. Lawrence canals removed the unfavourable features in its geographical position. Western New York dates its settlement from about the same period as Upper Canada. But the former had much greater advantages on its side, and its progress at first was consequently more rapid. An international commerce soon began to spring up across Lake Ontario, the upper St. Lawrence and the Niagara River. This, the non-speechifying, practical legislators of the Province deemed it necessary to regulate, and accordingly, in their recent session, an act was passed which



gave the Governor, in council, power to establish ports of entry, and adopt such other measures as might be desirable.

Still, it was evident that the commercial intercourse which had sprung up between the two countries had not removed the Canadian jealousy of the presumed American desire for conquest ; 1801. so, in the ensuing year an act, about to expire, for the better security of the Province against the king's enemies, was continued in force. To help the Crown to defray the increased civil expenses, the duties collected on products brought from the United States, which, even then, were the same as those levied on English goods, were handed over to the government for a certain term ; and Cornwall, Brockville, (Johnstown,) Newcastle, Toronto, (York,) Niagara, Queenstown, Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburg and Sandwich, declared ports of entry. The Lieutenant Governor had the privilege of appointing collectors, whose salaries were not to exceed in any case \$400 ; while, if below that sum, they were paid with one-half the amount of all the duties they received ; from which it may be gathered that this branch of revenue was not in a very flourishing condition. Another act, passed at this session, prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors and strong waters in the Indian settlement on the Thames.

All this time English, Irish, Scotch and American emigrants, the latter still the more numerous, came to seek a home in the new Province ; but the English, as at the present day, were the fewest of all. From Ireland, where the troubles of "'98" had left many a hearth desolate, and many a heart seared and crushed with sorrow, came most of the old country people. Better a free home, even though it were the rudest shanty of the backwoodsman in the sombre forests of Canada, than the cottage in old Erin, where any moment the insurgent White-boy might cruelly thrust the crackling turf into the thatch, or the minions of Castlereagh level its walls to the ground. And thus settlements gradually spread out on every side. When the Legislature next sat, the new district 1802. of Newcastle had been formed, and an act was passed providing for the administration of justice therein. Another act opened new ports of entry to meet the wants of the increasing population. A third granted \$3000 to encourage the growth of hemp, with a view to make England independent of Russia, and voted \$336 for stationery for the House ; a very moderate sum, when compared with the present public expenditure of Canada in that way.

Aside from the proceedings of the Legislature there is very little known of General Hunter's administration. Responsible 1803. government did not then exist ; there was no "opposition party" in Parliament, nor an independent press to chronicle its sayings and its doings, and comment on its measures, had the contrary been the case. The farmers and store-keepers kept close to their farms or their shops, and when they happened to be members of the Assembly, and had legislated to their hearts' content,

went home to look after their business, leaving the irresponsible Executive to take care of the country, without troubling themselves further about the conduct of public affairs. At all events, in a Commons of sixteen members, some of whose literary acquirements barely extended to a knowledge of reading and writing, a majority against ministers would not be a very serious affair. There were neither Reformers nor Conservatives in those days, and public questions were decided solely on their merits ; party had nothing to do with them one way or the other. The Assembly made laws to guide the Executive, and the Executive enforced them or not as it deemed proper ; so matters up to 1804 had progressed harmoniously. While the country was very sparsely populated, and the people poor and ill-informed, this might, after all, be the best possible state of things. Canada had hitherto been too young to admit of a healthy political opposition to any public measure, and faction among a race of rough backwoodsmen must have seriously retarded the progress of the country. The people had few taxes to pay, and for years had been too busy tumbling down the huge forests, which covered almost the entire face of the country, getting out rails, planting wheat and corn and potatoes, and making their homes more comfortable, to trouble themselves much about the affairs of government.

Over twenty years of severe and incessant toil, and an average prosperity, at length gave leisure to the early pioneers of Upper Canada to look around them, in order to see how political and social matters had progressed during their long and arduous struggle with the forest. They now began to realise that a new state of things had gradually arisen, and that while they had been improving their condition, and the country slowly prospering in proportion to their individual success, causes which laid the foundation of serious public evils had been silently operating. Although as yet only somewhat dimly realised the principal of these was the irresponsible Executive Council, which had already gathered around itself the whole administrative influence of the Province. This Council consisted of the Governor, and five other members appointed by the Crown and removable at pleasure. The Constitutional Act of 1791 did not define the number of members in the Executive Council of either Upper or Lower Canada. The Crown appointed as many as it deemed advisable, and paid a salary of one hundred pounds sterling to each member. The sovereign was not only a constituent branch of the Provincial Legislatures of Canada, but was solely vested with the supreme Executive power, one part of which he directly exercised, while another part was administered through the medium of his official representatives. The governor or lieutenant governor, judges of the Court of King's Bench, receiver and auditor general, solicitor general, attorney general, and others of the higher grade of officials, were appointed and paid by the Crown. The judges of the subordinate courts, sheriffs, magistrates, militia officers, and other

officials of the same description, were appointed by the governor or lieutenant governor, in the king's name, and were paid in accordance with provincial legislation. The territorial revenue, or that accruing in any way from public lands, whether by sale or otherwise, was retained by the Crown ; as well as the casual revenue, arising from the post office and various other sources. In this way the Crown for many years was rendered almost independent of a vote of supplies, and outside the law-making power the influence of the Canadian Legislatures was exceedingly limited. With the whole executive authority completely in its own hands, and without any virtual parliamentary responsibility, the Crown was supreme, in the most extensive sense, while, at the same time, the Imperial Parliament had reserved to itself the right to suspend or abrogate the constitution at pleasure. Under this system of government the position of the Canadian Legislatures was largely secondary, inferior and subordinate. The Executive Council necessarily became the centre of all local administrative authority. If its head were a person of resolution and ability, like Simcoe, the Executive largely partook of the one-man power ; but, if the governor were weak or timid, then the rest of the council became supreme, and acted as they deemed proper. In a wealthy and populous community a House of Assembly, and an intelligent and independent press, might serve as a counterpoise to an almost absolute executive of this character ; but in Upper Canada, at this period, the trifling public revenue, wholly inadequate to meet the current expenses of the Civil List, had already been handed over to the government ; and no check could, therefore, be established on the arbitrary, or corrupt, exercise of power by an annual vote of supplies. As for the public press of the Province, it was still composed of the solitary *Gazette*, which was completely under the control of the Executive, and accordingly supported all its measures.

The unwritten Constitution of England was the gradual product of ages, and happily was of so expansive a character as to always readily adapt itself to the progress of intelligence, and the continually increasing wants of the people. It assumed new forms, as new forms became necessary to its perpetual forward march. It grew with the growth of the nation, and so Magna Charta presently became its offspring. It produced the revolution which drove the weak imitator of Louis XIV., the would-be despotic James, from the throne ; and inaugurated a new era of national liberty and progress with the accession of William III. With him also came in responsible government ; and from thenceforth when ministers could not command a Parliamentary majority they retired from office. In framing the Constitution of 1791 for the Canadas, the British minister evidently presumed that their social and political condition must resemble somewhat the condition of England before the Revolution of 1688, and gave them, accordingly, although in a modified form, the system of government existing there anterior to

that period. The Canadas had, accordingly, sooner or later, to go through the same revolutionary ordeal as the parent state, with the exception that their more rapid increase in intelligence, population and wealth, brought the crisis about in a few years which in England it had taken generations to mature.

Where electors do not exercise an indirect influence upon Government through their representatives, the elective franchise is of little comparative value. The executive is the only real governing power in the state, and the people must be content to be ruled by the king or his representative, if he is a despot like Oliver Cromwell or James II., or by an oligarchy. Thus, the Canadian Constitution of 1791 only permitted of a single alternative. To be governed by an oligarchy was the fate of both Upper and Lower Canada. Circumstances cast the balance in its favour, and even as early as 1805 its reign had already commenced. Had the Constitution of 1791 made due provision for a change to Responsible Government, when the progress and intelligence of the people warranted such a step, much disorder and some misery would have been avoided. Still, it had all the progressive qualities of its venerable ancestor, the product of so much blood, so much suffering, and so many tears, and time and circumstances gradually corrected its errors.

The evils of an irresponsible government, of themselves sufficiently oppressive, were increased by causes of a local character, which could only exist in a new country. As the Province became more prosperous, it also became the refuge of a host of poor gentlemen, half-pay officers and others, who came thither to improve their fortunes. While Canada was under French dominion, this class of persons had proved a serious drawback to its prosperity ; and as Upper Canada had no commissions to give in a corps of "Colony Troops," as in the days of the "*Old Regime*," matters were now worse with them than ever. Some had sold their commissions ; their grants of lands were likewise soon disposed of at a dollar or two an acre ; and they then, as their final resort, became hangers-on of the administration, to be thrust into every petty office as it became vacant, whether they were fit for it or otherwise. Others, more prudent, retained at least as much of their land as they considered they could cultivate to advantage, and sought to preserve by their exclusiveness the superiority which they supposed their advantages of education, and the station they had occupied hitherto in society, ought to entitle them to. But, in a country where even General Simcoe could not retain a single male servant ; where a man could acquire two hundred acres of fertile land by simple occupation or three months' wages ; and where a number of small proprietors in fee-simple created a conservative democracy, this claim to superiority was somewhat difficult to be established. Hence this class also came to regard government influence as the only way of preserving their presumed respectability. So their necessities gradually drew these poor gentlemen of Canada closer

and closer, till at length they became a distinct party in the country. Fostered by an irresponsible government, which leaned to the foundation of a Canadian aristocracy, this party gradually acquired strength and influence; its members intermarried backwards and forwards among themselves, until at length it emerged into the full-blown, famous, "Family Compact."

But there was another class of poor gentlemen who pursued a wiser and more manly course. Acting on the truism, "that God helps those who help themselves," they readily adapted themselves, without complaint, to their altered condition. While they learned to wield the axe and swing the scythe with the energy and skill of the roughest backwoodsman, they retained their polished manners, their literary tastes, their love for the beautiful and the elegant, and thus exercised the most beneficial influence on their rustic neighbours. In the absence of schools, of churches, of most of the refining influences of civilised society, this class of the early settlers of Upper Canada were foremost in usefulness. Their superior education, their well-bred manners, their more refined habits, raised them in the estimation of the rural population, who soon tacitly admitted a superiority, which would never have been conceded had it been more directly asserted.

Thus we find that even as early as 1805, in the very infancy of Upper Canada, two parties had already begun to assume a primary form and consistency. They had, however, no political meaning, owed their origin to purely local causes, and might be termed the Executive Party and the Country Party. The first clung to its irresponsible position as the source of its influence and authority, and claimed the right to act as it deemed proper without let or hindrance; while the Country Party desired to have that authority exercised more equitably, and more for the benefit of the people. But land matters still continued to be the great source of trouble.

A system of favouritism, and the constant desire of parties in power to benefit their friends and supporters, speedily produced many abuses under the easy sway of Governor Hunter. Patents were refused to actual settlers for lands which were subsequently deeded to non-occupants. Upwards of £60,000\* sterling was annually expended for the benefit of the Indian tribes, and presented a favourable opportunity for speculation, of which many were not slow to avail themselves. The provisions, clothing, and farming utensils granted by the British Government for the benefit of poor loyalists, were in many cases handed over to favourites; in others allowed to become useless, from negligence, in the public stores.†

Nor was the administration of justice what it might be desired, or what it most undoubtedly ought to have been. Judges did not hold their commissions for life, if they conducted themselves properly, as at the present day, and were removable at the pleasure

\* Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 150.

† Jackson's Pamphlet on Canada, 1809.



of the Crown. This circumstance weakened their personal influence, and in some cases, possibly, swayed their decisions. Juries accordingly frequently disregarded the bench. On one occasion, in the presence of the chief-justice, the people became tumultuous, and the stocks were publicly broken. Shopkeepers were usually justices of the peace, and thus armed with the means of extortion, and the power of enforcing payment, not infrequently used both in their own favour. The courts of appeal were badly constructed ; their practice arbitrary and oppressive. Favourite attorneys were made deputy-clerks of the peace, so that writs might be more readily obtained, while the Crown lawyer was "paid by the job," and allowed about \$28 for each criminal prosecution, a temptation to frivolous indictments.

In one instance, an action was brought against a magistrate for an illegal decision, and he was mulcted in \$400. An attempt was made to set this verdict aside in the King's Bench, but that failing, the Crown lawyer ordered the clerk of the court not to issue the execution, which was therefore refused. A sheriff, again, dare not apply for his fees ; nor the printer sue for the money voted him by the Assembly for printing its journals ; nor the public surveyors press their claims for services rendered in laying out new townships. Such was the condition of matters when Mr. Thorpe, a respectable English lawyer, arrived in Upper Canada as one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench. His upright conduct tended somewhat to allay the irritation now beginning to spread itself among the people.

Hunter was an honourable and well-meaning man ; and beyond the circumstance that, as a professional soldier, he naturally thought more of his military duties than of his civil ones, and relied too much on his Executive Council for the general administration of affairs, he cannot be held responsible for the public evils which had arisen. But even under the most favourable conditions a state of social and political perfection could not be looked for in a new country ; and like all new countries, where society is rough and unformed, and the subjugation of the forest wilderness the first great problem, Upper Canada had to submit to its period of difficulty and privation. That period, however, was comparatively of brief duration, and wholly lacked that terrible fiery baptism, of Indian warfare and massacre, which had marked the beginning of so many of the older colonies. As the summer advanced Hunter's connection with the Province came to a sad and sudden termination. His constitution was never a very robust one, and had been greatly weakened by the hardships he had undergone during the Revolutionary War, and his arduous military duties afterwards as lieutenant colonel of a battalion of the 60th Rifles. While on a tour of military inspection he died at Quebec, on the 21st of August, in the 59th year of his age. He was buried in the cemetery attached to the English cathedral, within which a tablet was placed to his memory by his brother John, which tells us

“that his life was spent in the service of his king and country. Of the various stations, both civil and military, which he filled, he discharged the duties with spotless integrity, unwearied zeal, and successful abilities,”

#### GOVERNMENT OF THE HON. FRANCIS GORE.

On the death of General Hunter becoming known in Upper Canada, Alexander Grant, as senior member of the Executive Council, assumed charge of the administration. He opened 1806. the Legislature on the 4th of February. During the session seven acts were passed, one of which granted \$6400 for the purpose of making new roads, and building bridges in several districts. Another act provided for the appointment of parish and township officers, and for the assessment and collection of municipal rates. During the summer Mr. Gore arrived from England, and at once assumed charge of the administration as Lieutenant Governor. Very little is known about the antecedents of this gentleman. It appears that he stood high as regards personal worth, was of a manly and generous, though easily influenced, disposition, and no doubt desired to govern the Province justly. The faults which subsequently distinguished his administration were evidently owing to his want of a better knowledge of the country and the people, in the first place, and a too subservient Legislature and the possession of an undue proportion of arbitrary power, in the second; which power, to a considerable extent, he soon resigned into the hands of the oligarchy, whose influence was steadily on the increase, and who might be said to form the little court of the Lieutenant Governor. As might naturally be expected, Gore was speedily influenced, in their own behalf, by the leaders of this party. Compared with these people, who composed, in a great measure, the select society of the little capital, and whose better education, and more polished manners, naturally commended them to his consideration, the frieze-coated farmers had small chance of influence with their new ruler.

Still, the people did not now stand up the less sturdily for what they considered to be their just rights. While Judge Thorpe's independent conduct, and occasionally impolitic freedom of speech, very speedily made him an object of dislike with the Executive Party, who did all in their power to prejudice Gore against him, his impartial administration of justice had already made him popular with the people. When he went on circuit the several grand juries intrusted statements of their grievances to him, to be laid before the Lieutenant Governor, by whom they were received with a very bad grace. He had become prejudiced against Thorpe, and this feeling had been increased by the imprudent language of the latter when replying to an address from the Grand Jury of the London District. “The art of governing,” said the judge “is a difficult science. Knowledge is not instinctive, and the days of inspiration have

passed away. Therefore when there was neither talent, education, information or even manners, in the administration, little could be expected, and nothing was produced. But there is an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from whence all human affairs naturally advance or recede." Thorpe also condemned, as entirely too stringent in its provisions, the Alien Act of 1804. To the impartial observer nothing could appear more unwise than this severe attack, by a judge, on the administration. Its great imprudence at once placed him in a false position, and invited the counter attack, which speedily followed. Thorpe was accused of instigating the grand juries to make hostile statements of grievances, and of causing dissatisfaction among the people while discharging his official duties. He now directed the officers of his court to take proceedings, in an action of *Scandalum magnatum*, against one of his most forward revilers; but his brother judges, some of whom were members of the Executive Council, held that he could not bring such an action, and it was accordingly abandoned. The statement of grievances made by the Grand Jury of the London District was a very strong and explicit one, and could not very well be ignored. An official letter from the Lieutenant Governor's office asked it to re-state its complaints, in the hope that they would appear in a milder form. The reply was a still stronger remonstrance against existing abuses. A recantation was now drawn up, in the hope that promises of government favour would induce individual members of the Grand Jury to sign it, but this was at once indignantly refused. These occurrences added to the hostile feelings of Gore and his advisers, and the question with them now was how Thorpe could be got rid of. It would never do to have a Radical judge, as they described him to be, using his position on the bench to move grand juries to make complaints about existing evils, and so cause dissatisfaction among the people at large. At this juncture a vacancy occurred in the representation of one of the constituencies in the Home District, and Thorpe was invited by the electors to become their candidate. Judges were not then disqualified from taking seats in the Assembly, and he consented, although disclaiming all intention of becoming a partisan. The Executive made every possible effort to defeat him, but he was nevertheless triumphantly elected. Whatever might be his intentions Thorpe was now in the position of a partisan, a most improper one for a judge to occupy, and seriously militating against his future usefulness on the bench. His election made the oligarchy furious. His friends were dismissed from office, and the solitary newspaper was now loud in its abuse, and denounced the people's favourite in no measured terms. This led to the establishment of an independent journal, the *Upper Canada* 1807. *Guardian*,\* so the war between the rival parties had now fully commenced.

\* Willocks, the editor of this paper, was an Irishman of respectable parentage. He had been sheriff of the Home District, but was deprived of

Thorpe, however, speedily fell a victim to his popularity. As Gore found he could not injure him by his own authority, he determined to use his influence with the Home Government against him. "The object of Mr. Thorpe's emissions," he writes to a Toronto friend from Kingston, while on a journey to Montreal, "is to persuade the people to turn every gentleman out of the House of Assembly. However keep your temper with the rascals, I beseech you. I shall represent everything at St. James." He kept his word. His adverse representations to the Home Government, coupled with the fact of Thorpe's imprudent language on the bench, and his unwisely permitting himself to be elected to the Assembly, led to the conclusion that he had seriously compromised himself, and Gore was accordingly directed by the Colonial Secretary, to suspend him from his judgeship. Thorpe proceeded to England, and on asking explanations at the Colonial Office, was told that his further stay in Canada could only have led to a perpetual disturbance of the public tranquillity. By way of recompense, however, he was appointed Chief Justice of Sierra Leone. Poor health compelled his return, in two years, to England. He carried home with him a petition from a number of the inhabitants, complaining of local abuses caused by parties in power. This greatly offended the ministry, and, in connection with his former unwise conduct in Canada, led to his final dismissal. The remainder of his life was passed in obscurity and neglect, and he died in comparative poverty. Sometime before his death he sued Gore for libel, and obtained judgment against him for a small amount.\* Thorpe was unfortunate; but while we sympathise with him in his misfortunes, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that his difficulties mainly had their origin in his own imprudence, and that he could have accomplished all he had done for Upper Canada, and much, also, in addition, without the slightest harm to himself, had he been more careful in his language, and had not placed himself in a false position, as a judge, by becoming a member of the House of Assembly—a political body. No Canadian, at the present day, would tolerate conduct of this kind in a judge; and poor Thorpe's own unwise course placed a weapon in the hands of his assailants to strike him down.

his office in 1806, for voting against the wishes of the Governor at Thorpe's election. He soon became popular with the people, was elected to serve in the Assembly, which speedily thrust him into the Toronto jail, then a miserable log hut, for making too free with its affairs. Released from this, he became still more popular, and for a while was at the head of the majority in the Assembly. The troubles of 1812 forced him to give up his paper, when he shouldered a musket and fought as a volunteer against the Americans at the battle of Queenstown. Still, Government treated him harshly, and at length, thoroughly disheartened and disgusted, he deserted to the enemy, taking a small body of Canadian militia over with him. The Americans rewarded his treason by making him a colonel. He was afterwards killed at the siege of Fort Erie while planting a guard.

\* Jackson's Pamphlet on Canada 1809; Gourlay vol. ii. p. 335. Bonnycastle's Canada, &c., vol. i. pp. 51 and 52.

While we have been thus careful to trace, as accurately as possible, the rise of political parties in Canada, and the origin of those causes which subsequently led to serious evils in the state, we do not desire to convey the impression that the people at this period were dissatisfied with the fundamental principles of the constitution. Responsible government was a question of much later origin. Whatever dissatisfaction existed was chiefly directed against the arbitrary conduct of the Executive, the extortions of law officers, and individual acts of oppression. The great bulk of the people continued to be steadily attached to Great Britain ; and although several desired annexation with the United States, and made representations to some of their public men which led in a measure to the invasion of the Province in 1812, this treasonable feeling was by no means general. There was no desire, as a rule, to cure existing evils by superseding the monarchical institutions of the Colony with a republic. A purer administration of justice, a milder and more impartial sway on the part of the Executive, formed all that was necessary to secure the loyalty of the great mass of the people. Owing to the agitation connected with the election of Thorpe, the exposures made by the opposition press, and other occurrences favourable to liberty and free inquiry, concessions of this character were made about this time, and public matters progressed much more smoothly. During the course of the year, Judge Powell, who afterwards figured so prominently in the affairs of Upper Canada, became a member of the Executive Council.\*

The first session of the Provincial Parliament convened by Mr. Gore, was distinguished by a very liberal appropriation of \$3200 for the purpose of paying the salaries of the masters of grammar schools, in each of the eight districts into which Upper Canada had by this time expanded. The patronage was vested in the Government. The sum of \$400 a year was an object to a half-pay officer, or some other reduced gentlemen ; so the greater part of the masterships were given to this class of persons, who, from their previous habits, and ignorance of their new duties, were every way unfit for the office. Other acts passed this session continued laws about to expire, the most important of which was that handing over the customs' duties to the Crown for a period of two years longer.

Meanwhile, the Province had continued to prosper steadily. New settlements had spread themselves out in every direction into the interior, and the population had increased to 1809. about seventy thousand souls. The commerce of the country had progressed in proportion. By an arrangement with the Lower Province, goods for Upper Canada were now entered at Couteau du Lac, and the amount collected on these, for the year ending January 5th, exceeded \$16,000. There was also a considerable importation by way of the United States, and the annual

\* Seventh Grievance Report, p. 303.



public revenue from customs' duties alone was now nearly \$28,000. The tariff was very low. The duty on strong liquors, exclusive of a small impost levied by the Imperial Government for the support of the civil administration of the Province, was sixpence per gallon ; on wine, ninepence ; on teas, from twopence to fourpence per lb. The importations chiefly embraced groceries, as the bulk of the inhabitants manufactured their own wearing apparel.

No civilised country in the world was less burdened with taxes than Upper Canada at this period. A small direct tax on property, levied by the District Courts of Session, and not amounting to \$14,000 for the whole country, sufficed for all local expenses. There was no poor-rate, no capitation tax, no tithes or ecclesiastical rates of any kind. Instead of road tax a few days of statute labour annually sufficed. Nowhere did the working man find the product of his labour so little diminished by exactions of any kind. The Province literally teemed with abundance ; while its people, unlike the early French and American settlers, had nothing to apprehend from hostilities with the Indian, and enjoyed the increase of the earth in peace.

The chief check to the greater prosperity of the country at this period, was the want of a paper currency, there being no bank in Canada. Gold and silver formed the only circulating medium ; and as the exports did not balance the imports, the little money brought into the Province by settlers, or paid out by the Government, was insufficient to meet the increasing wants of the community. A system of barter was thus originated between the merchant and farmer which was highly prejudicial to the latter, and which frequently led him into debt. Nor were the public morals as much calculated to advance the welfare of the country as could be desired. Intemperance was a very prevalent vice ; the rough backwoodsmen, too, were often quarrelsome in their cups, and pugilistic encounters very frequently took place. Murders, however, unlike a former period, were now of rare occurrence. The mass of the people may be described as a rough, home-spun generation ; with little religion,\* and still less education ; but honest in their general demeanour, sturdy yet simple in their manners, and exceedingly hospitable in their homes.

During the year little of moment occurred. The Legislature met on the 1st of February. The sum of \$8000 was granted  
1810. for laying out new roads and building bridges by one act ; another act was levelled against forgers of bills of exchange and foreign notes and orders. During the summer of the ensuing year Mr. Gore received leave of absence, being desirous  
1811. to visit England. He proceeded thither shortly afterwards, leaving the gallant Major-General Brock in temporary charge of the administration.

\* In 1809 there were only four ministers of the Church of England in Canada West, and comparatively few of other Protestant denominations.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### CAUSES LEADING TO THE SECOND UNITED STATES INVASION OF CANADA.

WE have already seen, that the loss of her American colonies was supposed to have weakened England to such an extent, that the French Republic, grown arrogant by its continental successes, was emboldened to declare war against her, in the delusive hope of winning back some part, at least, of the empire beyond the seas which the elder Pitt had wrested from France. In wealth and population the American colonies far surpassed all that remained of England's colonial dominions, and they had been irretrievably lost. It is little wonder that, in the first bitter anguish of separation, even England looked upon herself as on the verge of ruin, and that France regarded the world-wide power of her ancient foe as practically terminated. But later events proved the worthlessness of these opinions. England presently became superior to her adverse fortunes ; and her indomitable energy soon found new fields for commercial enterprise. During the closing two decades of the past century her industrial development was on a truly colossal scale, and astonished the world. The rapid growth of wealth, which this development produced, made her again a flourishing mother of new nations, in new climes ; and England at length arose, from her trans-Atlantic defeat, more vigorous and stronger than ever. As the eighteenth century wore on, there had come to her a new moral and religious, as well as a new material, existence ; and while the Wesleys burst through the religious torpor which had paralysed the national church, Brindley was covering England with a vast system of canals that soon led to an enormous development of her internal traffic and external commerce, and Watt was silently engaged in perfecting his steam engine, which revolutionised the industrial world. Richard Arkwright, a barber's assistant, invented the spinning jenny ; the invention of the power loom speedily followed ; and with its iron and its coal mines, its workshops and its factories, England bounded to the foremost place of manufacturing supremacy, and became the great mechanical, industrial, and money centre of the world. In the lust for universal empire, his consuming passion,

Bonaparte bitterly hated England as the one great barrier in his way. His continental victories, decisive and numerous as they were, became barren of results, so far as the chief goal of his ambition was concerned, while England remained supreme at sea, and untouched at home. His very victories had only served, so far, to stimulate her prosperity, and to add new territories to her ever expanding realm. All the chief colonies of France and Spain lay at her feet ; and the hostility of Holland, which had led so quickly to the destruction of its fleet, transferred the Cape of Good Hope and the Spice Islands to England. Even Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, and his projects of eastern conquest, had only led to the consolidation and increase of British power in India, and to the ruin of his ally Tippoo. He saw all this still more clearly as the new century opened upon him, and now determined on achieving a general continental peace, so as to leave his hands completely free to strike down, for good, the constantly growing power that barred his way to universal empire, and the practical enslavement of the human race. The victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden enabled him to dictate his own terms. In February, 1801, the Continental War was brought suddenly to a close by the peace of Luneville, and Bonaparte was now free to enter upon the great task of his life, the destruction of British supremacy by land and sea.

In Great Britain a marvellous change had indeed taken place. An agricultural and maritime people, had been transformed into a great manufacturing people, with rapidly increasing urban populations. New facilities of internal communication in its 3000 miles of canals ; new industrial and commercial energy ; new sources of wealth ; new philanthropic and religious life ; and the uprising, as a consequence, of a great new middle class, showed that a new Britain had sprung into existence. The heart of the nation throbbed with a fresh and wider sense of life, and eagerly confronted the new questions of religion and morals, of education and philanthropy, of commerce and trade, which now presented themselves to its notice. Like its great leader, the younger Pitt, it would gladly have avoided perilling its new existence ; and to secure its more perfect development would fain be at peace with all mankind. The hostile attitude of the French Republic had been a source of serious alarm to the nation. That alarm deepened when the still more hostile policy of Napoleon threatened its social, commercial and political position, with an increased danger. The instinct of self-preservation now naturally became paramount with the nation ; and the great majority of its people swung round into an attitude of the fiercest and most uncompromising resistance. As the new danger arose more clearly on the view Pitt would have consolidated the nation, and so given it increased strength for the coming struggle, by conceding emancipation to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, making provision for their clergy, and removing all disabilities from Dissenters. But the narrow bigotry of George

III. prevented the success of this statesmanlike project. "I count every man my personal enemy," he angrily said, "who proposes such a measure." And he declared that it was opposed to his coronation oath, and persisted in his refusal to entertain it. As Bonaparte signed the Peace of Luneville, Pitt resigned his seals of office, to the great alarm of the nation, into the hands of his short-sighted sovereign, and did not again resume them until three years afterwards.

The second year of the new century opened with dangerous menace to England. Every day, in one way or another, brought darker news. The scarcity of food was approaching the famine limits ; taxes were raised anew ; and twenty-five millions sterling had to be borrowed to meet the war expenditure for the year. Not a single ally ranged itself on the side of England ; and she now stood utterly alone, while the peace of Luneville had secured Bonaparte from all hostility on the Continent of Europe. Her naval supremacy had made England the ocean carrier of European commerce, and she had also become the great workshop of European manufactures. All her ancient rivals had been swept from the seas ; the carrying trade of France, Spain and Holland, had been transferred to the British flag, and the conquest of their wealthier settlements had thrown into British hands nearly the whole colonial trade of the world. Bonaparte saw that if he could devise some way of shutting Britain out of every market, she must cease to manufacture, while her carrying trade would be ruined and her commerce destroyed. And so he formed the project of a general continental system of exclusion, which would shut her out of every port. And having succeeded in establishing this system in Europe, and drawn even the Russian emperor, Paul, into the hostile league, he plotted to extend it to the United States ; and, in order to influence them to join it, now recognised, by treaty, the right of neutrals, which England was daily disputing. Influenced by the Emperor Paul, Denmark and Sweden joined the continental league ; and the union of the fleets of these northern powers created a fresh menace for England. But she promptly and boldly met this new danger ; and the battle of Copenhagen, on the 1st of April, 1801, ruined the Danish fleet, opened the Baltic to the British navy, and indirectly led to the assassination of Paul and the succession of Alexander. England and Russia now amicably settled the vexed question of the right of search, and Sweden and Denmark concurred in that settlement. Bonaparte had failed, but he was not the less resolute to achieve victory ; and now, in order to gain time for fresh aggressive preparations, agreed, in the Peace of Amiens, to what proved to be a mere truce. He never faltered for a moment in his determination to crush England ; and having been chosen Consul for life felt himself secure at home, and began anew to prepare for outward aggression, by creating huge armaments in the ports of France, and stimulating afresh the hostility of Spain. The British Government saw

through his designs, and in May, 1803, wisely anticipated attack by a declaration of war. "Fifteen millions of people," said Bonaparte, alluding to the population of England, "must surely give way to the forty millions of France;" and he now planned an invasion of Britain on a gigantic scale. A camp of one hundred thousand of his best troops was formed at Boulogne, and a vast fleet of flat-bottomed small craft collected for their conveyance across the Channel. The peril of the nation recalled Pitt to power, as the one man able to cope with the new danger. The plan of attack of the Emperor Napoleon, as Bonaparte now proclaimed himself, embraced the drawing away of the blockading fleet, which effectually barred the outward passage of his army, in pursuit of the united French and Spanish fleets, and the sudden return of the latter to obtain command of the Channel. But the great victory of Nelson off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805, effectually deranged all his plans, and his army of invasion lay helpless and inactive at Boulogne. Pitt soon found employment for him elsewhere, and induced Russia, Austria and Sweden to form a new alliance against him. "England has saved herself by her courage," said Pitt; "she will save Europe by her example." But Napoleon's genius crushed the combined armies of Russia and Austria at Austerlitz. The shock given Pitt, whose health had completely broken down, by the news of that defeat, suddenly terminated his feeble life. In May, 1806, he was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the same grave with Chatham; and the ashes of the greatest father and son, England has ever produced, mingle together. Fox succeeded Pitt, and although resolute as Pitt himself to save Europe, yet hoped for peace more ardently, and made overtures to Napoleon, to be met by an evasive answer, and a declaration of war against Prussia, which, on the 14th of October, was irretrievably ruined by the battle of Jena. From Berlin Napoleon marched into the heart of Poland, where the decisive victory of Friedland, in the summer of 1807, forced the Czar to consent to the Peace of Tilsit. Master of Europe he could now resume his task of crushing England, which again stood solitarily in his path to universal empire, and determined to execute the long-cherished projects he had formed against her commerce, and thus strike at her power in the most vital part. By the celebrated Berlin and Milan Decrees, all the continental ports  
1806. were closed against English manufactures, the whole British Islands declared in a state of blockade, and the seizure authorised of all vessels bound from British harbours, as well, also, as the seizure of British goods, wherever such could be  
1807. found. England retaliated by the no less famous "Orders in Council," which declared all the ports of France and her allies, from which the British flag was excluded, in a state of rigorous blockade, and that all trade in articles the produce or manufacture of the said countries, or colonies, should be deemed unlawful, and all such articles declared good prize. These Orders



in Council were merely adopting Bonaparte's own measures against himself, and with him the responsibility solely rested. The state of things arising out of these proceedings pressed heavily upon neutrals, especially on the Americans, whose adventurous spirit had, during this long war, enabled them to engross a considerable part of the carrying trade of the globe.

It was only natural that the American people, after the long and bloody struggle which had won their independence, should cherish a feeling of bitter hostility towards the British nation, while they evinced a corresponding feeling of gratitude towards their allies, the French. Yet, in cherishing that hostile feeling, they ignored the fact that neither the British Sovereign, nor the British Parliament, had fairly represented the British people, the great majority of whom sympathised with the struggle of their relatives in America for constitutional liberty, and bitterly deplored the miseries it had produced. This feeling intermingled itself with the popular poetry of the nation; and many a mournful ballad, set to the pathetic strains of Celtic melody, commemorated in Scotland, as well as in Ireland, but particularly in the latter country, the deplorable events of the Revolutionary War. But the chief American leaders in that war, were not afterwards actuated by the hostile feeling which had taken such firm hold of the undiscerning masses. Their aim had been to achieve the same system of Parliamentary independence, which the mother-land had won for herself by torrents of blood and centuries of bitter struggles, and not to crush a people whose laws, whose religion and whose language, were identical with their own; whose very existence was a part of themselves; and whose material interests lay largely in parallel directions. They felt, too, that although a separate people they were still of one blood, of one race, of one lineage; and that although a separation had taken place, under circumstances of difficulty and bad feeling, a vast amount of mutual benefit must still result from friendly intercourse. Hence, the student of American history will readily understand why the efforts of the great Washington, and of his immediate friends, up to his final retirement from public life, in 1796, were steadily directed towards repressing the anti-English spirit, which so extensively pervaded the Democracy of his country, with the view of laying the foundation of a lasting peace with Great Britain. Yet so strong were the sympathies of the American people with France and revolution, that in 1793 it appeared, for a time, as if the current of popular opinion would sweep even Washington, himself, from its path, and that a war with Britain must speedily take place. That true patriot was accused, in this period of intemperate national folly, of being, "like the traitor Arnold, a spy sold to the English." But, still unmoved, he firmly pursued the course he was satisfied would most conduce to the benefit of his country. The horrors of the French Revolution soon cooled the ardour of American Democratic admiration; law-abiding citizens could have no

sympathy with red-republican cut-throats. Washington's pacific policy triumphed, and he had at length the gratification to see a commercial treaty established with Great Britain.

But, although the partiality of the American Democrats for France had been successfully thwarted by the firm conservative conduct of the President, and lessened by the horrors of the guillotine, it had not by any means been wholly removed. As the war between Great Britain and France went on, during the Presidency of Mr. Adams, this feeling of partiality, gradually acquired renewed strength, despite the haughty tone of the French Directory. Nor was this feeling very sensibly weakened by the hostilities which broke out between the United States and France in 1798, and which terminated in a treaty of peace with Bonaparte in 1800. The election of Jefferson to the Presidency, in 1801, completely established the ascendancy of the Democratic Party in the Union, and no longer checked by the counteracting influence of government, the jealousy and dislike of everything British began to show itself more unmistakably than ever. The republican sympathy of America was about to exhibit the anomalous spectacle of allying itself with the despotic sway of Napoleon, thus spurning the constitutional liberty of Britain, just as in the present age it palliates the tyrannical rule of a Nicholas or an Alexander.

It might reasonably be supposed that after the promulgation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, by the French Emperor, who had scarcely a ship at sea to support them; and the purely defensive answer thereto made by the English "Orders in Council," the anger of the United States Government would be directed against Napoleon as the first aggressor. This course did not suit Mr. Jefferson, who now saw a favourable opportunity of stirring up the national hostility against England, and thus gratifying the Democratic Party, of which he was the leading exponent. He accordingly refused to ratify a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, concluded by the American minister at London with the British Government; and, on the 27th of October, communicated an angry message to Congress, inveighing bitterly against the British Orders in Council, but not breathing a single syllable of complaint against the Berlin and Milan Decrees, to which these orders were merely a reply. The Democratic majority responded to this message by decreeing an embargo, or prohibition to American vessels to leave their ports, which caused much distress and many murmurs, especially in the New England States, whose shipping interests were as yet the most important in the Union.

Meanwhile, the right of searching for British deserters in American ships, insisted on by the English Government, and other unfavourable circumstances, continued to widen the breach between the two countries. On the 23rd of June the American frigate *Chesapeake* was cruising off Virginia, and being known to have some British deserters on board, was hailed by an English man-of-war, the *Leopard*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by Captain

Humphries, who made a formal requisition for these men. The American captain denied he had them in his crew, and refused to admit the right of search, but was compelled to strike his colours by a broadside, when the deserters, one of whom was afterwards hung at Halifax, were taken out of his vessel. But the English Government disavowed this act, and offered to make reparation, as the right of search, when applied to vessels of war, extended only to a simple requisition, and should not be carried into effect by actual force.

The state of things which now existed between England and the United States, gave little hope of an amicable arrangement of differences. The distress, however, caused by the 1808. embargo strengthened the hands of the Federalists, or peace party, who in New England, especially, acquired a decided preponderance. Massachusetts boldly protested against the law establishing it, and demanded its repeal, and it now appeared as if there were a prospect of the satisfactory adjustment of the points at issue. This prospect was still further advanced by the election of Mr. Madison to the Presidency, and by the repeal of the embargo law in March, 1809, and the substitution of an act prohibiting all intercourse with France and England, but which provided, at the same time, that if either of the belligerents should repeal their hostile edicts, this act should cease to be in force with respect to that nation.

The English ministry, deeming this a favourable time for negotiation, despatched Mr. Erskine to the United States for that purpose. Unfortunately he exceeded his instructions. Considering the suspension of the Non-intercourse Act a fair equivalent for that of the Orders in Council, he stipulated that the latter should cease to be in force at a certain period. The English ministry refused to ratify this arrangement ; so a storm of indignation was raised in the United States, the hands of the war party strengthened, and the Non-intercourse Act renewed.

During this period it can easily be imagined what an immense injury the commerce of both countries sustained. The Orders in Council were not withdrawn, although Bonaparte offered to suspend the Berlin and Milan Decrees if they were, and the matter now appeared to be reduced to a point of etiquette, as to which nation should first give in.\* Meanwhile Bonaparte 1810. by his "Decree of Rambouillet," May 18th, 1810, struck a serious blow at the commerce of the United States, which the latter submitted to in the tamest manner. By this decree all vessels sailing under the flag of the United States, or owned wholly or in part by any American citizen, which since the 20th of May, 1809, had entered, or should thereafter enter, any of the ports of France or her colonies, or countries occupied by French armies, should be seized. This decree was at once executed, and

\* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. iv. p. 455.

under its provisions, 160 vessels, of the value of over two hundred thousand dollars, were seized. The United States remonstrated, but without avail, and there was no redress. It was war with England, and the conquest of Canada, that the American Government designed, and so there was no war with France, despite the great provocation given. During the following year, matters became more gloomy, and more portentous of war between

England and the United States. The prospect grew still darker in the early part of 1811. Mr. Pinkney, the American envoy at the British court, took formal leave of the Prince Regent on the 1st of March, and a rupture now appeared inevitable. So entirely were the American people of this opinion, that the intercourse with France was openly renewed. French vessels crowded into their harbours, were in numerous cases fitted out as privateers, and did considerable mischief to British commerce. The crisis was hastened by an accidentally hostile collision, on the 16th of May, between an English sloop of war, the *Little Belt*, of eighteen guns, and the American frigate *President*, of forty-four guns, in which the former had thirty-two men killed and wounded, and had to sail to Halifax for repairs. In the following

January, Congress, by a vote of one hundred and nine to 1812. twenty-two, decided to increase the regular troops to twenty-five thousand men, and raise an immediate loan of \$10,000,000.

By hastening hostilities, the Americans hoped, before their designs would be discovered, to secure the capture of the British homeward-bound West India fleet. With this view Congress laid a general embargo on all vessels in the harbours of the United States. They also expected to conceal the intelligence of their warlike preparations from spreading; while, at the same time, their idle commercial marine would enable them to man their fleet more easily. In order to work up, more effectually, the indignation of members of the Senate to the necessary point, the President laid before them certain documents, which he had purchased from a Captain Henry for \$50,000,\* paid out of the secret service fund. This person had resided in Canada during the greater part of General Craig's administration, and in 1809, was sent to Boston, without the knowledge of the Home Government, to gain information of the condition of political parties in the United States.† The intelligence he supplied was of very little value, and could have been acquired just as well from the newspapers of the day.‡ He was recalled after a three months' absence, during which he wrote fourteen letters to Craig's secretary. Not thinking himself sufficiently remunerated for his services, he went to England, in 1811, and applied to the Foreign Office for an additional reward, stating that he would be satisfied

\* Frost's United States, p. 349.

† Christie, vol. ii. p. 9.

‡ Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. iv. p. 456.

with the post of judge advocate of Lower Canada, or a perpetual consulate in the United States. He was referred back to the Canadian Government; but having already got all he could expect in that quarter, he proceeded to the United States, and offered to sell his papers to Madison. The latter, expecting important disclosures would be made, which would strengthen his party, and blacken the British Ministry, closed with the proposal, and paid him the enormous sum already stated. Henry, however, completely outwitted him. Still, although the President obtained no information of importance, he turned what he did get to the best possible advantage; but the excitement the affair produced in the United States speedily subsided,\* and their peace party suffered no injury.

On the 19th of June, Congress passed an act declaring war against Great Britain, and directing that hostilities be immediately commenced. Four days afterwards the Orders in Council were repealed by the Liverpool Administration, in which Lord Castlereagh was now the minister for foreign affairs, an occurrence which was known in the United States in a few weeks. But although the ostensible cause of war was thus removed, Congress did not recede from the hostile position it had assumed. Wide as were their geographical limits, the Democracy of America desired additional territory, and would fain have gratified their hatred of Great Britain by driving her from the valley of the St. Lawrence, and thus depriving her of the source whence she now derived her chief supply of timber, as well as a most important addition to her breadstuffs. But a most influential party in the United States vigorously opposed this unholy lust for conquest. Delegates from several counties of New York protested, at Albany, against the war, on the ground that the same injuries as those inflicted by England, had also been sustained from France; that hostilities with the latter would equally have satisfied national dignity, without anything like an equal risk of danger; that England had revoked her Orders in Council; and that it was repugnant to a free people to ally themselves with the Emperor Napoleon, "every action of whose life demonstrated a thirst for universal empire and the extinction of human freedom."†

In Congress, Randolph, of Virginia, opposed the impolicy of the war, in eloquent and forcible language. "It seems," he said, "this is to be a holiday campaign—Canada is to conquer herself—she is to be subdued by the principles of fraternity. The people of that country are first to be seduced from their allegiance, and converted into traitors as a preparation to the making them good American citizens. He detested this subornation of treason. If we must have them let them fall by the valour of our arms, by fair

\* Auchinleck's Hist. of the War of 1812, p. 36.

† See proceedings of Convention on the 17th and 18th of September, 1812, at Albany.



legitimate conquest, not as the victims of treacherous seduction. By this war," he continued, "you abandon all claims for the unparalleled outrages, insults, and injuries of the French government. By our own unwise measures, we have so increased the trade and wealth of Montreal and Quebec, that at last we begin to cast a wistful eye on Canada." "You will act absurdly," said another member of Congress, Mr. Sheffey, "if you expect the people of Canada to join you. Upper Canada is chiefly inhabited by emigrants from the United States. They will not come back to you; they will not, without reason, desert the government to which they have gone for protection. No, sir, you must conquer it by force, not by sowing the seeds of sedition and treason among the people."

Such were the sentiments of the more honourable, the more moderate, and, certainly, not the least patriotic, of the American people. The Democratic faction, in its thirst for conquest, would ally itself with the despotic Napoleon against Britain, then the last stronghold of liberty in Europe, and avail itself of the most disreputable methods to acquire Canada. Such, also, were the sentiments of most of the gallant men who had struggled for freedom with Washington—of even the very states which had been the cradle of American liberty, and whose revolutionary sacrifices had been the greatest. The men of New England had striven too ardently for freedom to ally themselves with despotism, or to visit the evils of invasion upon the unoffending people of Canada. At Boston, the day war was declared, all the ships in the harbour displayed flags half-mast high, in token of mourning; and a meeting of the inhabitants passed resolutions stigmatising the course of the majority in Congress as unnecessary, ruinous in its consequences, and leading to a connection with imperial France destructive to American liberty and independence. While such were the calm sentiments of the free and native-born men of New England, the foreign population of Baltimore—the refugees of the Irish rebellion, dreaming German socialists, and French pupils of the "Reign of Terror"—violated the freedom of speech, and the rights of person and property. The editor of the *Baltimore Federal Republican* had rendered himself obnoxious to the war-party, and a mob assembled to attack his house. His friends collected to assist in its defence, and several times repulsed the assailants. At length a body of military appeared to whom the editor and his friends surrendered, upon assurance of safety, and were conducted to prison as a measure of protection. Next day the mob attacked the gaol, and burst in the doors. Some of the prisoners escaped, but many were severely wounded; and General Lingan, a man of seventy, once the personal friend of Washington, was cruelly murdered in cold blood; while General Lee, a distinguished soldier of the revolution, and also an old gray-headed veteran, had his skull fractured.

Meanwhile the contest in Europe had commenced to assume a new form. The British fleets continued to proudly sweep the seas ; and assured as to the safety of its own shores, the Home Government was now giving active assistance by land to its continental allies. After the celebrated retreat of Sir John Moore, Wellington was placed in command of the army in Portugal, and there commenced that series of victories which finally culminated in the battle of Waterloo, and the imprisonment of Napoleon in the Island of St. Helena. When the United States entered into the great struggle, a critical period had arisen in the history of mankind. Six days after President Madison had carried out the Act of Congress, and issued his declaration of war against Great Britain, Napoleon crossed the Niemen on his march to Moscow. Successful as his policy had been in causing war between England and the United States, it had been equally successful in causing war with Russia. When the Czar agreed to enforce the Berlin and Milan Decrees against England, his main object was to influence Napoleon to consent to his own advance against Constantinople. His idea was that the empire of the world should be divided between the autocracies of Russia and of France. But his dreams in this direction were speedily dissipated by the progress of events. He soon found that Napoleon would brook no equal ; and that instead of dividing the empire of the world with France he would have to rest content with merely becoming the first vassal of its ruler. And he also found, that if he persisted in strictly carrying out the policy of discontinuing all trade with England, the best customer of Russia, it would ruin his own subjects, the landholders, and so produce anew the dissatisfaction which had led to the assassination of his predecessor Paul. He likewise saw, with no small distrust, the seizure of the northern coasts of Europe by Napoleon, who shortly afterwards peremptorily demanded from Russia an entire cessation of intercourse with England. This demand was met by a refusal ; and both sides now prepared for a gigantic struggle. While the French armies were slowly moving across the plains of Poland towards Moscow, Wellington was driving Marmont before him in Spain. And while the fate of the civilised world was suspended in the balance, the American Government struck at its own kith and kin, who were fighting for the liberties of mankind, and thus gave aid to the most dangerous enemy of human freedom the world had ever seen.

In rushing into war the Democracy of the United States calculated upon an easy conquest of Canada, entangled as England was now in a life or death struggle with Napoleon which taxed her strength to the utmost. The regular troops, in both provinces, amounted to barely four thousand men, to which if we add thirteen hundred fencibles and five hundred artillery, the force for the protection of a vast frontier of fifteen hundred miles in extent was only five thousand eight hundred men. The population of Upper Canada was less than eighty thousand souls, while that of Lower

Canada did not exceed two hundred and twenty thousand.\* On the other hand, the population of the United States had prodigiously increased since the revolution, and was now nearly eight millions ; while their resources were enormous, and gave them immense advantages in carrying on a war against a comparatively poor and sparsely populated country like Canada. In point of numbers the odds were almost twenty-seven to one against the latter—an enormous disproportion. The United States had also the advantage, in the commencement of the war, of being the assailing party ; and could thus penetrate at leisure any part of our long frontier they pleased, while we had to protect the whole. But, aside from all these favourable circumstances, the American Democratic party relied upon the people of Canada, themselves, to aid in wresting this country from Great Britain. The trifling political troubles in Upper and also in Lower Canada had led them to suppose that the inhabitants were weary of British rule, and would readily ally themselves, on the first opportunity, to the United States. But they were fully as much mistaken on this point, as in supposing that they could conquer these provinces by force of arms. If the Canadians were dissatisfied with the too great power of the Executive, a system of favouritism, and the arbitrary conduct of judges and other public officials, they were in no disposition to cure ills of this kind by a recourse to the greater evil of unbridled republicanism. The bulk of the people remained sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy, and a very general feeling of loyalty to the Crown pervaded both provinces. This feeling was decidedly the rule ; a desire for an alliance with the United States the exception. But comparatively few Canadians joined the American standard during the war, and throughout which none were more gallant in rolling back the tide of unprincipled invasion, than the immigrants from New England and New York, who, aside from the U. E. Loyalists, had settled in the country.

But aside from the monarchical predilections of the inhabitants, themselves, whether of British, French or American, origin, Canada at this period possessed a most important element of strength in the friendship of the western Indian tribes, who had faithfully adhered to their treaties with King George, made at the close of the Pontiac rebellion. Meanwhile, these tribes had gradually imbibed a feeling of dislike and hostility towards the American people, whom they termed “long knives ;” and who invaded their country in swarms, and ruined their hunting grounds. And so, as time moved onwards, they drew closer to the British Crown, and willingly took up the hatchet in its behalf during the War of Independence. Although the close of that war left the western Indians, and especially those of the Ohio country, at the mercy of the United States, their more dependent position

\* Gourlay, vol. i. p. 612

did not abate their hostility ; and all the friendly feeling they at one time cherished towards the French was transferred to the British. That feeling was increased, in no small degree, by the liberal policy of the Crown towards the Mohawks and the other Indians who took refuge in western Canada in 1784 ; and a good understanding with whom was sedulously fostered by Simcoe.

Although over forty years had passed away since the death of Pontiac, his memory was still cherished by many of the western tribes ; and in the earlier years of the present century, the Shawnee and other Ohio Indians felt strongly disposed to revive his policy, and form a new league in order to preserve their hunting grounds from the encroachments of the white settlers. This project was strongly entertained by two leading Shawnee chiefs, Tecumseth and his brother Elskwatana, or the Prophet, who adopted the mystical character for the purpose of exercising a wider influence. The approach of war between Great Britain and the United States raised their hopes of success to a very high pitch, and in 1811, during the absence of Tecumseth among the southern tribes, the attitude of the Prophet became so threatening, that the American Government dispatched a strong force, under General Harrison, to compel his submission. A battle ensued at Tippecanoe, in which the Shawnees and their allies were completely defeated. Shortly after this occurrence Tecumseth offered his services to the Canadian authorities, in the event of war with the United States. His offer was so favourably entertained, that he removed with a large part of his personal following to western Ontario. After the war had broken out he was created a brigadier general, and gave most important aid in repelling American invasion. Tecumseth was the most remarkable Indian who had appeared since Pontiac's death. He was now in his forty-second year, tall and finely formed, of dignified carriage, and temperate habits, then, as now, a most unusual trait in the Indian character. While usually of a silent and thoughtful habit, he was remarkably eloquent and forcible in council, and exercised great influence there. Unlike his fellows he cared nothing for the decoration of his person, and dressed, like the simplest Indian, in a deer skin jacket, and in pantaloons of the same material. Although frequently possessed of considerable sums of money he spent little on himself. His ruling passion was glory, and not wealth. He had a thorough knowledge of the geography of the western country, and was an admirable commander in front of an enemy. He sacrificed his life in defence of his adopted country, and thus made an imperishable place for himself in its history. To the important aid rendered by the Shawnee and other western tribes, in the outset of the contest, before the militia was properly organised, or reinforcements had arrived from England, may, in a great measure, be attributed the preservation of western Canada. The famous confederacy of the Iroquois had been entirely broken up by the Revolutionary war. At its close the Mohawks and a

part of the Oneida, Onondaga and Tuscorora tribes, moved into Canada ; while the remainder of the confederates clung to their ancient hunting grounds in western New York, and became the allies of the United States. Under their famous chief, Red Jacket, the Senecas, still a numerous tribe, gave most important assistance to the United States during the war, in which they engaged, in 1813, after issuing a formal declaration of hostilities against the two Canadas.\* Nor had the Iroquois, as a people, suffered much diminution in point of numbers. They were about as numerous in 1812 as when Frontenac had invaded their country one hundred and sixteen years before. The Senecas might be said to be the only Indian allies of the Americans during the war. The hostile feeling so generally entertained by the western tribes, and the great influence exercised among them by Tecumseth and his brother, effectually held them at the side of the British.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF LIEUT-GENERAL SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

General Prevost, the successor of Craig as Governor General and commander-in-chief, arrived at Quebec on the 14th of 1811. November, and at once assumed charge of the civil administration of Lower Canada. A native of England, and born in May, 1767, he had entered the army at an early age, became lieutenant colonel of a battalion of the 60th Rifles, was created a baronet in 1803 for his meritorious services, and in 1808 raised to the rank of lieutenant general, and appointed to the government of Nova Scotia, where his administration was very popular. On his arrival at Quebec, one of his first measures was to visit the different frontier posts on the Richelieu, and to make himself acquainted with the geographical features of a locality so likely to soon become the theatre of war.

The Lower Canadian Parliament met on the 21st of February ; and although it refused to renew the "Alien Bill," or the 1812. statute "for the better preservation of his Majesty's government," it passed a very liberal militia act. \$48,000 were granted for drilling the local militia ; \$80,000 more for incidental measures of defence ; while a further sum of \$120,000 was placed at the Governor's disposal should war be declared between Great Britain and the United States. The returns laid before the House showed that the revenue for the year ending January 5th amounted to \$300,648, the expenses of the civil list to \$238,668. Five hundred and thirty-two vessels had cleared, during the year, from the port of Quebec, of which thirty-seven had been built there. The Governor pursued a wise and conciliatory policy, and many of the parties who had been deprived, by his predecessor, of their commissions in the militia were now reinstated, while Bedard was

\* Thatcher's Indian Biography vol. ii, p. 287. See also Nile's Register vol. iv.



appointed to a district judgeship at Three Rivers, as some compensation for his illegal imprisonment by Craig. The benefit of this course was soon apparent. On the 28th of May, a general order directed the embodiment of four regiments of militia, which were filled up by the *habitants* with the greatest alacrity. A regiment of Canadian Voltigeurs was also raised, the command of which was given to Major de Salaberry, a Canadian gentleman of French extraction.

On the 24th of June it became known at Quebec that Congress had declared war, so all American citizens were warned by the Government to quit the Province by the 3rd of July. On the 30th of June a proclamation was issued imposing an embargo on all vessels in the harbour, and convening the Legislature for the 16th of July. The Assembly acted with the greatest liberality. A statute to legalise the issue of army bills to the amount of \$1,000,000 was passed, in order to replenish the public exchequer ; and an annual grant of \$60,000 made for five years, to pay whatever interest might accrue. On the 6th of July the whole militia of the Province had been directed to hold themselves in readiness to be embodied, while the flank companies of the Montreal militia were formed into a battalion and armed.

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, General Brock had been busily employed in making preparations for the contest, which he now saw clearly was approaching. He had some trouble with the Legislature, which he called together on the 3rd of February, and which refused to pass two of his proposed measures, namely, the suspension of the *habeas corpus* and a militia supplementary act, as it did not think war would take place. No sooner, however, did it perceive its error than a very effective militia bill was passed, and \$20,000 granted to defray training expenses. Still, Brock had considerable difficulties to encounter. There were but few troops in the Province, and not sufficient muskets to arm half the militia ; while, at the same time, the Governor-General informed him no aid need be looked for from England for some months, as the idea prevailing there was, that the Orders in Council having been repealed, war would not be declared by the United States.

Hostilities speedily commenced. On the surrender of the fort at Mackinaw to the Americans, a small military post for the protection of the fur-trade had been established forty-five miles to the north-east, on the Island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron. No sooner had General Brock learned, on the 26th of June, that war had been declared by the United States, than he sent orders to Captain Roberts, commandant of this post, to possess himself of Mackinaw, if possible ; but if first assailed he was to defend himself to the last extremity, and then retreat upon St. Mary's, a station belonging to the North-West Company. By the 15th of July Roberts had prepared his attacking force, consisting of forty-two regulars, three artillerymen, one hundred and sixty Canadian voyageurs, half of whom only were armed with muskets or

fowling-pieces, and two hundred and fifty Indians. On the following morning he embarked his force in boats, and on the 17th landed near Mackinaw, garrisoned by sixty regular soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Hancks. Roberts immediately summoned him to surrender, which was complied with after a few minutes' delay. And thus at the very outset of the war a most important post, commanding the entrance into Lake Michigan, was acquired without loss of blood. Apart from the value of the acquisition in itself, the occurrence had an excellent effect in retaining the north-west Indians in the British interest.

While these events were transpiring, General Hull, who had spent several months in organising a force for the invasion of western Canada, on the 12th of July crossed the Detroit River, with two thousand five hundred men, to Sandwich, where he planted the American standard, and published a most inflated proclamation, calling on the inhabitants to surrender. "He did not come to ask their assistance," he said; "he had a force which would look down all opposition, and that force was but the vanguard of a much greater. The United States," he continued, "offer you peace, liberty, and security; your choice lies between these and war, slavery, and destruction." Very few, however, of the Canadians joined his standard, or accepted his offers of protection. On the 22nd of the same month, Brock issued, at Fort George, a counter-proclamation, in which he showed the odious alliance of the Americans with the despotic Napoleon, and pointed out to the people the responsibilities they had incurred by their oath of allegiance, and the duty they owed to their country.

Eighteen miles from Hull's camp lay the village of Amherstburg, defended by Fort Malden, now unfit to stand a siege, so imperfect were the works, and garrisoned by three hundred regular troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. George. The surrounding country was difficult to traverse, and the River Canard, flowing a little distance behind the village, and falling into the Detroit River some three miles above it, offered a favourable position for checking the advance of an enemy. Off the mouth of the Canard lay the British sloop of war *Queen Charlotte*, eighteen guns, which effectually prevented the advance of an armament by water.

On the 17th Hull pushed forward, towards Amherstburg, a reconnoitring detachment, which was speedily driven back by the few troops and Indians St. George had ambushed at the Canard. Next day the Americans, in greater numbers, attempted to force a passage, but with no better success; and on the 20th they were a third time repulsed. On this occasion two hundred of their army, attempting to ford the river higher up, were put to inglorious flight by twenty-two Indians; many, in their hurry to escape, throwing away their arms and accoutrements. Hull now began to be encumbered with wounded, and the vessel in which were the

hospital stores of his army having been captured, his difficulties increased. In his rear Mackinaw had fallen, while Colonel Proctor, who, on the 5th of August, had been sent on by Brock with a small reinforcement, threw a force across the river opposite Amherstburg, which routed two hundred and sixty of the enemy, captured a convoy of provisions, and effectually interrupted his communication with Ohio. Had Hull pushed forward at once, after crossing the river, with resolution and skill, Amherstburg must have fallen. But the right time for action had been allowed to pass; the Indians were arriving in considerable numbers to aid the British, the militia also began to muster; and, worst of all, Brock was advancing from Toronto. On the 7th and 8th, Hull recrossed the river with the whole of his army, except a garrison of two hundred and fifty men left in a small fort he had erected at Sandwich, and established himself at Detroit. From thence he despatched a body of seven hundred men to re-open his communications with Ohio,—a duty effected with heavy loss to themselves, while the British and their Indians allies, although compelled to retreat, suffered very little. On the other hand, Lieutenant Rochelle, with the boats of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter*, attacked and captured a boat-convoy of the Americans. After a fatiguing journey by land and water, Brock arrived at Amherstburg on the night of the 13th, and met the Indians in council on the following morning, when a line of mutual action was agreed upon. Among the chiefs present was Tecumseth.

In one of the recent skirmishes Hull's despatches to his government had been captured. These breathed so desponding a tone, and painted his position in such unfavourable colours,\* that Brock determined to attack him before he received succour, a course most amply justified by the result. By the 15th a battery was constructed on the bank of the river, opposite Detroit, and three guns and two howitzers placed in position, when Brock summoned Hull to surrender. He refused to comply, when the battery opened fire. Next morning the British, numbering in all seven hundred regulars and militia and six hundred Indians, crossed the river three miles below the town. Forming his men in column, and throwing out the Indians to cover his flanks, General Brock advanced steadily towards the fort. When at the distance of a mile he halted to reconnoitre, and observing that scarcely any defensive precautions had been taken at the land side, resolved on an immediate assault. But Hull prevented this movement by capitulating; the garrison with troops encamped in the vicinity, amounting altogether to two thousand five hundred men, surrendering to little more than half their number. With Detroit a large quantity of military stores and provisions was given up, and the whole territory of Michigan was also surrendered on the simple condition that life and property should be respected. The American

\* Christie, vol. ii. p. 28.

militia were permitted to return to their homes, while the regular troops and officers, over one thousand in number, were sent down to Quebec as prisoners of war.

Thus disgracefully, on the part of the Americans, ended the first attempt to conquer Upper Canada. Within the short space of five weeks Mackinaw had fallen, Detroit had been captured, and the chief part of their army of invasion compelled to surrender; while their whole north-western frontier was left exposed to hostile incursions. The successes of the British regular troops and militia, against a force so much their superior in numbers, had a most excellent effect in raising the spirits of the Canadian people, and securing the fidelity of the Indians. Had Hull been a man of energy and decision matters must have been very different. Yet, in any event, with the force at his disposal, he could scarcely have established himself permanently in a hostile country difficult to traverse, and which, as at the River Canard, presented many favourable positions to check the progress of an invading force. But, aside from every consideration, his surrender was one of the most cowardly and humiliating occurrences that had ever taken place in North America. Hull's timid and vacillating conduct appears in strange contrast with the foresight, energy and decision, of the gallant Brock, whose rapid movement on Mackinaw; expeditious advance to Amherstburg, after he had dismissed the Legislature; and bold passage of the Detroit River in the face of a superior force, when he had learned the timidity of its leader, unquestionably stamp him as a man of superior genius, and remind one of the most fortunate days of the gallant Montcalm. It has been stated that Brock committed a grave military error in assuming the aggressive at Amherstburg. There was no rashness about the movement. He understood his antagonist, acted as any gallant man would, or should, have acted under the circumstances, and his success constituted the best answer to hostile criticism. The great error would have been, in not availing himself of so favourable an opportunity to strike such an important and effective blow at the commencement of hostilities.

On the same day on which Detroit surrendered, Brock issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Michigan, confirming them in the full enjoyment of their properties; and stating, that the existing laws would continue in force until the pleasure of the Crown should be known. Having made such other arrangements as he deemed necessary he returned to Toronto, where, on the 17th, he was received with the heartfelt acclamations of a grateful people. He would have followed up his successes by an immediate attempt on Fort Niagara, but was prevented by his instructions from Sir George Prevost.

The Home Government had hitherto been inclined to pursue a policy of forbearance towards the United States, under the supposition that the Orders in Council having been repealed, the quarrel would soon be arranged. Aggressive measures, it was thought,

would only tend to exasperate the Americans, widen the breach, and hinder the establishment of peace. In pursuance of this line of policy, Prevost had proposed, in the latter part of July, an armistice to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States' army, Major-General Dearborn, in the hope that existing differences might be speedily arranged. The latter agreed to this measure, excepting, however, Hull's army; but the American Secretary of War, General Armstrong, refused to ratify the armistice, presuming it originated in a sense of weakness and danger on the part of the British general.

The recent invasion of Canada had been based on the same principle of combined movement pursued by Amherst. Hull was to enter the country at Detroit, and Van Ransallaer at the Niagara River, while Dearborn assailed it by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. In addition to the troops assembled at these points, the Americans had established military posts at various favourable places along the frontier, whence harassing incursions, which inflicted serious injury on the inhabitants, were frequently made across the border. At Gananoque, a little village thirty miles below Kingston, a party of one hundred and fifty, led by Captain Forsythe, landed, defeated a small body of militia, took possession of some public stores, and retired after ill-treating the defenceless people of the neighbourhood. At Ogdensburg a considerable force, under Brigadier Brown, seriously interrupted the communication between Kingston and Montreal. Lieutenant-Colonel Lethbridge, commanding at Prescott, on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, formed the design of capturing this position, and advanced across the river, on the 4th of October, under cover of the guns of his own fort. When about mid-channel the enemy opened a warm and well-directed fire upon his boats, which speedily compelled him to retreat, with a loss of three men killed and four wounded. On the 9th an affair of more importance occurred at Fort Erie. An armed brig, as well as another vessel laden with prisoners and furs, had arrived on the preceding day, and were cut out just before dawn by a strong party of Americans. Both vessels drifted down the current of the Niagara River, and grounded near the opposite shore, where the crews after a sharp contest were made prisoners. During a fog a party of British from Fort Erie succeeded in boarding and dismantling the armed brig. A few lives were lost during these occurrences.

Owing to the infatuation of the Home Government, which still confidently looked for the establishment of peace, and had no idea that the conquest of Canada was really designed by the Americans, the 103rd regiment and a weak battalion of the 1st, or Royal Scots, with a few recruits, formed, up to this period, the only assistance despatched to Sir George Prevost. Matters along the American frontier had, in the meantime, assumed a more threatening appearance. Irritated rather than discouraged by the surrender of Hull, preparations by land and water were energeti-



cally pushed forward for the conquest of Upper Canada before the winter set in. General Harrison had collected a large army at the west to revenge the fall of Detroit, while Dearborn instructed Van Ransallaer to penetrate, at Queenston, Brock's line of defence on the Niagara, and establish himself permanently in the Province. For this operation the force at his disposal was amply sufficient, the British regulars and militia collected for the defence of this entire frontier line of thirty-six miles being under two thousand men. But, owing to the exertions of Brock, who clearly saw the approaching danger, these troops were in the best possible state of efficiency, and thoroughly on the alert.

During the 12th Van Ransallaer completed his preparations for attacking Queenston. The following morning was cold and stormy, but nevertheless his troops were embarked in boats at an early hour, and everything made ready to push across the river with the first blush of dawn. These movements were soon discovered by the British sentries, who gave the alarm. Captain Dennis of the 49th, who commanded at Queenston, immediately collected, at the landing place, two companies of his regiment and about one hundred of the militia to oppose the enemy, whom he held in check for a considerable time, aided by the fire of an eighteen-pounder in position on the heights above, and a masked gun about a mile lower down. A portion of the Americans, however, landed higher up, and ascending by an unguarded path, turned the British flank, captured the eighteen-pounder, and speedily compelled Dennis, who had sustained considerable loss, to retreat to the north end of the village. Here he was met by General Brock, who had heard the cannonade at Niagara, and pushed forward, in company with his aides-de-camp, Major Gregg and Colonel M'Donnell, to ascertain its cause. Having learned how matters stood, he dismounted from his horse, and resolving to carry the heights, now fully in possession of the Americans, placed himself at the head of a company of the 49th, and, waving his sword, led them to the charge in double-quick time, under a heavy fire from the enemy's riflemen. Ere long one of these singled out the general, took deliberate aim, fired, and the gallant Brock, without a word, sank down to rise no more. The 49th now raised a shout to "revenge the general!" when regulars and militia madly rushed forward, and drove the enemy, despite their superior numbers, from the summit of the hill.

By this time the Americans had been strongly reinforced, and the British, who had never exceeded three hundred altogether, finding themselves almost surrounded, were compelled to retire, having sustained a loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, of nearly one hundred men, including several officers. They reformed in front of the one-gun battery, already stated as being a mile below Queenston, to await the arrival of assistance. Van Ransallaer had, therefore, made a solid lodgment on Canadian soil with nearly a thousand men, and after giving orders to form an intrenched

camp, recrossed the river to send over reinforcements. But the American militia, having now seen enough of hard fighting, were suddenly seized with conscientious scruples about going out of their own territory, and comparatively few crossed over to the assistance of their comrades beyond the river, who were thus left to shift for themselves. Early in the afternoon, a demonstration was made against the American position, in the most gallant manner, by young Brant, at the head of some fifty Mohawks. These after a sharp skirmish were compelled to retire, owing to the steady front presented by Colonel, afterwards General, Scott, who had meanwhile arrived, and assumed the chief command, Wadsworth, a militia general on the field, waiving his right thereto.\*

But the British had no intention of surrendering Queenston so easily. Major General Sheaffe, an American by birth, assumed the chief command on Brock's death, and having collected all the troops at Niagara and Chippewa, moved forward in admirable order to drive the enemy from their formidable position. His force, inclusive of one hundred Indians, was under one thousand men, of whom only five hundred and sixty were regulars, with two small guns. After making a long detour to the right, to gain the open ground in rear of the heights, Sheaffe began the attack by an advance of his left, which, after delivering a volley, charged with the bayonet, and drove in Scott's right. He then advanced his main body, and, after a sharp conflict, a part of the enemy were driven back over the first ridge of heights to the road leading to the Falls, while another portion let themselves down, with the aid of the roots and bushes, towards the river, hotly pursued by the Indians, who were with difficulty withdrawn.

Resistance was now out of the question, and the Americans, to the amount of nine hundred and fifty regulars and militia, surrendered. So completely had they been scattered, that hardly three hundred men remained with Scott when he gave himself up. Their loss in killed and wounded was also severe, but has never been correctly ascertained : it could scarcely, however, be under three hundred men.

Thus ended in total discomfiture the second attempt of the Americans to establish themselves permanently in Upper Canada. The British loss, in a numerical point of view, was comparatively small, and did not in killed and wounded amount to much over one hundred men ; but the death of the gallant Brock dimmed the lustre of victory, and cast a gloom over the country. Descended from a respectable family in Guernsey, he had embraced the profession of arms at an early age, and served with distinction in some of the principal campaigns in Europe ; among the rest at Copenhagen with Lord Nelson. As a civil governor he was firm, prudent and just ; as a soldier, brave, skilful and humane, and the idol of his troops ; while the Indians regarded him as the

\* Stone's *Life of Brant*, vol. ii. p. 508.

*beau idéal* of a gallant warrior. He fell at the early age of forty-two, just as his harvest-time of honour and distinction had begun, and his country had learned to regard his opening career with pride. He was respected by all classes—by friend and foe alike, and minute guns from the American as well as from the British batteries bore honourable testimony to his great personal worth, as he was buried at Fort George, on the 16th of October, side by side with Colonel M'Donnell, in a grave watered with the tears of brave soldiers and sorrowing citizens. Brock's name has not been forgotten; the people of Canada still cherish his memory; and while the current of the Niagara speeds past the scene of his death, he will occupy an honourable place in the pages of its history.

On the day after the battle of Queenston, Van Ransallaer requested an armistice of three days, to enable him to take care of his wounded and bury his dead, which was granted by Sheaffe, on condition of destroying his boats, which was immediately complied with. On the 15th Wadsworth and all the principal officers were paroled, with the exception of Scott, who refused to be liberated, and was sent down to Montreal with the other prisoners of the regular army. The militia were all permitted to return to their homes, on condition of not serving during the war. Among the prisoners were twenty-three men who admitted themselves to have been British-born subjects, and were sent to England to be tried as traitors. The Americans subsequently retaliated, by threatening to hang an equal number of their prisoners if any ill befell these men. They were ultimately released, and the matter terminated. Scott had angry words about them with the British general at Niagara, and refused to be paroled on that account.\*

On the 16th Van Ransallaer, disgusted, as he said, with the conduct of the militia, requested permission from Dearborn to resign his command. The latter assented, and directed Brigadier-General Smyth to assume control of the United States' army on the Niagara frontier. This officer immediately applied for an armistice of thirty days, which Sheaffe agreed to, though on what ground does not appear. Probably he anticipated the arrival of reinforcements, and considered that any course which retarded hostilities against his command would be beneficial to Canadian interests, slenderly guarded as the frontier was. But the advantage was altogether on the enemy's side, who was thus allowed breathing space to recruit after his defeat, and to make preparations undisturbed for fresh operations. Hostilities, however, still continued in other directions. A body of Americans, four hundred strong, led by Major Young, surprised, at St. Regis, the picket, composed of Canadian voyageurs, killed their officer and seven men, and carried off twenty-three prisoners. A counter-attack by the

\* He was subsequently paroled by Sir George Prevost, and most dishonourably broke it. Several other American officers did the same.

British was soon after made in the same neighbourhood, when three officers and forty-one privates of the enemy were made prisoners.

The month of November had now set in, bleak, cold and cheerless, yet the Americans persisted in their schemes of conquest. Dearborn, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, hung upon the confines of Lower Canada ; Smyth, with five thousand men, occupied the Niagara frontier ; while Harrison, the bravest and most formidable of them all, with his Kentucky forest-rangers and Ohio sharp-shooters, threatened the weak British force under Proctor in the distant west. At the same time, Commodore Chauncey had, by enormous exertions, equipped a fleet on Lake Ontario, which now forced the Canadian shipping to remain under the guns of the forts at Kingston, Toronto, and Niagara. Chauncey was generous as he was brave. In his first cruise he captured two schooners. On board of one of these he found the plate of General Brock, which he restored to his brother, a captain of the 49th, who had it in charge, in testimony of the high respect in which he held the deceased officer.

Dearborn had established his headquarters at Plattsburg, and despatched from thence a strong body of infantry and a troop of dragoons, to make a reconnaissance towards the British advanced posts in the neighbourhood of Rouses Point. On the morning of the 20th, before day, these troops surrounded a guard-hut in which were a few Canadians and Indians, who returned their fire, and safely escaped in the confusion. The Americans fired upon each other in the dark, and killed and wounded several of themselves. On discovering their mistake they retired. Dreading an invasion in force, General Prevost now directed the whole militia of the Province to hold themselves prepared for active service. The greatest enthusiasm was manifested, and the militia of the district of Montreal moved *en masse* on the point of threatened invasion, to repel the enemies of their country. Dearborn now saw the fruitlessness of attempting a descent on Montreal, and began to withdraw his sickly and enfeebled troops from the frontier, in order to place them in winter quarters. All prospects of invasion, from the direction of Lake Champlain, having thus terminated, the British general ordered the troops and militia to return.

While these events were transpiring in Lower Canada, the armistice between Smyth and Sheaffe, as regarded their respective commands, had drawn to a close. Every preparation had meanwhile been made for another descent upon Canada, which, this time, was to be effected between Chippewa and Fort Erie. For the defence of this frontier, fully twenty-one miles in extent, there were less than seven hundred regulars and militia, while the American "army of the centre," as it was magniloquently styled, was at least five thousand strong. After a gasconading proclamation in the Napoleonic style, which would lead one to doubt Smyth's common sense, a division of fourteen scows, with about four

hundred men on board, crossed the river at the upper end of Grand Isle, before day on the morning of the 28th. They succeeded in carrying a four-gun battery defended by sixty-five men of the 49th regiment and three officers. Thirty of these were made prisoners, including Lieutenants King and Lamont; the remainder, under Lieutenant Bartley, made a stout defence, but were ultimately compelled to retire. The bulk of the American force then returned across the river, leaving a few officers and forty men behind, who were all made prisoners, after a feeble resistance, by a detachment from Fort Erie. At 7 a. m., eighteen scows advanced across the river to effect a landing. A few rounds from a six-pounder sunk two of these, and, with the aid of a steady fire of musketry, threw the remainder into confusion, and compelled the enemy to retire.

Smyth's failure and disgrace was complete. His inflated proclamations had raised the expectations of the American people to the highest point, and his want of success depressed their spirits in proportion. To see their "army of the centre" held effectually at bay by a force scarcely one-sixth of its number, was a source of bitter indignation to the Democracy of the United States. Smyth was appropriately nicknamed General Van Bladder. His own soldiers despised him, and he had finally to flee from the camp to escape their indignation. He was universally denounced as a traitor and coward, was hooted and shot at in the streets of Buffalo, and the tavern-keepers shut their doors in his face. Government, meanly sharing the feeling of the populace, cashiered him without trial, and was sustained in this arbitrary act by the Senate of the United States. Yet Smyth was an officer of the regular American army, which is cursed by the same seniority system prevailing in the British service. Men, however, are advanced continually from the ranks to the grade of commissioned officers in the latter, while in the United States' regular army no private can rise, as a rule, above the position of a sergeant. The American military service is the most aristocratic of any in the world, and all its officers must be graduates of West Point.

The campaign of 1812 against Canada terminated, as we have seen, in most humiliating defeat and disgrace. Large armies had been repelled by a few regular troops, aided by the Canadian militia, whose patriotism and unflinching courage did them the greatest honour. These results strengthened, in no small degree, the influence of the peace party in the United States. It was now clearly seen that the Canadians, as a people, were sincerely attached to their union with Great Britain; and that the war, as it went on, had assumed more and more the character of an 'unprincipled invasion of unoffending neighbours. Shortly after Smyth's defeat, the Legislature of Maryland declared, by a series of resolutions, that the war was incompatible with republican principles, opposed to their interests and impolitic; and that Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, had acted constitutionally in refusing their



quota of militia. In Congress, on the 2nd of January, Mr. Quincey denounced the hostile course pursued by its majority. "We seized the first opportunity," said he, "to 1813. carry the war among the harmless colonists. It was not owing to our government that the bones of the Canadians were not mixed with the ashes of their habitations. Since the invasion of the buccaneers, there was nothing in history more disgraceful than this war."

Such were the sentiments which actuated, at this period, the right-minded portion of the people of the United States. But unfortunately for the cause of freedom, justice and humanity, the Democratic faction retained a small majority in Congress, and resolved to inflict still further the evils of war on the hapless Canadians, whom it was their interest to have regarded as friends and neighbours.

While the Americans, during 1812, were unsuccessful in their hostile operations by land, they achieved some remarkable successes at sea, the last place to expect them. Their navy, although small, was an admirable one, their vessels very large for their class, fast sailers, and well-equipped; while, at the same time, their idle merchant marine enabled them to man their ships with the best picked crews procurable. On the other hand, constant success had made the British careless as to the equipment of their frigates and smaller craft; and with fully a thousand vessels of war, of all sizes, in commission, and a desire for economy on the part of the Admiralty, effectiveness of detail was frequently much neglected. The result of this state of things was, that the British had very soon the mortification to see several of their ships of war captured at sea, and their commerce greatly injured by the fast sailing and well-equipped American cruisers; and it seemed, for a time, as if Britannia no longer ruled the waves. Several of the American frigates were literally cut down seventy-four gun ships,\* and all their fleet was largely manned by British seamen seduced from their allegiance. On the 19th of August one of these large frigates, the *Constitution*, of 56 guns, and a crew of 460 men of all ranks, captured the English frigate *Guerriere*, of 48 guns, and 244 men. The guns of the *Constitution* threw a weight of metal fully fifty per cent. more than those of the *Guerriere*; independent of other disadvantages on the side of the latter ship, which was returning home from a long voyage, greatly out of repair, and her powder damp and so reduced in strength. Her captain, Dacres, fought her bravely, however, and only surrendered after sustaining a loss of 15 killed and 63 wounded; while the *Constitution*, owing to her commanding height, only lost 9 killed and 11 wounded. The *Guerriere* was so badly damaged that she could not be kept afloat, and was set on fire by her captors.†

On the 16th of October, the brig *Frolic*, convoying several

\* James' Naval History, vol. viii. p.2: † Dacres Report August 21st 1812.

merchant vessels from Honduras to England, met with a violent gale which seriously damaged her masts and sails. While in this crippled condition, and her crew engaged in making repairs, she was attacked by the United States sloop of war *Wasp*, and captured after a severe action, in which she lost 30 killed and 45 wounded. When the Americans took possession of her only three officers and the man at the wheel, were found alive on deck. On the afternoon of the same day a British man-of-war fell in with and captured both vessels, and sent them into Bermuda. Seven days afterwards the *Macedonia*, of 38 guns and 246 men, was captured by the frigate *United States*, of 44 guns and 474 men, commanded by Commodore Decatur. The weight of the *Macedonia's* shot was 528 lbs, that of the *United States* 864 lbs. The British loss was 36 killed and 68 wounded. The American loss was only 5 killed and 10 wounded. Two-thirds of the *United States'* crew were British sailors. On the 29th of December, the *Java* frigate, while on her way to India with recruits, was attacked by the *Constitution*, and surrendered after a fierce battle of four hours' duration, and sustaining a loss of 22 killed and 92 wounded, out of a crew of 292 men, nearly one-third of whom were raw landsmen from Ireland. The *Constitution* lost 10 killed and 48 wounded.

These single combat successes at sea, helped to keep up the spirits of the war party in the United States, and were regarded as a compensation for the severe defeats sustained on land. At the same time, they had the salutary effect of teaching the English Admiralty the necessity of looking more carefully after the equipment of its frigates and smaller craft, and so as to place them on a better footing to meet the large and finely equipped vessels of the American fleet. Between this fleet, and the swarm of privateers set afloat to prey upon the vast ocean commerce of Great Britain, 305 prizes, large and small, were captured during the year,—a heavy loss to its mercantile marine.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST,—*continued*. THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

THE Legislature of Lower Canada assembled on the 29th of December, and at an early period of the session took measures to provide for the increased expenditure entailed by the war. The Army Bill Act was renewed and extended; 1812. and, in agreement with its provisions, \$2,000,000 were 1813. authorised to be put into circulation, \$60,000 were granted to equip the embodied militia, \$4000 to provide hospitals for their use, and \$100,000 for general purposes of defence. In addition to these sums, two and-a-half per cent. on all merchandise imported into the Province, except provisions, were also granted to the Government for the support of the war, as well as a second two and-a-half per cent. on goods brought in by persons not resident for six months in the country.

In Upper Canada the Legislature was convened on the 25th of February, by General Sheaffe, and passed several necessary measures. Among these was one to facilitate the circulation in the Province of the army bills issued in Lower Canada, and making them a legal tender in all public offices. Another act authorised the Government to prohibit the exportation of grain, and restrain distillation therefrom, owing to an apprehended scarcity of food. Pensions were granted to widows and orphans of militiamen killed in the war; the sale of liquors to the Indians was prohibited for a specific period; and several other useful bills passed.

In the United States the disasters of the recent campaign had produced great dissatisfaction among the majority of its citizens, who now began to realise, more fully than ever, that the subjugation of Canada was a hopeless task. Still, the war party determined to persevere in the endeavour to force their yoke on an unwilling people, yet evidently more from a desire to restore their tarnished military reputation, than from the lust of conquest. But the unsatisfactory prospects now before them, independent of the continuance of a profitless and disastrous war, gave renewed

strength to the American peace party. The heavy taxes imposed to defray the largely increased public expenditure, and the almost total stoppage of commerce of every kind, added greatly to the popular discontent ; and the stern pressure of adversity had already begun to teach the American Democracy wisdom. The people's murmurs now compelled their government to recede, in some measure, from its position of inveterate hostility towards Great Britain and the Canadas. In the month of March a message from President Madison to Congress recommended the repeal of the Non-importation Act, which was speedily carried into practical effect. High as its hopes of conquest had been Congress now saw fit to lower its tone of defiance, and not only repealed the Non-importation Act but the Embargo Act as well. Sanguine hopes were thus awakened throughout the Union, that hostilities would speedily be terminated. But the American people were soon undeceived on this head. They had endeavoured to grasp Canada when almost wholly unprotected by regular troops, and, as they supposed, entirely at their mercy, but had been repelled, principally by its gallant militia. They had striven to drive Great Britain from her last foothold in their neighbourhood, and the attempt had so far mainly resulted in defeat and disgrace ; and further punishment was now at hand. On the 25th of April Great Britain replied to the pacific overtures of Congress, by declaring the whole American seaboard in a state of blockade. This declaration added largely to the existing discontent, and for a time it appeared as if the New England States would secede from the Union. The direct taxes had already advanced fully fifty per cent., various new imposts had been added ; and so low had the credit of the country fallen that its government could not negotiate a loan, and was compelled to issue treasury bills to supply the want of a circulating medium.

Meanwhile, the campaign in the west had opened favourably for Canada. There General Harrison hovered on the borders of Michigan, prepared to strike a blow for its recovery on the first opportunity. Colonel Proctor, who still commanded at Detroit, had established several outposts in that neighbourhood ; one of which at Frenchtown, about twenty-six miles distant on the River Raisin, was composed of thirty of the Essex militia, under Major Reynolds, and two hundred Indians. Winchester, who commanded a brigade of Harrison's army, detached Colonel Lewis with a strong body of troops, on the 17th of January, to drive the British and their allies from this post. This purpose was effected after a sharp action, in which the Americans had twelve killed and fifty wounded, when Reynolds fell back upon Brownstown, sixteen miles in his rear. Lewis maintained his position at Frenchtown undisturbed, and was there joined by Winchester with the remainder of his brigade, which numbered altogether nearly one thousand regular troops.

Proctor's position was daily becoming more critical, and he now

resolved to attack Winchester before Harrison, who was three or four days' march behind, came up, and beat the enemy in detail. Collecting his disposable force, consisting of five hundred regulars, seamen and militia, and six hundred Indians, at Brownstown, on the 21st, he pushed forward to Swan Creek, a short distance from Frenchtown, where he bivouacked for the night. Next morning, before day, he made preparations for attacking the enemy, whom he assailed at the first light of dawn by rapidly driving in his pickets on the main body, when the action became general. Winchester's left flank was speedily turned by the Indians, his line of battle broken, and he found himself so hardly pressed that he was compelled to retreat. He was soon afterwards captured by the Wyandot chief, Roundhead, who brought him to Proctor.\* About four hundred of his men had in the meantime thrown themselves into the houses of the village, where they continued to make a desperate defence till it was threatened to burn them out, when they surrendered.†

In this action the enemy lost about two hundred and fifty men in killed, including several officers; one brigadier-general, (Winchester,) three field officers, nine captains, twenty subalterns, and over five hundred privates were made prisoners. The loss of the British was also severe, and amounted to twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded.‡

The prompt and spirited conduct of Proctor completely checked, for the time, any forward movement on the part of Harrison, who even considered it prudent to retire farther back till he received reinforcements. Nor did the gallant conduct of Proctor go unrewarded. The Legislature of Lower Canada, then in session, tendered him a unanimous vote of thanks for his skill and intrepidity, while General Prevost raised him to the rank of brigadier-general, a measure afterwards confirmed by the Prince Regent.

During the winter the St. Lawrence above the rapids is usually so firmly frozen over, that the heaviest loads may cross in safety. The officer commanding the American force at Ogdensburg availed himself of this circumstance to despatch marauding parties into Canada, which, on several occasions, treated the peaceable inhabitants with cruelty. One of these forays, made by two companies of riflemen commanded by Captain Forsythe, on the night of the 6th of February, was directed against the village of Brockville, twelve miles up the river. After wounding a sentry, and firing into several houses, the enemy carried off fifty-two of the inhabitants as prisoners, the greater part of whom, however, were released in a few days.

\* Proctor's Despatch to Sheaffe, 26th of January, 1813.

† Winchester to the American Secretary of War, January 1813. Harrison to Governor Shelby, 24th of January, 1813.

‡ Christie, vol. ii. p. 70. The greater part of the American wounded were massacred by the Indians in revenge for their own loss.



General Prevost, now on a tour through Upper Canada, arrived at Prescott on the 21st, and directed Major M'Donnell to make a demonstration against Ogdensburg on the following morning, with the view of drawing out the garrison in order to ascertain its strength. If, however, he found the opportunity favourable, he was allowed the discretionary power of converting the feigned into a real attack, to punish the enemy for their wanton inroads on the frontier.\* In pursuance of these instructions Major M'Donnell, after dividing his force, composed of four hundred and eighty regulars and militia, into two columns, pushed across the ice at daybreak on the following morning. Believing the opportunity favourable, he now determined to assail the American position at once. This he gallantly accomplished under a heavy cross fire from their batteries, which he captured with the bayonet, although the deep snow retarded his advance, and caused greater loss than would have otherwise been sustained. The enemy fled across the Oswegatchie River, or retired into houses, whence they kept up a galling fire till M'Donnell brought up his field-pieces, which speedily dislodged them.

While these successes were achieved by the main column, the other, composed of one hundred and fifty men, and led by Captain Jenkins, moved towards Fort La Presentation, and soon found themselves under a battery of seven guns, which they gallantly endeavoured to carry. Captain Jenkins, while leading the charge had his left arm broken to pieces by a grape-shot. Still he continued to advance with his men, till his right arm was also rendered useless by a case-shot, when exhausted by pain and loss of blood he was unable to move. At this crisis the main body of the British advanced to the aid of their hard-pressed comrades, when the battery was carried, and in a few minutes afterwards the old French fort shared the same fate at the hands of a company of the Glengarry militia and another of regulars, both led by Captain Eustace. Thus, in less than an hour, the entire position of the enemy, defended by five hundred men, was captured in the most gallant manner.

In this action the British had seven men killed, and seven officers and forty-one men wounded: the American loss, on the other hand, was twenty killed, a proportionate number wounded, and some prisoners. The greater part of the Americans ran away, however, so nimbly, that they could not be overtaken.† Four brass field-guns, seven iron guns, several hundred stand of arms, and a considerable quantity of stores fell into the hands of the victors; as well as two small schooners and two gun-boats, which were burned. This important success had the effect of preventing any further forays upon the Canadian frontier, from Cornwall to Gananoque, during the remainder of the winter.

\* Major M'Donnell's Despatch to General Prevost, 23rd of February, 1813.

† Christie, vol. ii. p. 71.

As yet no assistance of importance had been received from the mother-country, and the defence of Canada rested chiefly on the militia ; who, on every occasion, had acted with all the gallantry of the best regular troops. On the part of the local authorities every exertion continued to be made, with unabated courage, to place the country in the best state of defence. The three Canadian regiments, the Glengarries, Fencibles and Voltigeurs, were recruited with diligence and success, and in the month of March most acceptable assistance arrived in the 104th regiment of the line, which had made a rapid and most extraordinary journey from New Brunswick through the wilderness.

On the side of the Americans the most strenuous exertions were now made to insure the conquest of Canada in the ensuing campaign. Their plan of operations was again based on the same system of combined movement, which had succeeded so badly with them in the preceding year. Harrison was to recover Michigan, and threaten Canada at its western extremity ; while Commodore Chauncey, aided by a strong land force under General Pike, was to capture Toronto, and invest Fort George at Niagara. Here Pike's force was to form a junction with another army, then cross the river from Buffalo, and carry the British posts at Erie and Chippewa. Western Canada completely subdued, the combined American armies were to descend to Kingston, in the reduction of which they would be aided by a third force under General Dearborn in person. This important position captured, Montreal and Quebec were to be next assailed, and the Union Jack for ever driven from the valley of the St. Lawrence.

Agreeable to this plan of operations, Chauncey sailed from Sackett's Harbour, on the 25th of April, with fourteen armed vessels having sixteen hundred troops on board, and on the evening of the following day appeared off Toronto, then garrisoned by a force of only six hundred regulars and militia. On the ensuing day the enemy commenced to disembark about three miles to the west of the town, a movement accomplished with some difficulty, owing to the steady resistance of the militia and regular troops. These, however, after displaying great gallantry and suffering severe loss, were compelled to retire on the town. General Dearborn, who remained on board one of the vessels of the fleet, had intrusted the command of his troops to Brigadier Pike. The latter now formed his men on the beach, in order to take the British position in flank, while the fleet, which had worked up into the harbour, should assail it in front.

It appears, from all that can be gathered on the subject, that the defences of Toronto at this period were in a most wretched condition, owing to the culpable negligence of Sheaffe. Chauncey's fire from the shipping completely overpowered the batteries on shore, and enabled Pike to carry the first line of defences with little difficulty. When at the distance of two hundred yards from the principal western battery its fire suddenly ceased, and the

Americans at once halted, being under the idea that the British were about to surrender. The next moment the head of their column was literally blown into the air, owing to an artillery sergeant, of the name of Marshall, firing the powder magazine to prevent its falling into their hands. Had they advanced a little nearer the greater part of the Americans must have been destroyed; as it was they had two hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter was General Pike, who died in a few hours. Several British soldiers were also killed by the explosion, which shook the town and surrounding waters as though it had been an earthquake. American writers censure Sheaffe for blowing up the magazine, and denounce it as a piece of unparalleled barbarity; but acts of this kind are perfectly legitimate in warfare, and of frequent occurrence. The Americans were there solely for the purpose of conquest and aggrandisement; and their invasion was accordingly of that odious stamp, as to make it only a subject of regret that their whole column was not blown up. In any case Sheaffe had nothing to do with it, and with Marshall, who acted without any orders from his superiors, solely rested the responsibility.\*

It now became evident that the few British troops and militia would not be able to resist an enemy so vastly their superior in numbers and artillery. The garrison was accordingly withdrawn towards the town, a second powder magazine blown up, and a ship on the stocks as well as the naval stores destroyed. These operations completed, General Sheaffe retired towards Kingston with his few regular troops, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Chewett of the militia, to treat with the enemy, who now gained possession of the town after an obstinate contest with a force scarcely one-third his number, not taking his navy into consideration, of seven hours' duration. Sheaffe, however, suffered much in the public estimation, on account of his failure in defending Toronto, and was shortly afterwards superseded in the chief command of Upper Canada by Major-General de Rottenberg. On his return to the Lower Province, he was appointed to command the troops in the district of Montreal.†

The British loss in this action was severe, one hundred and thirty having been killed and wounded; that of the Americans was much more serious, and swelled up to nearly three hundred and fifty. The militia, to the number of two hundred and ninety-three, surrendered as prisoners of war. The regular troops, as we have already seen, effected an orderly retreat, and it is a matter of surprise that Sheaffe did not also take the militia with him, in which case the Americans would have had no prisoners to boast of. As it was, they got possession of the militia muster roll, and endeavoured to swell up the list of captives by including all the men enumerated, but the greater part of whom were absent.

\* Auchinleck p. 152.

† Sheaffe's Despatch to General Prevost, Kingston, 5th of May 1813.

Having succeeded in his attack on Toronto, and destroyed such public stores as he could not carry off, the enemy re-embarked on the 2nd of May and sailed for Niagara, the capture of Fort George being the next part of his plan. Having landed the troops in a favourable position in its neighbourhood, Chauncey returned to Sackett's Harbour for reinforcements. These were speedily brought up, and by the 25th his fleet, with the exception of two vessels left cruising near Kingston, was again assembled off Niagara. For the defence of Fort George, now so seriously menaced by a large fleet and army, General Vincent, commanding on the Niagara frontier, had scarcely fourteen hundred men. But, what was still worse, the works of Fort George were not by any means strong; the guns were of smaller calibre than they should be, and the supply of powder wholly insufficient, owing to the enemy having complete command of the lake, and the great difficulty of transporting stores by land.

On the 26th, Fort Niagara, on the American bank of the river, opened a heavy cannonade, by which Fort George was considerably injured. Next morning this cannonade was resumed, and being supported by several vessels of the fleet, the heavy cross fire soon rendered the fort untenable. Chauncey posted the remainder of his vessels in advantageous positions, to cover the landing of the American troops, and swept the beach with a shower of shot and shell. Still, the British gallantly held their ground, and repulsed three attempts of the enemy to land. But Vincent, after a severe struggle of three hours' duration, finding it useless longer to oppose a force four times his own in point of numbers, and supported by a powerful fleet, directed the guns to be spiked and the magazine blown up, and retreated in excellent order towards Queenston, leaving the Americans to take possession of the ruins of Fort George and a few damaged houses.\* On the following day, having withdrawn the garrisons from Fort Erie and all the posts downwards, Vincent, whose force was thus increased to sixteen hundred men, continued his retreat to Forty Mile Creek, on the road to Hamilton. The British loss during the recent action was fifty-two killed and three hundred wounded and taken prisoners. The loss of the enemy was thirty-nine killed and one hundred and eleven wounded.†

Meanwhile Harrison, notwithstanding the annihilation of Winchester's Brigade, still persevered in his determination to drive the British across the Detroit River and recover Michigan. With this view he established himself, in the first days of spring, at the foot of the rapids of the Miami, where he constructed a block-house and other works to form a safe depot for his stores, as well as a base for offensive operations when his reinforcements came up. Proctor's plan was to beat the enemy in detail, and he now resolved

\* Vincent's Despatch to General Prevost, 28th of May, 1813. Alison's Hist. Europe, vol. iv. p. 465.

† Christie, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76.

to attack Harrison while his force was yet comparatively weak. Collecting five hundred and twenty regulars, four hundred and sixty militia, and fifteen hundred Indians, with a few pieces of artillery, he accordingly proceeded, on the 23rd of April, to assail the enemy. As usual, at this season of the year, the roads were very heavy, and presented a serious obstacle to the passage of cannon. By the 1st of May, however, Fort Meigs was invested and a heavy fire opened on the works, which sustained very little damage, owing to the small calibre of the besiegers' guns. On the morning of the 5th, two American regiments, twelve hundred strong, under Brigadier Clay, having come up, the besieged made a vigorous sally, carried the British batteries, and pursued the Indians who fell back steadily though rapidly. Proctor's main body getting speedily under arms, he succeeded in cutting off the retreat of his assailants by a rapid and judicious movement, and after a sharp action a great part of the enemy was either killed or captured. Upwards of five hundred prisoners were taken on this occasion, several of whom were afterwards massacred by the Indians, who were restrained from further excesses only with the greatest difficulty, and the personal influence of Tecumseth. Several of the British soldiers on guard over the prisoners were wounded in endeavouring to shield them from the fury of the savages ; and one old veteran was shot through the heart.

Proctor's victory was most complete. The enemy had lost over seven hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners ; while the casualties of the British were only fifteen killed and forty-five wounded.\* But, half his militia left soon after the battle, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues of a siege, and a deputation of chiefs waited upon him to counsel him to return, as their people (as usual after an engagement of consequence) desired to go home, to take care of their wounded, and dispose of their plunder, of which they had taken a large quantity. Thus Proctor had no alternative save to raise the siege and retire, which he did undisturbed, carrying off his guns and stores.† Still, the offensive operations of Harrison were completely paralysed for the time ; and he had to await fresh reinforcements before he could resume the initiative in the campaign.

This victory raised, in some measure, the spirits of the Canadians, considerably depressed by the capture of Toronto and Fort George, the possession of the Niagara frontier by Dearborn's large army, and the complete command of Lake Ontario obtained by Chauncey's fleet. Matters, however, soon began to assume a better appearance in Upper Canada. Sir James Yeo, a naval officer of distinction, arrived at Quebec on the 5th of May, with several officers of the royal navy and four hundred and fifty seamen

\* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. iv. p. 465.

† Proctor's Despatches to Governor Prevost, 14th of May 1813. Christie, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82. Auchinleck's Hist. of the War of 1812, pp. 142-144.



for the lakes. Captains Barclay, Pring and Finnis, had already come up overland from Halifax, and were busily engaged at Kingston in putting the fleet into a state of preparation to meet the enemy. The Governor-General accompanied Yeo to Kingston, and the public began to look forward to important offensive operations. Nor were they disappointed. The enemy's fleet was still at the head of the lake, and it was now determined to make a dash at Sackett's Harbour, the great depot of the American naval and military stores.

On the 27th of May, the British fleet, consisting of seven armed vessels, mounting altogether one hundred guns, left Kingston with nearly one thousand troops on board, led by Sir George Prevost in person, for Sackett's Harbour, where it arrived at noon next day. The troops were immediately placed in flat-bottomed boats, or scows, preparatory to advancing against the enemy, while Prevost proceeded two miles nearer in-shore to reconnoitre. Deeming the works too strong to be captured by his force, he ordered the troops to re-embark, and this being effected the ships wore round and stood for Kingston with a light wind. About forty Indians had accompanied the fleet in their canoes; who, not understanding why the troops were prevented from landing, determined to effect something on their own responsibility. They accordingly rowed towards land, and their appearance so terrified some seventy dismounted dragoons, that they hoisted a white flag as a signal to the British shipping for protection, and were promptly taken on board.\*

Prevost now finding that the Americans were not so formidable after all changed his mind, and determined to attack them on the following day. The indecision and delay were fatal to the objects of the expedition. Had the troops pushed boldly on shore at once, Sackett's Harbour must have been captured, and the immense stores collected there destroyed, which would have effectually crippled the enemy's operations on Lake Ontario. But, during the night, the militia collected from all quarters, and a sharp action ensued as the British effected a landing. Led by Adjutant-General Baynes, the latter soon dislodged the Americans with the bayonet, pursued them to their fort and block-houses, and set fire to their barracks. Their militia scattered in all directions, leaving about four hundred regular troops, under General Brown, to make the best defence they could.† This officer, believing the post untenable, ordered the naval store-houses, hospital, and marine barracks to be set on fire, and prepared to surrender. Unfortunately, at this crisis, the fleet had not yet come up; there were, therefore, no guns to batter the block-houses, and Prevost, deeming the dust raised by the runaway militia to be caused by a column advancing to aid the enemy, directed a retreat. This was immediately

\* Auchinleck p. 162.

† Alison's Hist. Europe vol. iv. p. 465. Frost's United States, p. 364.

effected, to the great regret and mortification of the British troops, while not an American soldier dared to show himself. Still, the enemy suffered severe loss; and all the plunder taken at Toronto was consumed in the burned buildings. A frigate on the stocks had also been set fire to; but on discovering the retreat of their assailants, the Americans returned and extinguished the flames.\*

In this action the British lost one officer and forty-seven men killed, and twelve officers and nearly two hundred men wounded and missing; the loss of the enemy was also heavy. But, severely as they suffered, our troops had won a complete victory, and little further loss, if indeed any, would have been entailed in capturing the entire position, and destroying all the enemy's stores.† The public were severely disappointed, and Prevost's military reputation suffered a shock from which it never recovered.‡

The capture of Toronto and Fort George, and the retreat of General Vincent towards the head of Lake Ontario, had enabled Dearborn to establish himself in a solid manner on the Niagara frontier. But these successes effected little, after all, towards the complete subjugation of Upper Canada. Vincent, with a small yet highly efficient force, occupied a good position on Burlington Heights, and was a formidable foe, although almost destitute of resources, and with only ninety rounds of ammunition per man. Had Dearborn despatched a force in vigorous pursuit of Vincent on his retreat from Fort George, he might have seriously embarrassed and perhaps defeated him. But his efforts in this respect were languid in the extreme, and the month of June had already set in before he endeavoured to retrieve his error. He now despatched two brigades of infantry, three thousand strong, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, with nine field-pieces, to dislodge the British from their position.

On the 5th of June Vincent first received intelligence of the approach of this formidable force, by the retreat of his advanced pickets from Stony Creek, where the Americans formed their camp for the night. The condition of the British General was now extremely critical. In his rear Toronto had fallen, the lake on his left flank presented no prospect of succour, and an enemy twice his strength, with a formidable train of artillery, threatened him in front. Unfortunately as he was situated he saw that he must hazard a battle. While still undecided what course to pursue, he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey to reconnoitre the enemy's position. This officer soon ascertained that the American pickets were few and negligent, and their line of encampment long and broken. He accordingly proposed a night-attack to Vincent, who at once gave his consent, hoping to accomplish by surprise what his small force and want of ammunition must hinder him from effecting in the open field.

\* Christie, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80. † Baynes's Report to General Prevost.

‡ Christie, vol. ii. p. 81

Towards midnight the British force, consisting of the 49th regiment and a part of the 8th, and mustering altogether only seven hundred and four bayonets, moved silently forward to attack the American camp, distant about six miles. Arrived in its neighbourhood Vincent intrusted the command of the assault to Harvey, who speedily succeeded in surprising and capturing the enemy's outlying pickets, without alarming his main body. This duty performed, the little band pushed swiftly yet regularly down upon the centre of the hostile camp, where in a few minutes all was confusion and dismay. The Americans were driven from their tents and scattered in all directions by the charges of the British, who fearing, however, to expose their small numbers to view retired ere the day dawned, with Brigadiers Chandler and Winder, one hundred and twenty other prisoners, and four captured guns.

The British did not, however, achieve this brilliant success without loss. One officer and twenty-two men were killed, and twelve officers and one hundred and eighty men wounded and missing. But the loss of the enemy was also severe, aside from the injurious effects a night attack, so well executed, had on the spirits of his men. This was soon evinced by the rapid retreat he made the same morning to Forty Mile Creek, ten miles from the scene of action, where he halted on meeting General Lewis advancing to his assistance with a strong detachment.

Meantime, Commodore Yeo had exerted himself so effectually, that the British fleet on Lake Ontario became stronger than the American, and Chauncey had retired to Sackett's Harbour. This gratifying event enabled a communication to be at once established with Vincent's little army. On the 3rd of June Yeo sailed with his squadron for the head of the lake, having two hundred and eighty men of the 8th regiment on board, with some much-needed clothing and provisions. At daylight on the 8th the fleet was off Forty Mile Creek, when the commodore summoned Lewis to surrender. This he refused to do, but shortly after hurriedly retreated to Fort George, leaving his tents standing, and his provisions and wounded behind; all of which were soon taken possession of by the advanced guard of Vincent's force. Twelve large boats, carrying baggage, were also captured by one of the vessels of the fleet.

The tide of fortune had now completely turned against Dearborn, who was soon cooped up in Fort George and its vicinity. Sickness, battle and desertion, had wasted away the large force he had brought into Canada to less than five thousand men. His own health, also, became more and more feeble. Still, it was a strange spectacle to see his army hemmed in and intimidated by a force scarcely one-third its number. Nor was this owing to the physical inferiority of the men who composed it. Nearly all the defeats of the American army may be traced to its want of discipline, and the incapacity of its leaders.

But Dearborn's reverses had not yet terminated. On the 28th

of June he despatched Colonel Boerstler with a detachment of nearly six hundred men, including fifty cavalry and two field-guns, to dislodge a British picket posted at a stone house at Beaver Dam, a place between Queenston and the village of Thorold on the Welland Canal. By some means, Mrs. Secord, of Chippewa, whose husband had been wounded at the battle of Queenston, and her house plundered and destroyed by the Americans, learned the object of this movement, and walked nineteen miles, by a circuitous route to avoid the American posts, to Beaver Dam, to apprise the officer commanding there of the danger which threatened him. Thus warned, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon lost no time in communicating with Captain Ker, who was at the head of two hundred Indians in the neighbourhood, and also with Major de Haren, commanding a body of troops to the rear. Boerstler's march was soon checked by the Indians, aided by thirty-four men of the 104th, who lined the woods along the road. After a sharp skirmish of two hours' duration, the Americans began to retreat, but were attacked in another direction by twenty militia, who were accidentally passing. At this crisis Lieutenant Fitzgibbon summoned Boerstler to surrender, and to his great astonishment the latter consented. The lieutenant was quite at a loss to know what to do with his prisoners, who were double the number of the British and Indians; but luckily Major de Haren came up in time to take charge of them. This affair entirely ruined Dearborn's military reputation, and he was soon after superseded in his command by Major-General Wilkinson.

Its want of success, on this occasion, still further dispirited the American army, and enabled Vincent to establish his outposts closer to its position. By the 1st of July the British pickets occupied a line extending from Twelve Mile Creek to Queenston, thus restricting the enemy to the small angle formed by the river and lake, at the apex of which stood Fort George. The American army, by sickness and casualties, had been reduced to four thousand men of all arms, who were now so completely dispirited as to permit themselves to be held in close blockade by a force barely half their number.

The favourable condition of the British army on the Niagara frontier soon enabled it to resume offensive operations. From Chippewa a descent was made at daybreak, on the 4th of July, on Fort Schlosser, at the opposite side of the river, under the direction of Colonel Clark of the militia, which resulted in the capture of the American guard, a large quantity of provisions, one brass six-pounder, a gun-boat, fifty stand of arms, and some stores. Seven days afterwards Colonel Bishop crossed over to Black Rock, three miles below Buffalo, with two hundred and forty regulars and militia, took the enemy completely by surprise, and destroyed his barracks, dockyard, a vessel lying there, and captured a considerable quantity of stores, seven guns, and two hundred stand of arms. The alarm, however, rapidly spread, and General Porter at

once drew together a strong body of American regulars, militia and Seneca Indians, from whose fire the British suffered severely in the retreat. The gallant Bishop was mortally wounded, thirteen men killed, and a considerable number severely injured.

These surprises, alike rapidly and skilfully executed, alarmed the Americans, and kept them so sharply on the alert, that nothing more could be accomplished against their positions, on the Niagara frontier, during the remainder of July. For the greater part of August, also, the two armies remained inactive within a short distance of each other. Towards the latter part of the month Sir George Prevost arrived from Kingston, and, on the 24th, made a demonstration against the enemy at Fort George, in order to draw him out and ascertain his strength. But the Americans kept under cover of their intrenchments, and it was not deemed advisable to attack them there, their number being yet superior by two to one to Vincent's army. Still, the Canadians had become so accustomed to see brilliant victories won against large odds, that they felt extremely dissatisfied something was not done by Prevost on this occasion. His popularity as a civil governor, however, remained unabated. Meanwhile, Commodore Yeo was not idle, and sweeping the lake with his fleet, supplied Vincent's army with abundance of stores and provisions. All this time Chauncey remained at Sackett's Harbour waiting the equipment of his new ship, the *Pike*. During the earlier part of July, Yeo fitted out an expedition of boats to destroy this vessel, and would probably have succeeded, but for the escape of two deserters, who apprised the enemy of his purpose. Towards the end of the month the American fleet, now much superior to the British, again appeared on the lake, and with a body of troops on board stood towards Burlington Heights, the principal depot of Vincent's army, with the view of destroying the stores collected there. This design was frustrated by a rapid movement of the Glengarry corps from Toronto, which was thus left defenceless. Chauncey accordingly proceeded thither, and, on the 23rd of July, landed there, without opposition, a body of troops, who set fire to the barracks and public store-houses, liberated the prisoners in gaol, ill-treated some of the inhabitants, and retired with the few stores they could find. Chauncey then returned to Niagara, off which Yeo appeared on the 8th of August with his six ships. The American fleet, consisting of fourteen vessels, and much superior to the British fleet also in guns and men, stood out to attack him, but not being able to get the weather gauge, retired under cover of the shore batteries after giving a single broadside. During the night two of Chauncey's schooners were lost in a squall. Next day the fleets again manœuvred to get the weather gauge. On the 10th this advantage rested with Yeo, who, aided by a good breeze, bore down to attack the enemy. Chauncey declined the battle, however, and retired to Niagara, leaving two fine<sup>1</sup> schooners to be captured by the British



commodore, who now returned to Kingston without having sustained the loss of a man.

While these events were transpiring on Lake Ontario, Harrison was steadily prosecuting in Ohio his preparations for the recovery of Michigan, while Captain Perry exerted himself in fitting out a fleet, in order to obtain the command of Lake Erie, of which the Canadians as yet had the control. Proctor and Tecumseth endeavoured to capture Fort Meigs by surprise on one of the last days of July, but withdrew on finding the garrison on the alert. The British and their Indian allies next made a dash at Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky River, which Proctor, after a brisk cannonade, endeavoured to carry by storm on the 2nd of August, but was repulsed with serious loss. Three officers and fifty-two men were killed or captured, and forty-one wounded. Proctor, finding his guns were not sufficiently heavy to overpower the fire of the garrison, and dreading the advance of Harrison to its succour, retreated to Amherstburg.\*

Whilst the tide of ruthless invasion thus broke with checkered fortunes along the frontier of Upper Canada, important successes were achieved against the enemy on the boundaries of the Lower Province. The old fortifications on the Isle-aux-Noix, where Lake Champlain narrows into the Richelieu River, had been repaired, a garrison placed there under Major Taylor, and three gun-boats sent thither from Quebec. On the 3rd of June an armed vessel was observed from this post, and her capture immediately resolved upon. No sailors were to be had, so Taylor manned the gun-boats with his soldiers, who promptly proceeded to attack the enemy, while another detachment was directed to push down on each side of the river, and open a cross fire from land. Meanwhile, another vessel hove in sight, and bore up to assist her consort. Both were compelled to strike their colours after a short action, when they proved to be the American vessels *Growler* and *Eagle*, of eleven guns and fifty men each, under the command of Lieutenant Smith, as commodore. In this action the British had only three men wounded; the loss of the Americans was also trifling. The *Eagle* had been so much injured during the engagement as to make it necessary to run her ashore to prevent her from sinking.†

This was a most important success, and it was immediately determined to follow it up, by striking a blow against the naval and military depots of the enemy on Lake Champlain. The *Eagle* was easily got off, refitted, and named the *Broke*, while the other captured vessel was named the *Shannon*, and also put in order, as well as three gun-boats, for an expedition up the lake. But the difficulty was to man this little squadron, as no seamen could be spared from the fleet on Lake Ontario. Fortunately, at this

\* Major Croghan's Despatch to Harrison, 5th of August 1813. Christie, vol. ii. pp. 89, 90. Prevost's General Order, Kingston, 3rd of September 1813.

† Taylor's Despatch to Stovin, 3rd June 1813.

juncture, Captain Everard, of the brig of war *Wasp*, lying at Quebec, volunteered his services, and manned the *Broke* and *Shannon* with his crew.

Sufficient batteaux having been procured, and every preparation completed, the little fleet, with nine hundred regular troops on board under Colonel Murray, sailed from Isle-aux-Noix on the 29th of July. On the 31st the expedition arrived at Plattsburg, where a landing was effected without opposition, a considerable body of American militia, under Brigadier Moore, retiring without firing a shot. A large quantity of military stores was promptly sent on board the shipping, and Colonel Murray then leisurely proceeded to burn the arsenal, store-houses, and barracks recently built, capable of accommodating four thousand men.\* While the troops were thus employed, Captain Everard, with his two schooners and one gun-boat, stood across the lake to Burlington, where General Hampton had drawn together a strong body of regulars and militia, and where also the principal American naval force lay at anchor. But the latter declined to leave the protection of the shore batteries, and Everard, after destroying four vessels lying off the place, returned to Plattsburg. Detachments of troops next proceeded to Swanton and Champlain villages to destroy the stores there; when, the objects of the expedition having been fully accomplished, they returned to Isle-aux-Noix on the 4th of August.†

In the St. Lawrence, on the other hand, two gun-boats of the enemy captured a little below Kingston, on the 20th of July, a flotilla of fifteen batteaux laden with provisions, and one gun-boat conveying them. A fruitless attempt was made to recover the batteaux. The enemy took shelter in Goose Creek, interrupted its passage by felling trees, and lining the woods with his riflemen, compelled the British detachment to retire, after a sharp action in which the latter sustained some loss.

But, while the campaign thus far had been on the whole eminently favourable to Canada, the enemy, irritated by frequent defeat, and the negative and unproductive character of his successes, made great exertions, as autumn approached, to turn the current of events in his favour. Taught by repeated failure and misfortune, his operations now assumed a more systematic and menacing character. In the beginning of September, Hampton, with a force of nearly five thousand men, crossed Lake Champlain and established himself at Plattsburg, with the view of penetrating to Montreal. At Sackett's Harbour ten thousand men, under Wilkinson, were preparing to assail Kingston, while Harrison, with a formidable force, mustering nearly six thousand of all arms, was ready to attack Proctor the moment the fleet, now fitting out by Perry, could establish its superiority on Lake Erie. Both belligerents

\* Murray's Despatch to General Sheaffe, 3rd of August 1813.

† Everard's Despatch to General Prevost, 3rd of August 1813.

had made the most strenuous exertions to augment their naval forces on this lake ; but the British laboured at a great disadvantage when compared with the Americans. The sparse population of Upper Canada at this period possessed few facilities for ship-building ; and all the necessary material, with the exception of wood alone, had to be brought from England up the long portages of the St. Lawrence and Niagara rivers, at an amount of cost and labour we can have very little idea of at the present time. Captain Barclay, who had assumed command of the British squadron on this lake in the month of May, laboured with untiring zeal to fit out the *Detroit*, a larger vessel than any of the other five composing his squadron hitherto, in order to enable himself to meet on more equal terms the fleet Perry was equipping at Erie. But he could not even obtain the necessary guns from the arsenal at Kingston, and had to take some of the cumbrous fort artillery at Detroit and Amherstburg to supply the deficiency. His greatest difficulty, however, was to man his fleet, as Commodore Yeo could only spare him fifty seamen. The rest of his crews was made up of two hundred and fifteen soldiers from Proctor's force and eighty Canadians ; while, on the other hand, an idle commercial marine enabled the enemy to man his fleet with picked seamen, to the number of nearly six hundred. The Americans, too, although their guns were fewer, had greatly the advantage in weight of metal, besides having two vessels more than the British. But in sailors their great superiority rested. For these the wretched mixture of six landsmen to one seaman on board of Barclay's fleet, even were they equal in point of numbers, could be no match whatever.\*

Proctor at this period found himself seriously embarrassed from want of food and other supplies ; and it was evident that if the enemy obtained command of the lake, not only Michigan but Western Canada must be abandoned. Barclay, under these circumstances, determined to do his best to succour the army, and with his feeble force blockaded Perry in Erie harbour, which he could do with safety, as the sand-bar in front must compel the enemy to take his guns out to cross it. Towards the end of August, however, he was obliged to proceed to Long Point for supplies, and the American commodore at once seized the opportunity to put to sea. The British commander was now blockaded in turn in Amherstburg, and endeavoured to improve his leisure to advantage, by training the soldiers to work the guns, and the Canadians to handle the ropes. But his provisions soon failed ; he must either fight or starve ; no other alternative presented itself. He accordingly put to sea on the 10th of September, and soon met the enemy, when a most obstinate battle ensued. For a

\* Comparative strength of the fleets :—

	Americans.	British.
Weight of metal, lbs.	928	459
Complement of men,	580	345

while the British had the advantage, and Perry's own ship, the *Lawrence*, was compelled to haul down its colours, amid the cheers of the British squadron. But Barclay had not even a boat to take possession of his prize, so defective was his equipment. The firing now ceased for a few minutes, but a breeze springing up behind the American fleet, Perry, who had meanwhile shifted his flag to another vessel, skilfully gained the weather-gauge of the principal British ships, while they, from the unskilfulness of their crews, were unable to extricate themselves from their dangerous position. The result was, that after a desperate engagement of three hours, during which the carnage was fearful, the entire British fleet was taken. Still, it did not surrender till the vessels had become wholly unmanageable, nor till all the officers were either killed or wounded, and a third of their crews had shared the same melancholy fate.\* The American loss was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded.†

The effects of this severe reverse were speedily felt by Proctor. With an enemy on his flank and front, and lacking provisions and supplies of every kind, retreat was now his sole alternative. Amherstburg, Detroit, and the minor fortified posts in the west were dismantled, stores of every kind destroyed, and the British, numbering eight hundred and thirty, commenced to retreat along the Thames, towards Lake Ontario, accompanied by five hundred Indians under Tecumseth, who showed an honourable fidelity in misfortune. Harrison following rapidly in pursuit, with an army of three thousand five hundred men, including several hundred cavalry, came up with Proctor's rear-guard on the 4th of October, and succeeded in capturing all his stores and ammunition, and over one hundred prisoners. The British general had now no resource but to hazard a battle, and for this purpose he took up a position, on the following day, at the Moravian Village on the Thames. Proctor's usual prudence appears to have forsaken him. The bridges in his rear had been left entire; he made no effort to strengthen his position by a breast-work; and it is even said that his field of battle was ill-chosen.‡ But, in any case, his few worn-out and harassed soldiers, now reduced by casualties to about six hundred men, were wholly unequal to a contest with Harrison's numerous and comparatively well-appointed army. The result was what might naturally be expected. The British were speedily beaten at all points, and Proctor fled from the field of battle leaving the Indians to their fate. Led by their gallant chieftain they fought manfully against enormous odds, and only retired when

\* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York. vol. iv. p. 467. Barclay's Despatch to Yeo, 22nd of September 1813.

† Perry's Despatch to the Hon. W. Jones, American Naval Secretary.

‡ Proctor was subsequently tried by court-martial at Montreal, and severely censured for his conduct on this occasion, as well as for his unskilful management of his retreat generally, but his personal courage was not questioned. Vide Auchinleck p. 223.

Tecumseth no longer lived to rally them. The few British soldiers who escaped from captivity or death, fled through the woods to re-assemble to the number of 240 on Burlington Heights.

Nor did the reverses of the British terminate with this fresh disaster. On the same day that Proctor fled before Harrison, six schooners, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers, proceeding from Toronto to Kingston without convoy, were captured on Lake Ontario. These losses, in addition to the alarming intelligence that the enemy was making great preparations for the conquest of Lower Canada, and that Harrison was descending Lake Erie to reinforce the American army on the Niagara frontier, compelled Vincent, whose force was now reduced to twelve hundred effective men, to raise the blockade of Fort George, and retreat to his old position on Burlington Heights. This movement was effected in most excellent order, although his rear was threatened by Brigadier McClure, with a force fully as large as his own. At Stony Creek, his rear-guard took up a strong position, and checked the further pursuit of the enemy. At Burlington Heights Vincent was joined by the fugitives of Proctor's division, who made up his strength to nearly fifteen hundred bayonets.

The Americans were greatly elated with these important successes, and openly avowed their intention of invading Lower Canada, and taking up their winter quarters at Montreal. As the first step in this plan, Kingston, now slenderly garrisoned, was to be immediately captured by Wilkinson's army from Sackett's Harbour. Prescott was next to fall; and then the road down the St. Lawrence would be perfectly open to Montreal, where a junction was to be effected with Hampton's army. His successes in the west, and the retreat of Vincent from Fort George, permitted the enemy to mass his disposable troops at Sackett's Harbour, without danger to his Niagara frontier; and Wilkinson's army, by the addition of large bodies of regular troops, rapidly assumed a more imposing character. On the 24th of October this army, amounting to nine thousand men, with a well-appointed train of artillery, rendezvoused at Grenadier Island, near Kingston, a favourable point for operations against that important position. But the British had correctly divined the enemy's intention, and a force of two thousand men, under Major-General de Rottenberg, awaited Wilkinson's approach at the menaced fortress. The latter perceiving that his prospect of a successful assault on Kingston was now of the most slender description, determined to shift his line of attack, descend the St. Lawrence at once, form a junction with Hampton's army, and capture Montreal.

Agreeable to this fresh plan of operations, Wilkinson commenced the passage down the river on the last days of October, his flotilla, of over three hundred large boats and schooners, protected by twelve heavy gun-boats. This movement having become speedily known at Kingston, De Rottenberg took measures to annoy, and, if possible, check the advance of the enemy. Two schooners and



several gun-boats were sent in pursuit, with orders to harass him as much as possible, and a "corps of observation," composed of eight hundred and fifty rank and file, under command of Colonel Morrison, was detached for the same purpose.

Wilkinson's progress was exceedingly slow, and spoke little for his energy of character, a quality so necessary to success in a military man. At French Creek, some twenty-five miles below Kingston, he halted his army for several days, during which his flotilla was much annoyed by the teasing fire of the British gun-boats. On the 5th of November he again pushed down the river, and reached a point about six miles above Ogdensburg, where another halt was made, and a proclamation issued to the Canadians. On the 7th the advance of his army was resumed, and next day the flotilla was off Matilda, where twelve hundred troops were landed under Colonel Macomb, to clear the bank of some militia who had assembled to annoy his progress down the river. Two days afterwards the American general found himself at Williamsburg, where he reinforced the troops under Macomb by a second brigade, led by General Brown, and a body of dragoons. On the following day another force was landed under General Boyd.

During this time the British corps of observation continued to advance steadily on the rear of the enemy. On the 10th a descent was made by Colonel Morrison on a post at the American side of the river, where a considerable quantity of provisions and stores and two guns were captured. Colonel Harvey in the meantime followed up the enemy, who towards evening endeavoured to check his advance with some light troops and cavalry, which a few rounds from three field-pieces compelled to retire. During the 11th Morrison pressed so close upon General Boyd's division, now forming the enemy's rear-guard, while the fire of his gun-boats severely harassed the flotilla, that Wilkinson determined to check his further advance, and if possible capture his artillery. He accordingly directed Boyd to give him battle, and the latter soon drew together, for that purpose, a body of fully two thousand regular troops with several guns.\*

The ground was open and perfectly clear, presenting no inequalities to favour either the assailants or the assailed, and the action, known as the battle of Chrysler's Farm, which now ensued, was a "fair stand-up fight," with the single exception that the Americans were exactly two to one; but this advantage was counterbalanced, in some measure, by their inferiority in discipline to the British. The enemy began the action by attacking Morrison's advanced guard, which gradually fell back in admirable order on the main body. At half-past two, the battle became general; and an extremely sharp contest ensued, which lasted

\* At Wilkinson's court-martial it was sworn by Colonel Walback, that the British numbered about eleven hundred men, including militia and a few Indians, while Wilkinson admits in his despatches that the Americans engaged amounted to over two thousand men.

fully two hours, and terminated entirely in favour of the British, who captured one of the enemy's guns, compelled him to retreat, and moved forward shortly after in pursuit. Our loss on this occasion was one officer and twenty-one men killed, ten officers and one hundred and thirty-seven men wounded, and twelve missing.\* The Americans, on the other hand, had one hundred and two killed, and two hundred and thirty-six wounded.†

Meanwhile the advance of Hampton towards Montreal, with a well appointed army of five thousand men, including a body of cavalry, compelled the Governor to call out *en masse* the militia of the district, an order responded to with the utmost alacrity. At the same time Colonel de Salaberry was detached with the Canadian Voltigeurs to reconnoitre the enemy. This duty was very gallantly performed, and De Salaberry, after a smart skirmish with the American advance guard, fell back to an excellent position on the Chateauguay River. Hampton, however, not having as yet learned of Wilkinson's advance, hesitated to push forward to the St. Lawrence, and meanwhile, in order to distract the attention of the British, detached Colonel Clarke to the Canadian settlement on Missouquoi Bay, where the inhabitants were now plundered and ill-treated by his troops.‡

The season for action wore rapidly away, and the American general at length, on the 21st of October, commenced a forward movement. On the 24th he arrived in the neighbourhood of the position occupied by De Salaberry, and made preparations to dislodge him. During the night of the 25th a brigade was accordingly detached by a circuitous route to take the British post in the rear, while the main body of the army assailed it in front. But Colonel Purdy, who led this brigade, got bewildered in the woods, and did not arrive in time to take part in the beginning of the battle that ensued. Hampton, ignorant of this circumstance, pushed forward a column three thousand five hundred strong, at ten o'clock, on the morning of the 26th, under the command of Brigadier Izzard, to carry the position held by De Salaberry with less than four hundred Canadians. It was situated in a thick wood, the British left flank resting on the river, its right on an extended abattis, while its front was covered by a breast-work of logs. This position was penetrated by a road, which had been broken up and rendered as difficult to traverse as possible.

The action began by the enemy driving in De Salaberry's advanced picket, which retired on another a short distance in the rear, and both uniting opened a smart fire upon the head of Izzard's column. On hearing the firing De Salaberry placed his few troops in extended order in front of the abattis, and directed them not to fire till he gave the signal by discharging his own rifle.

\* Morrison's Despatch to De Rottenberg.

† Wilkinson's Despatch to the American Secretary at War.

‡ Christie, vol. ii. p. 123.

The engagement speedily became general, and the enemy was effectually held in check, till the retreat of a few skirmishers in the centre of the British line encouraged him to advance. De Salaberry now dreaded his small force would be surrounded, and by a clever ruse intimidated the American troops. Placing his buglers as far apart as possible he directed them to sound the advance, which effectually cooled the ardour of the assailants, who imagined that the Canadians were advancing in great numbers against them.

Meanwhile, Purdy, directed by the firing, advanced to cross the river, and take De Salaberry in the rear. He was, however, completely defeated by two companies advantageously posted, and compelled to retire in disorder. Finding his efforts ineffectual to force the position in his front, disliking to resort to the bayonet, and seeing Purdy's brigade unable to co-operate with him, Hampton withdrew his forces at two o'clock in the afternoon, leaving the Canadians completely masters of the field, with very trifling loss to themselves. After a short halt, the American army commenced its retreat on Plattsburg, its rear severely harassed by the Canadian militia, who speedily collected in considerable numbers.

The intelligence, on the 12th of November, of Hampton's inglorious defeat by a mere handful of Canadians, completely disconcerted Wilkinson's plans. He at once abandoned all idea of passing the winter at Montreal, agreeable to his first intention, and next day his army crossed the St. Lawrence, and proceeded to French Mills, on the Salmon River, where wooden huts were rapidly constructed for its use. Thus terminated this invasion of Lower Canada, formidable, however, only in the number of the invaders, who, to the extent of nearly fifteen thousand men, had been foiled or beaten back by fifteen hundred regulars and militia at Chrysler's Farm and Chateaugay. Wilkinson's drunken\* descent of the St. Lawrence, was a fit occurrence to take place in connection with Hampton's five thousand men held in check by De Salaberry's four hundred Spartans.

From Lower we have now to turn to Upper Canada, which Prevost, on receiving intelligence of Proctor's defeat, had ordered Vincent to abandon as far as Kingston. Fortunately, a council of war, held at Burlington Heights, decided adversely to the instructions of the commander-in-chief, and determined to defend the western peninsula at all hazards. M'Clure had in the meantime remained undisturbed at Twenty Mile Creek, from whence marauding parties of his troops scoured the surrounding country, plundered the peaceable inhabitants of their cattle and provisions, and burned their barns. The latter represented these occurrences

\* At Wilkinson's court-martial it was proved by Major Birsall of the American army, and Owen Chatfield, of Ogdensburg, that he was drunk in the house of Daniel Thorpe, sung obscene songs there, and otherwise behaved himself most improperly.

to Vincent, who, accordingly, in the beginning of December, detached Colonel Murray, with five hundred regulars and Indians, as far as Forty Mile Creek, to drive in the foraging parties of the enemy. M'Clure, dreading an advance against him in force, now retreated on Fort George as rapidly as possible ; and having learned the disastrous termination of Wilkinson's and Hampton's movements against Lower Canada, determined to cross at once to the American side of the river. Even in this movement his terrified imagination did not see sufficient safety, if Vincent's army were permitted to find shelter in Niagara. To prevent this effectually he determined to destroy the town.

The winter had set in unusually early ; huge icicles festooned in pendant clusters the rocks rising above the river up to the Falls, where the spray, caught in its ascent by the biting north winds of December, fell back in small showers of hail upon the dark seething waters below. The fierce gusts of wind that traversed unchecked over Lake Ontario, fell keen and cold upon the homes of Niagara, whose unhappy people, although surrounded by the miseries of warfare, and subjected to hostile invaders, still consoled themselves with the thought that at least they had food and shelter. And anxious mothers thanked God that it was even so ; and as the fierce Canadian storm raged, and the snow beat thick and fast against door and window, a feeling of gratitude fell upon their loving hearts, like a stream of tender summer sunshine, as they remembered that their little ones had at least a warm home.

The Americans came to free the Canadian people from what they termed the tyranny of Great Britain ; but found them, on the whole, loyal, incorruptible, and satisfied with their condition. They talked to Canadians of the rights of humanity ; how all men were free and equal ; while thousands of trembling slaves writhed under the lash in the plantations of the South. They boasted of their respect for the rights of property, yet they plundered the defenceless farmers of Canada, burned their fences, and visited their happy homes with the dreadful horrors of invasion. But all this was not enough ; they had not yet sufficiently injured the hapless Canadians. On the 10th of December—the dark stormy December of 1813, M'Clure turned four hundred helpless women and children into the streets at half an hour's notice, and burned their homes to the ground. One house only in Niagara was left standing ; and the unfortunate inmates of one hundred and fifty dwellings were driven forth, in some cases without clothing to shield them from the piercing wind, to find food and shelter where they best might. Furniture, books, household utensils, everything, in short, that could not be removed in the brief space of thirty minutes, were given to the flames. In one instance a sick woman, Mrs. Dickson, whose husband was a prisoner in the enemy's territory, was carried out, bed and all, and laid down in the snow at her own door, where, shivering with cold, she beheld her house and all that was in it consumed to ashes. It

was a sad sight that presented itself to a squadron of the 19th dragoons as they rode into the smouldering village next day. "Nothing but heaps of coals," said Major Merritt in his journal, and the streets full of furniture that the inhabitants were fortunate enough to get out of their houses, met the eye in all directions."\*

No wonder that the people of Canada felt indignant at this act of wanton and unparalleled cruelty, and that the Americans were soon made to feel the full effects of the barbarous system of warfare they had thus inaugurated, in the conflagration of the towns along their own frontier, and in the well-merited destruction of their capitol at Washington. The weeping and wailing of the widows and orphans and affrighted mothers of Niagara, as they watched the lurid flames leap from rafter to rafter of their humble homes, were portentous of dire disgrace to the American arms.

While M'Clure was busy in applying the torch to the houses of Niagara, he neglected duties far more important, and more necessary to the interests of his country. New barracks, recently erected on the river, were left untouched; the fort, which had been repaired and strengthened, he bequeathed to Murray without blowing up the magazine, or springing a single mine; and tents for fifteen hundred men were left standing.

It was not alone in the vicinity of Niagara that the people suffered from marauding parties of the enemy. Westward, on Lake Erie, a body of Americans, led by some disaffected Canadians, committed outrages on the inhabitants. The bulk of the militia had been disarmed on Proctor's defeat, in order to prevent their being made prisoners by the enemy; a few, however, were permitted to retain their muskets to protect themselves. Forty-five of these were mustered towards the latter part of October, a marauding band of the enemy pursued, overtaken near Dover, several of them killed, after a smart action, and eighteen taken prisoners. Fifteen of the latter were disaffected Canadians; eight of whom were afterwards executed for high treason and robbery, and seven transported.

A few days after the re-occupation of Fort George by Murray, Lieutenant-General Drummond arrived at Toronto to assume the military command and civil control of Upper Canada, Mr. Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor, still continuing absent in England. He was accompanied by Major-General Riall to aid him in his military capacity. Drummond lost no time in proceeding to Vincent's head-quarters, now removed to the village of St. David in the neighbourhood of Queenston. Shortly after his arrival there Murray proposed to him to capture Fort Niagara by surprise, to which Drummond at once gave consent.

Every preparation having been completed for this important enterprise, five hundred and fifty men, under Murray, silently crossed the river, three miles above Niagara, on the night of the 18th of

\* Life of William Hamilton Merritt, p. 36.



December, without being discovered by the enemy. Next morning before day this force moved forward to assault the fort, the garrison of which was completely taken by surprise, and surrendered after a feeble resistance. The loss of the Americans on this occasion was severe, and amounted to sixty-five men and two officers killed, twelve wounded, and three hundred prisoners. On the other hand, the British loss was only six killed and five wounded. A large quantity of stores of every description was captured, three thousand stand of arms, a number of rifles, and thirty-six guns.\*

General Riall, who had crossed over with a detachment of five hundred men to support Murray, in case of need, on learning his complete success pushed up the river to Lewiston, where the enemy had erected batteries for the destruction of Queenston, immediately opposite. These were abandoned on his approach, and Lewiston, in revenge for the burning of Niagara, was given to the flames, as well as the villages of Youngstown, Manchester, and Tuscarora. At the same time the auxiliary Indians and light troops were scattered over the adjacent country, and took ample vengeance for the numerous injuries which had been inflicted on the Canadians. It was a sad sight to see the smoking ruins of a whole district ; but the Americans themselves were alone to blame. They had commenced this savage description of warfare, and deserved to feel its full effects ; they had invaded the happy homes of a people of the same lineage and the same language as themselves, and it was only fitting they should be taught the miseries which they had inflicted upon others.

M'Clure now called out the militia of Genesee, Niagara and Chatauque counties, to defend the frontier, and established his headquarters at Buffalo. Dreading, however, that the British would carry every post along the Niagara River, and unwilling to face the storm he had provoked, and incur the additional odium of defeat, he resigned the command of the district to Major-General Hall. The latter soon found himself at the head of two thousand men, and proceeded to make the best dispositions he could for the defence of Buffalo and its neighbourhood.

On the morning of the 28th of December the indefatigable Drummond was at Chippewa : next day within three miles of Fort Erie, and now determined to assail the enemy's position at Black Rock. Accordingly, on the night of the 30th, Riall, at the head of five hundred and forty regulars, fifty militia volunteers, and one hundred and twenty Indians, crossed the Niagara two miles below the post he was to attack, and landed without opposition. Next morning, at daybreak, this detachment pushed briskly forward against Black Rock ; at the same time the Royal Scots crossed the

\* Murray's Despatch to Drummond, 19th of December, 1813. M'Clure's Despatch to Armstrong, 22nd of December, 1813. Christie, vol. ii. pp. 138, 139.

river above the village to effect a diversion in its favour, take the enemy in the left flank, and cut off his retreat towards Buffalo. This corps suffered severely from the guns in battery along the river, and was not able to land in time to take part in the spirited action that ensued. The troops already landed moved up to attack the enemy, who was strongly posted, with great spirit, and after an obstinate contest the Americans were driven through their batteries, and retreated towards Buffalo. The British followed closely in pursuit, and although the enemy endeavoured to check their advance, by throwing a body of cavalry and infantry with a field-gun across their front, they pushed steadily forward. Buffalo, from which the affrighted inhabitants had already fled, was given to the flames, as well as three vessels of Perry's squadron lying in its harbour. Black Rock shared the same fate, together with a vast quantity of stores; and from Lake Ontario to Erie the American frontier was one vast scene of desolation. These important successes were not accomplished without loss: the British had thirty-one killed, seventy-two wounded, and nine missing.\* The American loss has never been correctly ascertained, but was supposed to amount to nearly four hundred killed and wounded, in addition to one hundred and thirty prisoners.

With these acts of retribution, the justice of which was admitted by the sufferers themselves, while they denounced the conduct of their own army in commencing such a mode of warfare, closed the campaign of 1813, which terminated to the complete disgrace of American arms. With the exception of the extreme portion of western Canada, the enemy did not hold a single position on British soil, and the possession of Amherstburg was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Niagara. His large armies had been beaten back by mere petty detachments; and dispirited and discouraged were compelled to retreat into their own territory. Not only was the conduct of the British regulars much better than that of the American, but the Canadian militia, of French, British and American extraction, had also proved itself infinitely superior, both for aggressive and defensive warfare, to the militia of the enemy. This circumstance goes far to establish the fact, that the climate of Canada is more favourable to the growth of a hardy and military population, than the milder and more luxurious regions farther south.

At sea, however, the Americans, during 1813, were again successful, and the early summer opened with fresh disasters for the British. In the West Indies, off the coast of Demerara, the American sloop of war *Hornet*, of 10 guns discharging 297 lbs. of metal, with a crew of 162, captured the British sloop *Peacock*, of 9 guns discharging 192 lbs. of metal, and manned by 110 men. The *Peacock* lost her commander and 7 men killed and 30

\* Riall's Despatch to Drummond, 1st of January, 1814. Hall's Despatch to Armstrong, 31st of December, 1813. Christie, vol. ii. pp. 138-144.

wounded ; and was so injured that she sank suddenly after the action, drowning nine of her crew. The *Hornet's* loss was comparatively small. On the 1st of June, however, a strong ray of sunshine at length broke through this cloud of prolonged naval disaster. The British frigate *Shannon*, under the command of Captain Philip Broke, had been cruising off Boston harbour for the better part of two months, and during that time had taken twenty ships and small craft, and had done so much harm otherwise to the trade of the port that her capture was at last determined on. The *Chesapeake*, a fine frigate commanded by Captain Lawrence, recently promoted from the *Hornet*, was in Boston harbour, and her captain was now ordered by Commodore Bainbridge to stand out to sea, and either capture the *Shannon* or drive her away. As the *Chesapeake* sailed out of the harbour she was accompanied by numerous pleasure yachts, and also by a schooner gunboat with Commodore Bainbridge and his friends on board, all anxious to see the *Shannon* captured, a result regarded as a certainty. The action commenced at ten minutes to six o'clock in the evening, the *Shannon* firing the first gun within pistol shot distance. For a brief space the artillery duel was waged with great fury. Presently, after the action had lasted ten minutes, a favourable opportunity presented itself for boarding, when Broke carried the enemy's quarter deck with a rush, and in four minutes more the *Chesapeake's* flag was hauled down.\* The loss of the *Shannon* was 26 killed and 56 wounded. Among the latter was Captain Broke. The loss of the *Chesapeake* was 47 killed and 99 wounded—14 mortally. Lawrence was among the killed ; and nearly all his officers were either killed or wounded. The *Chesapeake* was carried a prize into Halifax, and the spell of naval victory that had so long hung around the stars and stripes was at length completely broken. With all the conditions equal, or even nearly so, it was now plainly to be seen that British sailors were still able to maintain the supremacy of their flag. The *Chesapeake* had the advantage in size, weight of metal and men ; the *Shannon* in genuine fighting material and skilful seamanship.

On the 5th of August, in West India waters, a British schooner, the *Dominica*, of 9 guns and 66 men, was captured by the *Decatur* privateer of 9 guns and 120 men. The *Dominica* was fought with the greatest obstinacy, and two-thirds of her crew were either killed or wounded. The *Decatur* lost 19 men. On the 12th of the same month, the British sloop *Pelican*, of 9 guns and 101 men, captured the United States sloop *Argus* of 10 guns and 122 men, after a sharp action of forty-five minutes' duration. The *Argus* was finally carried by boarding, and had 6 killed and 18 wounded,

\*

	<i>Shannon.</i>	<i>Chesapeake.</i>
Broadside guns	25	25
Weight of metal lbs.	538	590
Crews	306	390
Tonnage	1066	1135

while the *Pelican* had only 1 man killed and 6 wounded. On the 5th of September, the British sloop *Boxer*, of 14 guns and 54 men, was captured off the coast of Maine, by the United States brig *Enterprise*, of 16 guns and 120 men. The *Boxer* lost 21 killed and wounded ; the *Enterprise* 14 killed and wounded. Despite, however, the victories won at sea by their well-manned and admirably equipped frigates, the Americans were unable to release their commerce from the close blockade now established by the fleets of Great Britain, and their vast merchant marine lay idle in their harbours, while their decreased import revenue had to be made good by other and more direct taxation to meet the heavy expenses of the war. The conquest of Canada was as remote as ever, and the fact began to force itself on the attention of the American people that they must emerge from the contest with little honour and still less profit.

While the year's military operations on this continent closed favourably for Canada and the mother country, the dark cloud which had threatened to settle on the fortunes of England elsewhere had begun to display its silver lining. In Portugal and Spain, Wellington had administered defeat after defeat to Napoleon's generals. The burning of Moscow had compelled the French to fall back amidst the horrors of a Russian winter ; and out of the four hundred thousand combatants, who had formed the magnificent Grand Army of Napoleon, on its first advance against the Czar, only a few thousands survived the intense hardships of the retreat, and the untiring assaults of the Cossacks, to recross the Niemen in the last days of 1812. In the spring of the succeeding year the Russians followed in pursuit, and were joined by the Prussians. Although defeated by Napoleon, in two hard-fought battles, the spirit of the allies was restored by the brilliant victories of Wellington. During the summer Austria cast in her fortunes with Russia and Prussia, and the battle of Leipsic, in October, accomplished the final ruin of Napoleon, and drove the remains of his army in a rapid rout across the Rhine. Meanwhile, fresh victories had enabled Wellington, while driving Soult before him, to enter France. The allies speedily followed, and crossed the Rhine on the last day of the year. In the ensuing March Paris surrendered, Napoleon abdicated and retired to Elba, and the Bourbons ruled again in France. England had at last triumphed, but at a fearful cost of blood and treasure ; and her great antagonist, who, at one time, had threatened her with almost utter ruin, lay prostrate at her feet. After a brief space came the flight from Elba, the battle of Waterloo, and the barren rock of St. Helena, amid the tropical Atlantic, where Napoleon quarrelled out with his gaoler, Sir Hudson Lowe, the remainder of his existence, and finally terminated the wonderful drama of his eventful life.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST,—*continued.* THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

THE Legislature of Lower Canada was convened on the 13th of January, and congratulated by the Governor, in his opening speech, on the satisfactory results of the campaign of the preceding year. One of its first measures was to pass an act increasing the issue of "Army Bills" to \$6,000,000, in order to defray 1814. the expenses of the war. A bill to disqualify judges for seats in the Legislative Council was passed in the Assembly, and sent to the Upper House, where it was thrown out on the ground that it was unparliamentary and interfered with the prerogative of the Crown. After passing a vote of thanks to Colonel de Salaberry, for his gallant conduct at the Chateaugay River, and a similar vote to Colonel Morrison, for his defeat of Boyd at Chrysler's Farm, the Assembly next proceeded to consider the nature of the authority exercised by the superior courts of the Province. The leader, in the debate which followed, was James Stuart, the son of a Church of England clergyman for many years rector of the present city of Kingston. In his eighteenth year young Stuart became a student in the law office of Jonathan Sewell, then attorney general, and afterwards chief justice, of Lower Canada.—In 1805 he was appointed solicitor general for the Province, and removed to Montreal, which he was chosen to represent in the Assembly at the general election of 1808. His parliamentary conduct gave offence, in some way, to General Craig, and led to his dismissal from office. Stuart held that the Governor was induced to take this step by the advice of Chief Justice Sewell, who desired to create a vacancy for his brother Stephen, (who was appointed to the post) and at once went into bitter opposition to the government. He accordingly attached himself to the French-Canadian party in the Assembly, with the view of making it the medium of his personal revenge, became its leader, and now formulated seventeen charges, couched in very extreme and even libellous language, against Chief Justices Sewell and Monk, which were endorsed by a formal vote of the House. These charges, or rather articles of



impeachment, set forth that the Rules of Court made by Judge Sewell, during Craig's administration, were contrary to law, and subversive of the rights of liberty and property. Sewell was also accused of having given bad advice on several occasions to the Governor General; of having "falsely and maliciously slandered his Majesty's Canadian subjects, and the Assembly of the Province; and so poisoned and incensed the mind of the said Governor General." He was further charged with having advised the removal of Stuart to make a place for his brother, and the dismissal, in 1808, of Panet from his lieutenant colonelcy; the seizure, in 1810, of the printing material of the *Canadien*, and the arrest of its editor; the illegal imprisonment of Bedard and others, and, in addition, with various other illegal proceedings. These charges were ingeniously framed by Stuart so as to make Sewell responsible for the arbitrary and illegal acts of Craig, but as one of his advisers only, and even if true would largely resolve themselves into mere errors of judgment. They effectually served Stuart's purpose, however, for the time being, enabled him to pose as the advocate of the French Canadian majority in the Assembly and outside of it, and the redresser of its woes, and to embarrass the government. Papineau and his friends saw clearly through his purpose, used him as long as they needed him and then pushed him aside. — So Sewell was at last amply avenged. The charges against Chief Justice Monk were of a much milder nature than those preferred against Sewell, and were mainly directed to the matter of the alleged illegal rules of court; and the refusal, on one or two occasions, of the writ of *habeas corpus*. In order that its impeachment of the two chief justices should be vigorously prosecuted, the Assembly appointed Stuart\* as its agent, and voted the sum of \$8000 to enable him to proceed to England. But this appropriation, being illegally tacked on to a supply bill, the item was struck out by the Legislative Council. The Assembly refused to agree to the alteration; and the bill, which contained a grant of \$80,000 for the payment of the militia, and a like sum for general war purposes, did not accordingly become law.

On the 3rd of March the Assembly, with its Speaker at its head, went up to the Castle of St. Louis, to present an address to the Governor General praying him to forward its articles of impeachment to the Home Government, as well as a petition, asking their

\* Stuart remained in the Assembly until 1817, when he withdrew for a time from political life. In 1822 he was sent as a delegate to England, by the British citizens of Montreal, to advocate the re-union of Upper and Lower Canada, a proceeding much disliked by the French Canadians, and which ruined his popularity with them. While in England he was appointed attorney general of the Province. In 1827 he was appointed a member of the Executive Council, and elected to the Assembly for Sorel. — Owing to his political course Lord Aylmer deprived him of office in 1832. In 1838 Lord Durham appointed him chief justice of Lower Canada in the place of Sewell, who retired on a pension. In 1840 he was created a baronet. — Ultimately he became most unpopular with the French Canadians.

full consideration, to the Prince Regent. This Prevost promised to do ; but stated, at the same time, that he did not think it expedient to suspend the judges from their office upon an address from one branch of the Legislature alone ; and especially so as the Legislative Council had not been consulted. And thereupon the Assembly became highly displeased, and four days afterwards, on a motion made by Stuart, and seconded by Papineau, indignantly declared that it had acted within its constitutional rights and privileges in impeaching the judges ; and that Prevost, in his answer to its address, had violated these rights and privileges. For the time being the Governor General had lost his wonted favourable standing with the Assembly. After agreeing to an address to the Prince Regent on the state of the Province, and showing the urgent necessity of early and effective assistance to enable it to resist the aggressive acts of the United States, and the transaction of some minor business, the last session of the seventh Parliament of Lower Canada terminated on the 17th of March. In the following June Sewell proceeded to England to answer the charges made against him, leaving his arch-enemy Stuart behind, owing to the Assembly not being able to find money to pay his expenses. Before Sewell's departure addresses, couched in the strongest terms of confidence and respect, were presented to him by the Executive Councillors of both nationalities, by the Legislative Council, and by two hundred of the seigniors, the members of the bar, and the principal inhabitants of Quebec.\*

In Upper Canada the Legislature met at Toronto on the 15th of February, and enacted several useful and necessary statutes. Among these was a most effectual militia bill, an act to provide for the issuing and circulation of government bills for one year, and another act appropriating \$24,000 to repair roads and bridges.

Meanwhile, every preparation possible was made for the ensuing campaign, and stores of all descriptions were forwarded by sleighs, from Montreal and Quebec to Kingston, at an enormous expense. In the month of February the second battalion of the 8th regiment marched upwards from New Brunswick, and two hundred and fifty seamen for the lakes came by the same route."

In the month of March, Indian deputies, as in the old days of the French governors, descended from the west to have a conference with the representative of King George at the Castle of St. Louis. They represented their poverty, owing to the Americans having deprived them of their lands, and desired that peace might not be made till they had recovered their ancient hunting-grounds, "Father," said one chief, "the Americans have no hearts—they have no pity on us. They take our lands from us every day, and seek to drive us beyond the setting sun. But we hope that our mighty father beyond the great salt lake will not forsake us in our distress, and will continue to remember his faithful Red Children."

\* Christie, vol. ii. p. 165. Garneau, vol. ii. p. 305.

After some days' sojourn at Quebec, they were loaded with presents, and sent back to prepare their tribes for the approaching campaign.

The subjugation of the western extremity of Canada had by no means been completed by the defeat of Proctor. The sturdy militia of that district were not disposed to submit themselves slavishly to American military despotism, and the appearance of a respectable British force amongst them was alone required to rally them again in defence of their country. The successes on the Niagara frontier had enabled General Drummond to turn his attention in that direction, and detachments were pushed westward to drive in the American scattered parties towards Detroit. The militia, now partially armed, were immediately on the alert to second this movement, and twenty-eight of them, under Lieutenant Metcalf, captured thirty-nine American regulars near Chatham.— Another party, however, was not so fortunate in an attack, near Lake Erie, on a body of American rangers, made in connection with a company of regulars and some Indians, on the 14th of January. The enemy secured themselves by an intrenchment and breast-work, and defeated their assailants with a loss of sixty-five killed and wounded, and only eight casualties on their own side. Nevertheless, feeling satisfied that they owed their safety solely to the strength of their position, they decamped after the action as speedily as possible.

Two adverse campaigns had not sufficed to quench the ardour of the American Democracy for war, and with the first days of opening spring their generals commenced to develop their plans for another attempt at the conquest of Canada. Great preparations were made to retrieve the disasters of the preceding years ; and while their troops were more numerous, they were also better drilled and better officered. Although it was now perfectly plain that the Canadian people stood firm in their attachment to the British Empire, and had no desire whatever to change their allegiance ; and that no solid advantage could possibly result from further hostilities, which only promised more needless bloodshed and more ruin, the American war party determined to persevere in their projects of ruthless invasion. Had they possessed that large portion of humanity and forbearance they laid claim to, they would, on the contrary, have permitted the people of Canada to carry out, in peace, whatever form of government they deemed proper. But the total ruin of Napoleon Bonaparte's fortunes, the return, after their long exile, of the Bourbons to France, and the establishment of peace in Europe, now left England at liberty to turn her attention more fully to the war with the United States ; and early in the year all their Atlantic seaports were more closely blockaded than ever. One by one their cruisers had mostly been withdrawn from active service, in order to avoid capture, and laid up under the guns of their forts. In the Pacific their frigate *Essex* of 32 guns, and a companion ship of 30 guns, were captured off the coast of Chili, on the 28th of March, by the British frigate

*Phæbe* of 36 guns, and the *Cherub* sloop of 18 guns. Both ships together sustained a loss of 5 killed and 10 wounded. The American loss was very severe, owing to unskilful seamanship, and amounted to 58 killed and 66 wounded. The *Essex* had been in the Pacific for eighteen months, had managed, up to the date of her capture, to elude all the cruisers searching for her, and had done a great deal of mischief to the small craft engaged in the sperm whale fishery. The greater part of her prizes were, however, recaptured. This success freed the Pacific from hostile cruisers, and relieved British commerce, in that ocean, from further obstruction.

Meanwhile, the British government had determined to weaken the attack of the Americans on Canada, their principal objective point, by active reprisals along their seaboard, and the invasion, in turn, of their country wherever a possible opening presented itself. Early in the summer a strong squadron of frigates and gunboats, with a considerable land force on board, sailed to Chesapeake Bay, and destroyed all the military posts and stores along that great estuary, and the rivers leading into it. A large number of small craft was cut out and captured, and a close blockade established.—On the 22nd of June an attempt to capture Craney Island, which covered the channel to Norfolk, and which had been strongly fortified, failed, the British losing 6 killed, 24 wounded and 104 prisoners. On the 25th of June 2,000 men, under General Beckwith, defeated a strong force of the enemy posted at Hampton, captured its camp, guns and colours, and destroyed the defences, with a trifling loss of 5 killed, 23 wounded and 10 missing. The Americans fled into the woods, leaving their wounded behind to be cared for by the British.

Having completely annihilated the trade on the Chesapeake, Admiral Cockburn was directed to operate on the North Carolina coast. On the morning of the 13th of July a force was sent into Ocracock, which cut out two privateers. A descent was also made at Portsmouth, and all the public stores found there destroyed.

The continued presence of the British in Chesapeake Bay alarmed the American government, which now became apprehensive of an attack on Washington. On the 1st of July a meeting of the cabinet and military authorities was accordingly convened, and it was decided that 12,000 of the militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, should be held in readiness to march at a moment's notice for the protection of the capital; and that a force of at least 2,000 men should be at once posted at some central point between the Potomac and Baltimore. On the 2nd of July the tenth, a new military district, was constituted, with its headquarters at Washington, and the command given to Brigadier General Winder.—But the alarm continuing to increase with the lapse of time, even these precautions were not deemed sufficient, and on the 12th Winder was authorised to call out 16,000 men, if he deemed it necessary, for the better protection of Washington. As over a

month subsequently elapsed before the British moved against the capital, there was ample time for the most complete defensive preparations.

On the 19th of August a British force of 1,500 men,\* under Major General Ross, landed without opposition at the village of Benedick, on the right bank of the Patuxent, a river which flows parallel with the Potomac, and commenced its march towards the capital. A supporting fleet of small craft, under the command of Rear Admiral Cockburn, moved upwards, at the same time, and on the 22nd attacked and captured or destroyed a large flotilla of gunboats, commanded by Commodore Barney. Between its point of landing and Upper Marlborough, a distance of over 40 miles, the route of the little British army lay through a country difficult to traverse, and crossed by several defiles, where a defensive force could be admirably posted. But no attempt was made to impede its march ; and on the 23rd Ross found himself within 16 miles of Washington, and now finally determined on its capture, a most daring resolution when the smallness of his force is considered. He resumed his march next day, and on arriving at the village of Bladensburg, five miles from Washington, found himself in front of a strong force of the enemy, formed in two lines on a commanding height, on the opposite side of a small river flowing into the Potomac. A fortified house, full of sharpshooters, and a body of artillerymen and riflemen, covered the bridge over which the British must pass ; and it now appeared as if retreat or destruction were their only alternative. The force opposed to them consisted of 530 dragoons, 1,100 regular infantry and marines, and 4,913 militia, making a total of 6,543 † men under the command of Winder. Ross was now reinforced with a few hundred of Cockburn's sailors and marines ; and notwithstanding Winder's strong position, and the fact that his army numbered more than three to one, determined on immediately attacking him. The British carried the bridge in the most daring manner, despite a galling fire, and then advanced against the flank and front of the enemy, who presently fled in every direction, leaving behind ten pieces of cannon and his killed and wounded. Among the latter was Commodore Barney and several other officers. Owing to the British troops being greatly fatigued, from their long march before giving battle, they could not do much in the way of pursuit, and did not capture many prisoners. But in any event Winder's army fled too speedily to be caught : and President Madison, who was on the ground, ran away as fast as the rest. In this action the British loss was 64 killed and 138 wounded. Winder estimated his loss at 40 killed, 60 wounded and 120 prisoners.

After remaining for two hours on the battle field in order to

\* Admiral Cockburn's Report, Augt. 27th, 1814.

† Winder in his report of August 27th, 1814, says his force was about 5,000 men, but Smith, who gives the detailed list, puts the number as above.



bury his dead, and care for the wounded, (whom he left at Bladensburg) Ross moved upon Washington, which he reached at eight o'clock in the evening. A fire was opened upon his advanced guard from the capitol and two adjoining buildings, which were, however, promptly carried with the bayonet. The capitol, the arsenal, the dockyard, the treasury, the war office, the President's palace, the naval rope walk, and the great bridge across the Potomac, were all set on fire and destroyed. In the dockyard a frigate on the stocks and a sloop of war were given to the flames, as well as a vast amount of other public property.\* The total loss sustained by the enemy was estimated to amount to between two and three million of dollars. The object of the expedition having been completely accomplished, Ross determined to retire before any large force for his attack could be assembled, and marched out of Washington on the night of the 25th, and on the evening of the 29th safely reached Benedick, and re-embarked without molestation next day, after having successfully effected one of the most daring expeditions on record. The capture of Washington by the small force under Ross, the destruction of a vast amount of public property, and the disgraceful flight of Winder's army, which, as the American writer Wilkinson states, was really routed by 750 rank and file of the 4th and 44th regiments, created a great ferment in the United States, and Armstrong, the American secretary at war, was made the scape-goat of the occasion. Censured by his fellow cabinet ministers and his life threatened, he was forced to resign his position, and to retire from public life.

On the 12th of September 3,400 men, including 600 seamen, disembarked at North Point for an attack on Baltimore. After a march of two miles the enemy was encountered strongly posted in some woods, and during the skirmish which ensued General Ross was mortally wounded, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Brooke. After a farther advance to within five miles of Baltimore a body of the enemy, 6,000 strong, with some cavalry and 6 guns, was encountered and defeated in a quarter of an hour, with a loss of over six hundred in killed and wounded.—The British loss was 39 killed and 251 wounded. On the morning of the following day Brooke advanced to within a mile and a half of the city, where he awaited the operations of the fleet under Cockburn. But in consequence of the harbour having been closed by some twenty sunken vessels, naval co-operation was found to be impossible, and it was accordingly deemed advisable that the army should retire. This movement Brooke performed very leisurely, the enemy, although over three times the strength of the British, not daring to venture out of his intrenchments in pursuit. Not a man was left behind when the army re-embarked at North Point. Brooke carried with him some 200 prisoners, a large portion of whom

\* Ross' despatch, August 30th, 1814.

belonged to the best families of Baltimore.\* While these operations were in progress, the British continued in full possession of Chesapeake Bay, captured a large amount of property in the towns on its shores, and did much damage to the enemy in numerous expeditions.

Owing to the close blockade of the Mississippi during the war, it was estimated that nearly fifteen million dollars worth of sugar and cotton had accumulated in the warehouses of New Orleans.—Influenced by the representations of Lafitte, a Louisiana pirate, who operated chiefly in the Gulf of Mexico, the British Government determined on the capture of New Orleans. Lafitte, however, proved a double traitor ; and while pretending to be the friend of the English was in the confidence of the American authorities, whom he constantly informed of what was going forward, and thus, eventually, secured from them pardon for his crimes. Early in December an attack was made on Fort Bowyer, which partially covered the entrance to the Mississippi, by the *Hermes* of 22 guns and the *Sophia* of 18 guns. Fort Bowyer had a garrison of 400 men, and proved much stronger than was anticipated. The attacking vessels were accordingly very roughly handled. The *Hermes* got ashore during the contest, and had to be burned to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. In this unsuccessful affair the British loss was 19 killed and 50 wounded. On the 8th of December the British fleet arrived off the mouth of the Mississippi, and a large flotilla of gunboats, collected for its defence, was speedily captured or destroyed. An advance was now made to within six miles of New Orleans, where General Jackson was in command. During the 23rd and 24th there was almost continual fighting, with a loss to the British of 275 in killed and wounded ; while the American loss was 213. On the evening of the 25th General Pakenham arrived and took command of the attacking force, which amounted to 7,300 effective men, while Jackson's army was 10,000 strong. Every forward step of the British was now hotly contested, and despite the severity of the weather continual conflicts took place. On the morning of the 8th of January the British made their final and fatal advance against Jackson's position, which proved to be one of great strength. On its right lay the Mississippi and on its left an impassable swamp. Through the connecting dry land, a thousand yards in extent, Jackson had constructed a deep ditch filled with water. This ditch was strengthened by sand-bags and bales of cotton, and enfiladed in front by flanking batteries.—As it would be hopeless to attack a strong position of this character in the day time, it was determined to carry it by escalade at night. But, owing to one unforeseen delay or another, the advance was not made until past five in the morning, when a surprise was wholly impossible. To aid the front attack 1,400 men, under Colonel Thornton, had crossed the river during the night, with orders to

\* Brooke's despatch, Sept. 16th, 1814, and Admiral Cochrane's despatch of same date.

capture the flanking batteries on that side. But owing to the sudden falling of the water he met with much delay, and did not accomplish his task until it was too late to be of use to the main attack in front. Becoming impatient of further delay, Pakenham at length ordered the attacking column, 5,000 strong, to advance. As his troops approached the fatal ditch they were met by a close and murderous fire from an enemy completely under cover. Still, these brave men moved gallantly onwards, and presently were close to the breast-work. But, at the critical moment, it was found impossible to cross the ditch without fascines to fill it up and scaling ladders, neither of which had been provided. Thus the head of the column was brought to a halt, and presently began to recoil under the close and terrible fire of the unseen foe. Pakenham, who was gallantly cheering on his men, was now shot dead; while Generals Gibbs and Kean, leading the attack, fell severely wounded. The command now devolved upon General Lambert, who at once saw the hopelessness of further attack, and withdrew his troops. In this battle the British loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 2,036; that of the enemy to 70 men. The total loss of the British in this unfortunate expedition was 2,492, that of the Americans 333. It was afterwards discovered that Jackson's position could have been turned, and attacked in the rear, and had that been done the city must have been taken. As a small set-off to the disaster at New Orleans, the British force, on its retreat, captured Fort Bowyer, which contained a garrison of 400 men, 23 guns, and a large quantity of war material.

The concluding naval events of the war were of a mixed character. On the 14th of January the American frigate *President*, of 59 guns, and 477 men, Commodore Decatur, eluded the blockading squadron off New York harbour in a snow storm, and got out to sea, with a view of cruising in the Bay of Bengal. After a long chase she was overhauled by the *Endymion* frigate of 50 guns and 346 men, when a sharp action ensued, in which the *President* suffered severely. She finally struck her colours to the *Pomone*, the consort of the *Endymion*, which came up at eleven o'clock at night. On the 20th of February the American frigate *Constitution*, 56 guns, 472 men, captured, near the island of Madeira, the *Cyane* of 30 guns, 182 men, and the *Levant* of 18 guns, 131 men. The latter was afterwards recaptured. These may be regarded as the last events of the war. During the three years of its continuance the Americans captured and carried into port 9 British vessels of war, of 3,314 tons capacity, mounting 171 guns, and with crews aggregating 919 men. On the other hand, the British captured 22 vessels of war, of 6,714 tons capacity, and with crews aggregating 2,430 men.

Having traced the current of hostilities, as it ebbed and flowed along the American seaboard and on the ocean, during 1814 and the succeeding two months, we have now to return to the Canadian frontier line, and resume our narrative of the progress of the war in that direction. The first movements of the campaign were made

against Lower Canada. Wilkinson had descended from Salmon River to Plattsburg, and anxious to strike an important blow as early in the season as possible, crossed the Canadian frontier on the 22nd of March, and took possession of the village of Phillipsburg, just within the lines, on the eastern side of Lake Champlain. From this place he proceeded to the western side of the lake, on the 26th, with the view of attacking a small British force stationed at La Colle Mill, about ten miles distant from Rouse's Point. His army consisted of over five thousand regular infantry, with one hundred cavalry, and eleven guns.\*

The mill about to be carried, as Wilkinson supposed by the large force under his command, was an ordinary quadrangle, fifty feet long by thirty-six feet wide, and two stories high, with a common shingle roof. The walls, eighteen inches thick, were pierced by several windows, now filled up with logs, in which loopholes to fire through had been cut. On the opposite bank of the La Colle River, crossed at this point by a wooden bridge, was a small house at an angle with the mill, which had been surrounded with a breast-work of logs. For a distance of one hundred yards or so around this position, which was far from being a strong one, the woods had been cleared. The ordinary garrison of La Colle Mill was under two hundred men, commanded by Major Hancock, while the few troops hastily drawn together to support it, on the advance of the enemy becoming known, did not exceed three hundred more. The latter consisted of the two flank companies of the 13th regiment, a company of Canadian Fencibles and another of Voltigeurs. With this slender force of less than five hundred men did Hancock resolve to hold a post, which a few hours' fire of well-directed artillery would have levelled to the ground, against a well-appointed army.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 30th of March, Wilkinson, after having made a demonstration against the outpost at Burtonville, occupied the woods close to La Colle Mill with his entire force, which he deployed into line with the view of surrounding the British position, and carrying it with the bayonet. His troops cheered loudly as they advanced; but the well-aimed and rapid fire with which they were received, soon compelled them to waver, and retreat back into the woods for shelter. Three guns (an eighteen, twelve and six-pounder) were now brought to bear upon the mill, within point-blank range. But these guns were badly served, and did little injury, while the artillerymen suffered severely from the British musketry, and the fire of their two guns. The enemy was also held in check on the side of the Richelieu by the fire of two sloops and two gun-boats, which had advanced towards the scene of action from Isle-aux-Noix; but these had

\* In the council of war held on the 20th of March, Wilkinson stated his force to be three thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine combatants. This force was joined next day by Brigadier Macomb with his brigade, which made the entire force fully up to five thousand men.

to remain too far away to do much service. Desperate as were the odds, the flank companies of the 13th regiment and the Canadian Voltigeurs and Fencibles, made two gallant charges in turn, to capture the enemy's guns, but were repulsed by the sheer force of numbers, the fire of his artillery, as well as of two brigades of infantry, being directed against them.\*

For full four hours did these few hundred gallant men withstand an army. As evening approached their ammunition began to run short. Still they did not quail. Not a man spoke of surrender; and the daring front they had shown during the day deterred the enemy from assaulting their position with the bayonet. At six o'clock Wilkinson retreated from the Canadian grist-mill, completely foiled and beaten, and retraced his steps to Plattsburg. His repulse was infinitely more disgraceful than that sustained by Abercromby before the lines of Montcalm at Ticonderoga. There the British bravely endeavoured to storm the works of the enemy: the American army made no attempt of the kind.†

In the defence of La Colle Mill the British loss was eleven killed, forty-six wounded, and four missing. The American loss has never been stated, but it must have been much greater.

The check sustained by Wilkinson led the American Government to abandon the idea of subduing Lower Canada for the present, and after leaving garrisons in the principal posts on Lake Champlain, his army was moved to the neighbourhood of Lake Ontario, to operate against the Upper Province. Here the campaign was opened, under the most favourable auspices for Canada, by Commodore Yeo and General Drummond. On the 4th of May the British squadron, which by the construction of two new ships had obtained the ascendancy on the lake, with one thousand and eighty troops on board, left Kingston for Oswego, where a landing was effected on the morning of the 6th, after a sharp action with the enemy, who was completely put to flight. The troops then proceeded to destroy all stores which could not be carried off, dismantle the fort, and burn the barracks and bridges.‡ Seven heavy guns, two of smaller calibre, a quantity of shot and gunpowder, two schooners and several small craft, and nineteen hundred barrels of flour and salt, were brought away.§ The British loss, on this occasion, amounted to one officer and eighteen men killed, two officers and sixty men wounded; the Americans admit a loss of sixty-nine killed and wounded and sixty prisoners.

The next operation of Yeo's fleet was to blockade Chauncey in Sackett's Harbour, and intercept the supplies forwarded there from Oswego. On the morning of the 29th of May sixteen boats

\* Colonel M'Pherson's evidence at Wilkinson's court-martial.

† William's Despatch to Prevost, 13th March, 1814. Hancock to Williams.

‡ Drummond's Despatch to Prevost, 7th of May, 1814.

§ Yeo's Letter to Mr. Croker.



of the enemy, laden with military and naval stores, were discovered in-shore. One of these was captured, and the remainder took shelter in Sandy Creek, whither Yeo despatched Captains Popham and Spilsbury, with two gun-boats and five barges, to cut them out. They entered the creek on the 31st, but were speedily attacked in flank and front by a strong body of the enemy's riflemen, militia, cavalry, and two hundred Iroquois, and overpowered after a desperate defence. Their resistance so irritated the Indians, that they were with difficulty withheld from massacring the entire party on its surrender. The British loss on this occasion was eighteen killed, fifty wounded, and one hundred and thirty-eight prisoners.

While these events transpired at the lower end of Lake Ontario, the American forces were being concentrated along the Niagara frontier for another invasion of that part of Canada. Their want of success hitherto by land had taught the Americans experience, and great exertions were made to have their troops better drilled and better officered than ever. Major-General Brown, who now commanded, was an officer of much greater resolution and ability than any of those who had preceded him, and the brigadiers under him were of the same stamp.

On the 3rd of July, two strong brigades, under Brigadiers Scott and Ripley, crossed the Niagara River from Buffalo to Fort Erie. Here a small garrison of one hundred and seventy men had been left, more with a view of giving a temporary check to the enemy, and allowing time for troops to concentrate for the protection of the frontier at any menaced point, than for the purpose of a protracted resistance.

Unfortunately Major Buck, of the 8th regiment, who now commanded at Fort Erie, did not sufficiently weigh the importance of his post, and surrendered without firing a shot, thinking it would only be a useless loss of life to oppose the large army, fully four thousand strong, besides Indians, which had advanced against him. To resist this formidable invasion, made, too, by almost all regular troops, there were only seventeen hundred and eighty British regulars along the entire Niagara frontier, including the garrisons at the different forts. But Major-General Riall, now commanding at this point, determined nevertheless to check the advance of the enemy; who on the morning of the 4th, led by General Brown, pushed down the river towards Chippewa, with the view of capturing that village which formed the extreme right of the British position extending downwards to Niagara. During the day, however, Brown made no attempt to carry this post, and contented himself with solidly establishing his troops a short distance above it.

On the morning of the 5th, Riall, having been reinforced by the 3rd Buffs, six hundred strong, from Toronto, determined to become the assailant with fifteen hundred regulars, three hundred Indians, and six hundred militia. Brown had taken up a good position; his right rested on some buildings and orchards close to

the river, and was strongly supported by artillery ; his left extended to a wood with a strong body of riflemen and Indians thrown out on his flank and in advance.

Riall began the battle shortly after four o'clock in the afternoon, by pushing his main body in columns of echelon against the enemy's line, with the view of breaking through, and turning it at three different points. At the same time a body of militia and the entire Indian force, were thrown to the right to dislodge his light troops and savages from the wood. But the Kentucky riflemen fought stoutly, while the Iroquois effectually held the Canadian Indians in check, and neither were dislodged until assailed by the light companies of the Royal Scots and 100th regiment, when they were forced back on their main body. Meanwhile, the heads of the attacking columns were crushed again and again by the discharges of the long and solid American line, which stood its ground bravely and fired with rapidity and precision. Riall at length finding himself unable to penetrate it, was reluctantly obliged to order a retreat, having sustained a loss of one hundred and fifty-seven killed and three hundred and twenty wounded. The American loss was little more than half as severe.

This battle was the most considerable fought as yet during the war, and the unusual steadiness and good conduct of the American troops showed the advantage of better discipline and superior general officers. Riall made a serious mistake in attacking an army strongly posted and twice his own strength, but had doubtless been induced to take this step from the supposition that the enemy would be beaten as easily as usual. His defeat clearly proved that the British had now to contend against abler commanders and better troops, and that a nearer equality of numbers must be possessed to insure success. Had Riall been content to act on the defensive, and cover himself by intrenchments at the favourable ground on the eastern side of the Chippewa Creek, his position would be very difficult to force, and the attempt could scarcely fail to result in the defeat of the enemy. His desperate bravery, however, had one good effect ; it showed the Americans that if they established themselves in Canada, it would only be by very hard fighting.

Although the British army had been defeated, the enemy took no active steps to improve the victory he had won, and appeared as if he had got plenty of fighting for one day. Riall retreated in admirable order, little disturbed by Brown's cavalry or light troops, and did not lose a gun, nor even a prisoner except the wounded he had been compelled to leave on the field.\* A rapid and vigorous pursuit must have seriously embarrassed him, but Brown attempted nothing of the kind. Taking the smallness of the British force into consideration, and the severe loss it had sustained in killed

\* Riall's Despatch to Drummond, 6th of July.

and wounded, a retreat such as it now effected was almost equivalent to a victory.

Dreading that the enemy by a flank march would cut him off from Burlington Heights, and thus destroy his communications with Toronto, Riall, after a short pause at Chippewa, continued his retreat to Twenty Mile Creek, throwing reinforcements into Forts Mississaga, George, and Niagara as he passed by. Meeting, however, with the 103rd regiment, and two companies of the 104th, he returned towards Niagara, and established himself near the Twelve Mile Creek.

Meanwhile, Brown advanced leisurely down the frontier, and occupied Queenston, from whence he made demonstrations against Forts George, Niagara, and Mississaga. Here he remained till the 23rd, and during the interval his light troops and Indians scattered themselves over the neighbourhood, and plundered and burned dwellings and barns in every direction. On the 19th Colonel Stone caused the village of St. David, containing some thirty houses, to be burned down; fences were next torn up, forage carried off without payment wherever it could be laid hands on; and, on every occasion, the American outposts acted as if they had been in a country the inhabitants of which were their deadliest enemies. The unfortunate Canadians, maddened by their losses, were driven to desperation, and fired upon the invaders whenever an opportunity presented itself. Scarcely did a single foraging party of the enemy return to camp without leaving behind some of its number, who had been either killed or badly wounded.\*

Brown had expected to be supported, in the sieges of Forts George and Niagara, by Chauncey's fleet. But the British squadron having now the command of the lake, he was disappointed in this respect, and finding the garrisons on the alert, and that nothing could be effected by surprise, he retreated to Chippewa on the 24th, followed by Riall, who next day established himself at Lundy's Lane, in his immediate neighbourhood.

No sooner had General Drummond heard, at Kingston, of the advance of a large American army across the Niagara frontier, and of the battle of Chippewa, than he hastened to Toronto, and from thence immediately proceeded to Niagara, where he arrived on the morning of the 25th. Here he learned of the retreat of Brown on the preceding day, and of the advance of Riall, whom he at once determined to support, on the enemy's rear. Directing Colonel Tucker to move up the American side of the river from Fort Niagara, in order to disperse or capture a body of the enemy assembled at Lewiston, he pushed forward to Queenston.†

Brown was speedily informed of these threatening movements, and dreading that Tucker intended to capture his baggage and stores at Schlosser, if he were not forced to retreat by a counter-

\* Letter of Major M'Farland, an American officer of Brown's army.

† Drummond's Despatch to Prevost, 27th of July 1814.

advance on his own part, determined to put his army in motion towards Queenston. He accordingly directed General Scott, with the first brigade, the cavalry, and a battery of artillery, to move in this direction, and if he met the British in force to report to that effect, when the remainder of the army would march to assist him. In pursuance of these instructions Scott advanced to Niagara Falls, and finding the British in larger numbers there than had been anticipated, he despatched an orderly with a request that Brown should at once push on to his assistance.\*

Meanwhile, the enemy at Lewiston having decamped, Drummond directed Tucker to return to Niagara, and moved forward himself with eight hundred regulars to support Riall at Lundy's Lane, or Bridgewater, as it is styled by American writers. He reached the neighbourhood of this position at half-past five o'clock in the evening, and found that Riall, instead of occupying the hill he had expected, had already commenced a retreat, his advance, composed of eight hundred regulars and militia, being a considerable distance away on the upper road to Queenston. Despatching an aide-de-camp to recall these troops, Drummond at once took possession of the little eminence at Lundy's Lane, on the summit of which he placed five field-guns in battery, with two brass twenty-four pounders a little in advance. His line of battle was formed with rapidity and skill. The 89th regiment, a detachment of the Royal Scots, and the light companies of the 41st, he posted in rear of the battery, the centre and key of his position. To the right, the Glengarry Light Infantry prolonged the line; to the left, were posted a body of militia and a detachment of the 3rd Buffs. On the road, in rear of the left, were stationed a squadron of the 19th Light Dragoons. Drummond's entire force, thus formed in battle array, amounted to sixteen hundred men. Scott's brigade advancing against him was two thousand strong, exclusive of cavalry and artillery; the second brigade under Ripley, soon rapidly pushing up to support Scott, was nearly of equal strength; while the militia, under General Porter, and his own cavalry, made up Brown's army to fully five thousand men.

When Drummond arrived on the ground, the enemy was already within six hundred yards of the advantageous position of which he at once so promptly and skilfully took possession. He had barely time to complete his formation when the whole front was warmly engaged. But the decision and skill of the British general had already half won the battle. The battery, so judiciously placed, was admirably served, and swept the field with terrible rapidity, while the sharp rolling volleys of the infantry held Scott's superior numbers effectually in check. For three quarters of an hour did the battle rage on something like equal terms in point of strength; then Ripley's brigade came on the ground, with another battery of artillery, and Drummond's little army had now to contend against three times its number. Brown at once availed himself of his

\* Brown's Despatch to Armstrong.

superior force to outflank his opponent's line. The 25th American regiment swept round the British left, forced it back at an angle with the centre, gained temporary possession of the road, and the enemy's cavalry, following behind, made several prisoners, and General Riall, who had been severely wounded and was passing to the rear, among the rest. But the Canadian militiamen of the left gave way no farther than the brow of the road ; and there, although pressed hard by immensely superior numbers, did they gallantly hold their ground, and effectually covered the rear of the centre and right.

Meanwhile, the battle raged furiously at the centre of the British line, on which the Americans made fierce and repeated attacks, but were repulsed again and again with steady valour, to be afterwards smote down with terrible carnage by the fire of the artillery as they fell back to reform. Presently, night drew its sable pall over the battle field ; still the combat raged with desperate obstinacy. The assailants, maddened by their losses, pressed forward repeatedly to capture the British guns, and even bayoneted the gunners in the act of loading, but were as often repulsed. They next pushed up their own guns within a few yards of Drummond's battery, and thus maintained a combat of artillery. At one time, led by Colonel Miller, they forced the 89th back and captured several of the British cannon, but a vigorous bayonet charge recovered them again, and took a gun in addition from the enemy, together with several tumbrels.

About nine o'clock there was a brief lull in the battle, while Scott's brigade, which had suffered severely, was being withdrawn by Brown and placed in reserve, and Ripley's fresher troops pushed to the front. Luckily at this time the remainder of Riall's division, whose retreat on Fort George, as already stated, had been countermanded by Drummond, came up with two guns, and having been joined on its way by four hundred militia, the hard-pressed British combatants were now reinforced by twelve hundred fresh troops, with some of whom their line was prolonged at the right, which it was apprehended the enemy might outflank ; the rest were placed in reserve. The moon now rose dimly over the battle-field, and flung its uncertain light from behind a mass of thin feathery cloud on the hostile ranks, enabling the eye to scan the slope in front of the British position, strewed thickly with the dying and the dead, the plaintive groans of the wounded mingling sadly and chillingly the while with the dull, yet terribly voluminous, roar of the mighty cataract close by.

The contest was again resumed. Long thin lines of fire marked the discharges of the hostile infantry, while ever and anon the artillery shot out a red volume of flame, and then its thunders reverberated across the bloody field, to waste themselves in fitful echoes amid the continuous roll of the Niagara. A momentary pause now and then succeeded, and the cries of the wounded for water fell ominously on the ears of the still uninjured. Till mid-



night did this terrible combat continue, when Brown, finding all his efforts fruitless to force the British position, retreated to Chippewa, leaving Drummond in full possession of the battle-field.

Such was the battle of Lundy's Lane, the most fiercely contested, and bloody in its results, of any fought in Canada during the war. The Americans, as we have already seen, had largely the advantage in point of numbers; the British the best position. Still, it is difficult to imagine how sixteen hundred men could have resisted an army of five thousand for nearly three hours, had the latter been more ably commanded. The field of battle was open, there was no bush fighting, no breast-work of any kind, and the eminence held by the British was only of trifling height and quite easy of ascent. The Americans showed a desperate courage worthy of their British descent, and had Brown wielded his large columns more skilfully, Drummond could scarcely fail to have been beaten. He committed a blunder in not knowing more of the British force in his front, and Scott committed a still greater blunder in commencing the battle before Ripley's brigade came up. Had the whole American army been at once thrown skilfully against the British line, it must have been outflanked and hemmed in, and Drummond compelled to retreat, or have his small force destroyed. While their troops behaved admirably, neither Brown nor Scott displayed the genius of the skilful military tactician, and literally fought the battle by detachments,\* to be repulsed in detail. They sought to win a victory by the mere physical courage of their men, while their superior numbers should have decided the contest in their favour with one-half the loss they sustained in being beaten.

The Americans claim they won a victory at Lundy's Lane, but on what ground it is difficult to imagine. They did not drive the British army from its position. If for a brief space they had its guns in their possession, a bayonet charge compelled them to surrender them again, besides losing one of their own in addition. Nor did they remain in possession of the battle-field. That honour rested with the British troops and the gallant Canadian militia. The latter fought for their country with illustrious valour, and behaved with all the coolness and courage of the best veteran soldiers. The loss of the American army, also, was the most severe, being nine hundred and thirty killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners; while that of the British, prisoners included, only amounted to eight hundred and seventy men.† Generals Brown and Scott had been severely wounded during the battle. Drummond, also, was wounded in the neck, but remained upon the ground nevertheless till the enemy had retreated.

The active command of the American army now devolved upon Ripley, who was directed by Brown to make a fresh demonstration against the British position, at day-break on the following morning.

\* Armstrong, vol. ii. pp. 93—95. † Alison's Hist. Europe, vol. iv. p. 473.

But a reconnaissance soon convinced Ripley that Drummond was fully prepared to receive him on precisely the same ground, and he therefore declined to give battle. Fearing to be attacked in turn, Brown now determined on retreat; and having, on the 27th, set fire to Street's Mills, destroyed the bridge over the Chippewa Creek, to check pursuit, and thrown his heavy baggage, tents and provisions, into the river, retired on Fort Erie, while Drummond's light troops, cavalry and Indians, followed rapidly in pursuit.

The destruction of its heavy stores, and the retreat of the American army so soon after the battle of Lundy's Lane, present clear evidence that it felt it had sustained a defeat. But if additional proof on this point is required, it will be found in the fact, that Brown's *victorious* troops were soon cooped up in Fort Erie, or in intrenchments beside it, by a force little more than half their number. The curious spectacle was thus presented to the world of the larger force besieged by the smaller, and rendered perfectly useless for the remainder of the campaign.\*

Ripley had made great exertions, during the brief interval of repose allowed him by Drummond, to strengthen the works of Fort Erie, while two vessels of war were placed so as to cover it towards the lake by their fire. These were captured, however, by the British, in two boats brought overland for the purpose, on the night of the 12th of August. On the following morning Drummond's batteries opened on the works, which their fire speedily damaged so much, that it was determined to carry them at once by assault.†

This daring attempt to storm a fort supported by an intrenched camp, in which lay over three thousand men, by a force less than two-thirds the number of the enemy, had very nearly succeeded. The assailants were divided into three columns, two of which established themselves before daylight, on the morning of the 15th, in a solid manner in a part of the Americans' works, and turned their own guns upon them. Unfortunately the third column, under Colonel Fischer, was unable to co-operate, owing to the vigorous defence of the enemy.‡ Still, the troops already inside firmly maintained their ground till a great part of them were killed by the accidental explosion of a magazine close by, when the remainder retreated in dismay.

In this gallant, but abortive attempt, the British loss was very severe; one hundred and fifty-seven were killed, three hundred and eight wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six made prisoners. The American loss was trifling in comparison, and in killed and wounded scarcely amounted to one hundred men. Nor was this the only repulse sustained by Drummond's force at this time. A simultaneous attack made against the enemy's position at Black

\* Alison's Hist. Europe, vol. iv. p. 474.

† Drummond's Despatch to Prevost, 15th of August, 1814.

‡ Fischer's Report to Drummond, 14th of August, 1814.

Rock, with four hundred and sixty men, under Colonel Tucker, also failed. But the American army, now commanded by Brigadier Gaines, had not the heart to follow up its success ; and Drummond being reinforced, on the 17th, by the 6th and 82nd regiments from Lower Canada, was enabled to retain his position.

While the tide of war thus rolled fiercely along the Niagara frontier, hostile occurrences were also transpiring in the far west. Early in the spring, Mackinaw had been reinforced by way of Nottawasaga, and from thence a force of six hundred and fifty Canadians and Indians were detached, under Colonel McKay, for the capture of the enemy's post at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi. This duty McKay effectually accomplished without the loss of a man, and thus completely established British influence with the western Indian tribes.

Early in the season, Armstrong, the American secretary at war, had planned the re-capture of Mackinaw, and towards the latter part of July a force of one thousand men, under Colonel Croghan, proceeded to effect that object. With a part of this force Major Holmes made a descent upon the stores belonging to the North-West Company at St. Mary's, and, after taking out all the furs and goods, reduced the buildings to ashes. But Holmes was not content with this robbery and destruction of private property, at a post where there was not a single military man. All the horses and cattle were killed, and the provisions and garden stuff, which could not be removed, destroyed.

On the 4th of August, Croghan arrived near the Fort of Mackinaw, and Colonel McDowall, commanding that post, at once made dispositions with one hundred and four men to check his advance, the remainder of his little garrison being required to man the guns. But the enemy landed in a direction different from that anticipated by McDowall. His march, however, was gallantly checked by a body of Indians, and Croghan was speedily compelled to retreat to his shipping, having sustained a loss of sixty-four killed and wounded. Among the killed was Holmes, the destroyer of St. Mary's, who had thus met a well-merited fate. No further attempt was made on Mackinaw, which remained in undisturbed possession of the British till the termination of the war. Its safety was further secured by the capture, on the 5th of December, of two of the enemy's vessels, left in the neighbourhood to intercept supplies for the garrison, by a small party of seamen and soldiers.

While these events were transpiring in the west, Sir John Sherbrooke, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was engaged in subduing that portion of the State of Maine lying nearest to New Brunswick. Early in July a small force was detached from Halifax, under Colonel Pilkington, which took possession of Moose Island in Passamaquoddy Bay ; the garrison of the fort there, consisting of seven officers and eighty men, surrendering themselves prisoners of war. On the 26th of August General Sherbrooke sailed from Halifax, with all his disposable forces, established

himself without opposition, on the 1st of September, at Castine, on the Penobscot River, the enemy having blown up his magazines and retreated; and detached six hundred troops, with a body of sailors, to capture or destroy the frigate *Adams*, which had run up to Hampden for safety. The batteries at this place were gallantly carried, and the enemy, numbering some fourteen hundred, compelled to retreat, but not, however, till he had set fire to the *Adams*. Bangor was next captured without resistance; Machias also surrendered; and the whole country from the Penobscot to New Brunswick was formally taken possession of, with small loss to our troops, and remained under British rule till the end of the war.

Meanwhile, the arrival at Quebec of sixteen thousand men of the Duke of Wellington's army, put it in Prevost's power to assume the offensive. Major-General Kempt was accordingly despatched with a portion of this force to Upper Canada, with a view to a descent on Sackett's Harbour, while a body of eleven thousand troops were concentrated on the Richelieu frontier, to operate against the enemy's posts on Lake Champlain. But, unfortunately, the naval part of this expedition, on which its success mainly depended, was not by any means in the same state of efficiency as the land force. It was composed of a frigate, the *Confiance* of thirty-seven guns, one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats, wretchedly equipped, not one-fifth of the crews being British sailors; the remainder were a strange medley of English soldiers and Canadian militia.

On the 10th of August the American General, Izzard, had moved up Lake Ontario, with four thousand men, to reinforce the troops besieged at Fort Erie, and enable them to assume the offensive. leaving the posts on Lake Champlain very slenderly defended. Prevost's advance, accordingly, met with no opposition; and on the 6th of September his army appeared before Plattsburg, then protected by two block-houses and a chain of strongly-fortified field-works, garrisoned by fifteen hundred troops and militia under Brigadier Macomb. The three succeeding days were chiefly employed in bringing up the heavy artillery. Prevost did not think it proper to open fire on the enemy's works, covered by his fleet of fourteen vessels, until supported by the British squadron. But so backward was its state of preparation, that it only hove in sight on the morning of the 11th, and the shipwrights were still busily working on the hull of the *Confiance*, bearing the Commodore's (Captain Downie) flag, as she moved through the water.

The squadron which the British vessels were now bearing down to attack was much their superior in men, tonnage, and weight of metal, besides being supported by powerful land-batteries. Still, Downie relied upon Prevost's assurance that the enemy's position would be assailed by land while he attacked his fleet, and bore

gallantly down to action.\* But instead of supporting this movement, Prevost directed his men to cook their breakfasts. The result was what might naturally be expected. After a desperate battle the *Confiance*, *Linnet* brig, and *Chub* sloop, were compelled to strike their colours. The *Finch* struck on a reef, and was of no use during the action, and nine of the gun-boats fled. Prevost at length put his attacking columns in motion ; but, on finding that he could not expect succour from the fleet, he immediately withdrew them and resolved to retreat. The works would have been easily carried ; a success in this way would have been a set-off to the disaster of the fleet ; and nothing could have equalled the indignation of the troops when they were ordered to retreat. Many of the officers indignantly broke their swords, declaring they would never serve again ; and the army sullenly retraced its way to the Canadian frontier, undisturbed by the enemy. The disgraceful course pursued on this occasion effectually destroyed the military reputation of the Governor General ; and as he died before he could be tried by court-martial, the stain still rests on his memory. On board the fleet, the loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and twenty-nine, while the land force lost about two hundred. The loss of the American fleet was nearly as severe as that of the British. Among the killed of the latter was the gallant Downie.

No sooner did the American troops invested at Fort Erie learn the disaster of the British at Lake Champlain, than they made a vigorous sortie on the afternoon of the 17th of September. Owing to the rain falling in torrents, they succeeded in turning the right of the besieger's pickets, and after a sharp contest obtained possession of two batteries. But a reinforcement speedily coming up, they were at once driven back, and pursued to the very glacis of the fort, whither they retired with precipitation, having sustained a loss in killed, wounded, and missing of five hundred and nine men. The British loss amounted to six hundred, of whom one-half, however, had been made prisoners in the trenches at the commencement of the sortie. Finding his men becoming very sickly, and learning also the advance of General Izzard's division, Drummond raised the siege on the 21st, and retired wholly unmolested on Chippewa.

During the autumn months Chauncey had the advantage, both in the number and size of his vessels, of the British squadron on Lake Ontario. At length, on the 10th of October, the *St. Lawrence*, a vessel of one hundred guns, was launched at Kingston, when the

\* Comparative strength of vessels actually engaged :—

	British.	American.
Vessels,	8	14
Broadside guns,	38	52
Weight of metal, lbs.,	765	1194
Aggregate of crews,	537	950
Tons,	1425	2540



American Commodore immediately withdrew, and was blockaded in turn at Sackett's Harbour. The lake freed from the enemy's ships, troops and stores were conveyed to the army on the Niagara frontier; and although Izzard had now a fine force of eight thousand men at Fort Erie, he blew up its works, recrossed the river, and left the harassed people of Upper Canada to repose. Beyond a foray of mounted Kentucky brigands, who marked their course with plunder and destruction, at the extreme west, the retreat of Izzard was the last event of a war, which completely burst the bubble of American invasion of Canada. The Treaty of Ghent, on the 24th of December, put a final termination to hostilities, and restored peace between two nations, whose language, laws and religion, were identical, and who should, therefore, never have unsheathed the sword against each other.

The ostensible grounds of the war, on the part of the United States, were the Orders in Council and the right of search; but its real cause was the desire to acquire Canada. On each of these points the American Democracy had been completely worsted. Peace was concluded without a word being said about the flag covering the merchandise, or the right of search; while Canada remained unconquered, and far better prepared to defend herself at the close of hostilities than at the beginning.

From first to last the course pursued by the United States presents few grounds for justification. They had commenced an unrighteous war by the invasion of an unoffending and harmless people. When they found they could not seduce them from allegiance to their sovereign, their generals burned their villages and farm-houses, and plundered them of their properties. But, by a righteous dispensation of Providence, they were most deservedly punished. Nothing had been gained by all the lavish expenditure of American blood and treasure. Not one solitary dollar had been added to the wealth of the people of the United States, nor one inch of land to their territory. On the other hand, their export trade from twenty-two millions sterling had dwindled down, in 1814, to less than one and a half million; and their imports, from twenty-eight millions sterling had been reduced to three. Nearly three thousand of their merchants vessels had been captured; their entire seaboard insulted; two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes of the whole nation had become insolvent, and the Union itself was threatened with dissolution by the secession of the New England States.\* Then, if Canada suffered much misery—if many of her gallant sons were laid low by the ruthless hand of the pitiless invader, and her soil steeped with the blood of her brave militia fighting in defence of their homes, the war was, nevertheless, a real benefit to her. The lavish expenditure of money enriched, more or less, all classes of her small population; and thus gave a vast impulse to the general prosperity

\* Alison's Hist. Europe, vol. iv. pp. 482, 483.

of the country. Nor did this expenditure add much to the burdens of the people, being chiefly borne by the mother country, while the inhabitants of the United States were grievously oppressed by taxation, and thus directly punished for their eagerness to engage in war, and coveting their neighbours' lands, while countless millions of acres of their own territory lay waste.

Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of this war was the course pursued by the great majority of the American settlers, who, aside from the U. E. Loyalists, had emigrated to Canada. To their honour, be it said, they nobly adhered to their oath of allegiance, willingly enrolled themselves in the militia, and gallantly aided to stem the tide of invasion. It is true that a few of their number joined the armies of the United States, but so also did persons of British origin. Fortunately, however, for the country, the aggregate number of traitors of all descriptions was very small, when compared with the patriotic portion of the population. At the present day American settlers, or their descendents, form a large and important percentage of the people of Ontario. As a rule they are sincerely attached to the country of their adoption, and make intelligent, useful, and law-abiding citizens. Nor have they cause to blush for the land in which their lot has been cast. Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen or Americans, should never hesitate to fuse themselves into a Canadian people, and help to build up a young, vigorous and gallant nation, in the valley of the St. Lawrence, along the borders of our inland seas, and in the new and vaster regions that lie beyond them to the Pacific Ocean. Canadians have every reason to be proud of their country. Brave in war, contented in peace, we tread the soil of our magnificent heritage as a free people, in the widest sense of the term. If we have not the wealth of England, neither have we its aristocracy to crush down the industrial classes: if we lack the population and the cotton fields of the United States, we also lack its discordant foreign rabble, and the difficult problem of its negro multitude. Not a single national stigma rests on Canada; and if its people are only true to themselves in the future as they have been in the past, the course of its national prosperity should roll on as certainly, and as grandly, as the current of the majestic river that forms its great highway to the Atlantic Ocean. Another war with the United States is a very improbable contingency. There is, in point of fact, nothing left to seriously quarrel about, nothing to provoke a war, nothing that should not be easily settled by arbitration, by the mutual good sense and righteous feeling of the people of both countries.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### LOWER CANADA FROM 1815 TO 1828.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF PREVOST,—*continued.*

THE Legislature of Lower Canada assembled on the 21st of January. Panet, the speaker of the Assembly, having been called to the Upper House, Louis Joseph Papineau, who for the ensuing twenty-three years figured so prominently in 1815. the public affairs of the Province, was chosen to replace him. The new speaker was descended from a respectable French family, which emigrated to Canada towards the close of the seventeenth century, and finally settled in Montreal. His father, frequently termed the elder Papineau, was born in 1752, appointed a notary public in 1780, and for many years was a member of the Assembly. He was a faithful subject of the existing government, and in 1810, when addressing the electors of Montreal, declared "that he had no other motive in seeking to become a member of the Assembly, than that which arose from a desire to consecrate his feeble talents to the support of the government and the constitution." At the same time, he pointed to his past conduct as a proof of his fidelity to the Crown, and alluded to his zeal to sustain the interests of the King's subjects in the Province, without distinction of rank, situation or religion. "I have given proof," he said, "of my devotion to the preservation of a strict union of these provinces with the mother country; and I am still ready to expose my property, and even my life, for the preservation of the happiness and prosperity we enjoy under the British Government." The younger Papineau, however, did not share, to any very great extent, in the devotion of his father to the government under which he lived. Born at Montreal, in 1789, and educated at the Seminary of Quebec, he evinced, at a very early age, despite his priestly training, a decided leaning to democratic principles, and to the new school, now springing into existence, which began to dream of French-Canadian sovereignty in the Laurentian Valley. In 1809, while still a student, he was elected as a member of the Assembly for the county of Chambly, for which he sat two years. During the ensuing twenty years he represented the western division of the City of Montreal. He at once attached himself to the opposition party in the

Assembly, soon became its leader, and continued to act with it afterwards until the rebellion took place. His eloquence, his readiness in debate, his desire to raise his countrymen from their secondary position, his purpose to make them supreme in the affairs of the Province, speedily won him the favour of the Assembly, and it now hastened to choose him as its speaker, although he was still not quite twenty-six years of age. And not content with elevating him to this dignity, the highest in its gift, it voted him the large salary of \$4,000 per annum—a salary he continued to enjoy for over twenty years.

Among the money grants of the session was one of \$100,000 for building the Lachine Canal, which extends from the western part of Montreal to Lake St. Louis, a distance of some nine miles.—Another grant of \$2,000 was made to Joseph Bouchette, surveyor-general of the Province, to assist him in publishing his maps and topography of the country. The question of having an agent in England was considered by the Assembly, and an address voted to the Governor asking him to procure the Prince Regent's sanction to the measure. It was also determined to further prosecute the impeachment of Sewell and Monk, and as this could only be done in England, the appointment of judges resting entirely with the Imperial Government, the necessity of having an agent there became more pressing.

While the attention of the Assembly was still occupied by these proceedings, a message from the Governor, on the 1st of March, officially announced the conclusion of peace with the United States. The embodied militia were accordingly disbanded, officers receiving a gratuity of eighty days' pay. Provision was also made for a pension of twenty-four dollars per annum to each militiaman and voltigeur rendered incapable by wounds of earning a livelihood. A small gratuity was likewise given to the widows and orphans of those who had been killed during the war; and an address voted to the Crown recommending that grants of land be made to the embodied and other militiamen who had been engaged in actual service. The public accounts for the year, ending January the 5th, showed that the revenue amounted to \$818,200, and the expenditure to \$789,000. Of the latter sum \$541,178 had been absorbed by military expenses; \$21,896 went to Upper Canada, as its proportion of the customs' duties; while \$1,356 defrayed the charges for the recent general election, and \$14,672 those of the Legislature.

The business of the session having been completed, the Legislature was prorogued by the Governor on the 25th of March. After alluding to the liberality of the Assembly, and the fortunate establishment of peace, he stated briefly that he had received the commands of the Prince Regent to return to England, "for the purpose of repelling accusations affecting his military character," preferred by Commodore Yeo, with regard to the loss of the fleet on Lake Champlain. He concluded by paying a well-merited

compliment to the people of Canada, for the zeal and loyalty they had manifested during his administration.

Prior to his departure, on the 3rd of April, Sir George Prevost received addresses, from the French-Canadian citizens of Montreal and Quebec, couched in the most flattering terms. With the British minority of Lower Canada he was not, however, by any means popular. His concessions to the French-Canadian majority had caused that minority to regard him with the utmost dislike, and his want of success at Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburg was eagerly seized on by its press to lower him in the public estimation. A calm review, however, of all the points at issue, while it leads to the conclusion that Prevost was not a great military genius, must accord him the merit of much political sagacity and wisdom. He effectually united a population of different origin and antagonistic feeling in defence of their common country, and thus preserved Canadian nationality through a period of the greatest danger. In his conduct towards the French-Canadians he pursued the same line of policy followed by General Murray and Lord Dorchester, to both of whom the Lower Province was largely indebted. His bodily health, naturally delicate, was seriously injured by the hardships of his overland journey from Quebec to the seaboard, part of which was performed on foot, and the anxiety of mind consequent on his unpleasant position. He died on the 12th of January 1816, deeply regretted by his relatives and numerous friends. The court-martial appointed to try him never assembled. His afflicted wife took loving steps to clear his memory from the stains resting upon it in connection with the military occurrences at Plattsburg. The War Office eventually publicly acknowledged his valuable services; the Prince Regent accorded an honourable addition to the armorial escutcheon of the family; and the Duke of Wellington signified his approval of the retreat from Plattsburg. On the other hand, several of the naval officers who misconducted themselves there were tried by a court-martial and punished.\*

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GORDON DRUMMOND,

General Drummond, with whom the reader must be already well-acquainted, assumed temporary charge of the government of Lower Canada on the departure of Prevost. His first measure of importance was the redemption of the Army Bills, issued during the war, which had passed equally current with gold and silver. On the 14th of November a proclamation was issued stating that these bills would now be paid in cash, at the Army Bill Office in Quebec, and that all interest would cease thereon after one month. "These Army Bills," said the *Quebec Gazette*, "have enriched the

\* Gurwood's Despatches, vol. xiv. p. 244. Garneau, vol. ii, p. 323.



country; not so much by the interest they paid as by stimulating the prices of its commodities, and giving great facilities for the purchase of government exchange on London." They were almost better than gold; while similar paper in the United States depreciated in value to such an extent, as to cause their people much confusion and serious loss.

Drummond was very anxious to carry out the recommendation of the Assembly, with regard to giving grants of land to the militiamen, who had been engaged in active service during the war, and at first supposed that these grants could be made in the Eastern Townships, and especially along the St. Francis River, which rises in a lake of the same name, and after winding for over a hundred miles through a highly picturesque district, and receiving several tributary streams, finally discharges its waters into Lake St. Peter. But on enquiry at the Crown land office of the Province Drummond found, to his surprise, that all the available lands in the valley of the St. Francis River had been absorbed by favourites of the Executive. Between the years 1793 and 1811 over three million acres of this charming district had been divided among a couple of hundred of lucky grantees, one of whom was the former Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert S. Milnes, whose share alone was no less than seventy thousand acres. Land had to be found elsewhere for the militia; and the Home Government was duly advised of how matters stood.\* Drummond next turned his attention to the postal department, complaints having been made to him touching its bad management. Here he found so many abuses in existence, that he demanded the dismissal of Heriot, its superintendent.

The Legislature assembled on the 26th of January. In his opening speech Drummond alluded to his own birth in Quebec, the 1816. continued indisposition of George III., the restoration of the Bourbons, the battle of Waterloo, and the necessity of renewing the Militia Act about to expire. He also drew the attention of the Legislature to the fact, that "many discontented adventurers, and mischievous agitators, had recently thrown themselves into the neighbouring States," and recommended that their entrance into the Province should be restrained by reviving the "Alien Act." The good-feeling manifested by the address of the Assembly, in reply, was of brief duration. On the 2nd of February that body was completely astounded by a message from the Governor, stating that the impeachments preferred against Chief Justices Sewell and Monk had, on the advice of the law lords of the Privy Council, been dismissed by the Prince Regent. "No enquiry," said the message, "was deemed necessary in that part of the charges which related to acts done by a former Governor; and the admission of the principle that the governor of a province might, at his own discretion, divest himself of all responsibility on points of political

\* Drummond's Despatch to Earl Bathurst June 16th, 1815.

government was impossible. Accordingly the only part of the charges submitted by the Prince Regent to the Privy Council, was that relating to the Rules of Court, which came immediately within the responsibility of the judges ; and on this point it was decided that they had not exceeded their authority, and had committed no offence against the law. There can be no doubt of the soundness of this decision. Craig could alone be held responsible for his personal acts, and five years before he had gone into the court of a higher tribunal, and was now beyond the reach of the Assembly. Calmer counsels should have made these facts apparent to its members, and led them to submit decorously to the judgment of the Prince Regent, and to the decision of the highest court of appeal in the empire. But urged on by the malicious agitator, James Stuart, and inflated with an undue idea of its functions and constitutional authority, the Assembly took counsel instead of its own prejudices and passions, and on the 24th of February decided, by resolution, not to submit to the adverse decision of the Privy Council, and to petition the Crown for permission to prove its charges. In other words, the Assembly demanded that the Privy Council should quash its final judgment, and re-open the case again, an unheard of proceeding. But the Home Government, anticipating a course of this kind, had already instructed Drummond to dissolve the Assembly if it persisted in its hostility to the two judges. He accordingly, on the 26th, prorogued the Legislature in a brief speech of two paragraphs, in one of which he strongly censured the Lower House for the disrespect it had shown to the decision of the Crown ; and writs were at once issued for a general election. But nearly all the old members were again returned, and the new House evidently would prove as intractable as the one it had replaced. Meanwhile, Major-General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke had been appointed Governor-General of Canada. Drummond departed for England on the 21st of May, and two months afterwards his successor arrived at Quebec, and assumed charge of the administration of the Province.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE.

General Sherbrooke was an English officer of reputation, and had seen considerable military service. In India he had distinguished himself at the capture of Seringapatam, and had subsequently served with credit under Wellington in the Peninsula. He had also exhibited capacity in civil affairs, and had conducted the administration of Nova Scotia with much tact and political skill. His Canadian reign opened with an augury of success. Early frosts, in the preceding autumn, had caused the failure of the wheat crop in the lower districts of the Province, and famine was apprehended. On learning how matters stood he opened the Crown stores for the public relief, and in addition advanced, on

his own responsibility, a large sum of money to assist the afflicted *habitants*. His prompt and effective measures averted all danger of famine, and won for him the gratitude of the people.

The Home Government was still resolute in its determination to support the judges, or, in other words, British ascendancy in the Province (for that was the real issue at stake) although by this time aware that the recent general election had proved adverse to its wishes. But the Colonial Secretary did not by any means find Sherbrooke as pliant to his methods as his predecessor had been. While the Governor avowed himself prepared to execute the strongest measures the ministers of the Crown might deem advisable, he plainly stated the hopelessness of any attempt in this direction, owing to the very general unpopularity of Sewell; asked for specific instructions should the Assembly again take up the impeachment matter, and broadly hinted that the sounder policy would have been to have had the impeachment more fully tried, instead of giving it an *ex parte* hearing, and so covertly disposing of it in the Privy Council.

These representations convinced the Colonial Office that it could no longer openly support the judges against the current of popular opinion, and Sherbrooke was now instructed to conciliate the Roman Catholic clergy, who were equally as hostile to Sewell as the other classes. To his influence in the Legislative Council was ascribed the frequent opposition it gave to measures of the Assembly. He was also regarded as an enemy of public improvements; and his arbitrary conduct, in having refused a writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Bedard, was still held in bitter remembrance. Sherbrooke advised the Colonial Office to compromise the dispute, by permitting the Assembly to appoint an agent in England, or by detaching Stuart, the principal enemy of the judges, from the opposition party by giving him office. He also recommended that the speaker of the Assembly should be *ex officio* a member of the Executive Council, so as to bring the two bodies into more harmonious action, and that Sewell should be retired on a pension.

The Home Government having consented to the policy of conciliation sketched out by Sherbrooke, steps were at once taken to carry it into practical effect. The Roman Catholic Bishop, Plessis, whose salary from the Crown had been raised, at the recommendation of Prevost, from two hundred to one thousand pounds sterling per annum,\* and whose legal title had also been changed from superintendent to that of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, for his cordial support of the government during the war, was now to be elevated to a new position of dignity as an Executive Councillor. The authority and extent of his episcopate were also greatly increased by the Crown, and he was now permitted to appoint, as in the days of the Old *Régime*, his vicars general

\* It was afterwards raised to £1500 sterling.

in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. These concessions thoroughly placated the clerical order, then, as now, the great lever of popular opinion in the Province of Quebec ; and an air of satisfaction and content, which extended even to the Assembly, swiftly yet silently spread itself over the community.\* So far Sherbrooke's policy had succeeded, and was destined to be still more successful. When the Legislature met, on 1817. the 17th of January, a mixed "committee of conciliation" was constituted to mediate amicably between the two chambers, when differences might afterwards arise. This step showed the secure progress the Government was making in propitiating the Assembly. But Sherbrooke was not content with this success. Papineau had been paid his speakership salary for the last Parliament, but no provision had as yet been made for its payment during the existing one. On the 11th of March the Assembly voted an address to the Governor, praying that its speaker's salary should be paid as before ; and, also, that "some signal mark of the royal favour" be conferred on the widow of Panet, the late speaker of the House, who had never received any remuneration for his long services. The Governor declared himself prepared to meet the views of the Assembly in both respects, provided that it agreed to also pay a salary to the speaker of the Legislative Council, "for the performance of the arduous and important duties attached to his high Office." The Assembly at once accepted this condition ; and promptly presented the requisite address. On the 17th of March a message from Sherbrooke informed the House, that he had conferred on each of the speakers an annual salary of four thousand dollars during the present Parliament, while the Widow Panet was to receive twelve hundred dollars per annum for life. Chief Justice Sewell was speaker of the Legislative Council. His past alleged offences were now virtually condoned by the action of the Assembly ; and he was rewarded for all the trouble and annoyance he had suffered, by an important addition to his already large salary of some eight thousand dollars a year. Stuart fruitlessly laboured to induce the Assembly to revive its impeachments of Sewell and Monk. The matter came up for discussion on the 19th of March. A long debate ensued, and continued until the following morning, when the question was finally postponed until the ensuing session of the House, despite the eloquent and brilliant pleading of Stuart, who was almost entirely abandoned by the

\* Encouraged by the favourable condition of ecclesiastical matters in the Province, the Pope, early in the year, raised Quebec to the archiepiscopal dignity ; but this being done without the sanction of the Colonial Office Plessis shrank from accepting the title. Lord Bathurst afterwards objected to the introduction of foreign ecclesiastics, as suffragan bishops, into the Province. To meet this objection several Canadian-born bishops were appointed, in 1818, with the consent of the British Government. The title of Archbishop of Quebec, however, lay in abeyance until 1844, when Signelai assumed it publicly. Garneau *vol. ii. p. 343.* Bathurst's Despatch, September 17th, 1816,

party, which he had hitherto led, or rather supposed he had led, the vote against him standing 22 to 10. He returned in disgust to Montreal next day to attend to his private affairs, and appeared no more in Parliament until the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration, and then only for a single session. The venality of the Assembly, so shameless and open, had resulted in his being completely baffled and beaten; and in rewarding the very man he had so long laboured to ruin.\* The matter of an agent in England shared the fate of the impeachments, and was also postponed.

During the session measures were taken to relieve the Governor from the responsibility he had incurred by making advances, to the extent of some fifty-seven thousand dollars, for the relief of the distressed districts. Sixty-two thousand dollars were voted in addition for the same purpose; and a further sum of eighty thousand dollars, to be loaned in small sums to deserving farmers, in order to enable them to purchase seed for the ensuing spring sowing. Foucher, one of the superior court judges, was impeached for improper practices, in advising attorneys in suits pending before him. But the charges against him were never forcibly pressed, and eventually abandoned altogether. On the 22nd of March, the session was brought to a close by a brief speech from the Governor, in which the Legislature was thanked for its efficient services. The public accounts showed that the financial condition of the Province was in a flourishing state; and that an unexpended balance, of over half a million dollars, stood to its credit.

During the summer the Bank of Montreal, the first institution of the kind in Canada, was established. The Quebec Bank speedily followed. These banks gave a great impulse to the business of the country. Steamboats now constantly plied between Montreal and Quebec; and this year small vessels, propelled by steam, began to make their appearance on Lakes Ontario and Erie. One little steamer, built at Prescott, made voyages to Kingston, and wound in and out, at times, amid the intricate channels of the Thousand Islands; while a sister boat, built at Ernestown, traversed the placid waters of the charming Bay of Quinte.

When opening the ensuing session of the Legislature, the Governor stated that the measures taken to avert the 1818. threatened famine had been attended with the happiest consequences. He also informed the Assembly that its former offer to defray the expenses of the civil list had been accepted by the Home Government.† This intelligence gave the

\* Christie vol. ii. p. 289. Garneau vol. ii. p. 331.

† At this period the public income of Lower Canada arose from three sources :

1st, the *Crown duties*, levied under the British statute of 14 Geo. III. or the imperial act of 3 Geo. IV.

2nd, Provincial duties, payable in virtue of local laws, proceeding immediately from the Provincial Legislature, or rendered permanent without their consent by the last-mentioned imperial act,



greatest satisfaction to the members, by whom the settlement of the Provincial Civil List, and the control of the public expenditure, had long been desired, as the one great lever to increase their own influence.

The duties levied by the Imperial Government, on imports into Canada, had been found wholly inadequate to defray the necessary civil expenditure, and prior to 1812 the deficiency had usually to be made up from the military chest. Subsequent to that period, the unappropriated revenues of the Province had been taken for this purpose, and as their expenditure was unauthorised by the Assembly, the Imperial Government was in its debt for the sum of £120,000 sterling. This condition of things was fully explained to the Colonial Office by Sherbrooke,\* and as it was desirable to release the mother country from this burden, consent was now given that the Assembly of Lower Canada should provide, in the same way as Nova Scotia, for the civil expenditure by an annual vote of supplies.† In conceding this privilege, however, Lord Bathurst pressed it especially on the Governor's attention, that the concurrence of the Legislative Council should be necessary to the validity of all money bills; and that in all grants for the payment of clergymen's salaries, the Protestant Church should be first considered.‡

The estimates for the civil list, sent down at a late period of the session, amounted to \$306,584, while the revenue derived from the imperial duties, sale of Crown lands, and other sources, was only \$133,532, leaving a balance to be provided for by the Assembly for the current year of \$173,052. This sum was voted after a long debate; but it was resolved that next session a fuller estimate under detailed heads, and not in total, should be furnished the House by the Executive, and provided for by bill, in order to place it on a more constitutional footing.§

3rd, The King's casual and territorial revenue, which arose from his Majesty's landed property; namely, the Jesuits' estates, the King's posts, the forges of St. Maurice, the King's wharf, droit de quents, lods and vents, land fund and timber fund.

With respect to Crown duties levied under 14 Geo. III., until they were surrendered in 1831, they were, with the territorial revenue, controlled and dispensed by his Majesty's responsible servants; while those levied under the imperial act of Geo. IV., and all provisional acts, had always been under the disposal of the Legislature. As the Crown duties levied under 14 Geo. III. had generally, if not always, been inadequate to the support of the civil government and the administration of justice, Sir John Sherbrooke was instructed, in pursuance of the general system of retrenchment adopted throughout the empire, to call upon the Legislature to appropriate, out of the provincial duties, a sum equal to the annual deficiency.

\* Sherbrooke's letter to Bathurst, 18th of March 1817.

† Bathurst to Sherbrooke, 31st of August 1817.

‡ Bathurst's letter to Sherbrooke, 8th of September 1817.

§ Christie, vol. ii, p. 391.

Governor Sherbrooke's colonial experience made him dislike remaining in Canada, where he saw that the shuffling policy of the imperial ministers must sooner or later cause difficulties. His failing health, also, had tended to make him request his recall. He left Canada on the 12th of August, after having received the most gratifying addresses from all parties. He still, however, remained in the army, and in May, 1825, attained by seniority to the high rank of general. He died on the 14th of February, 1830, at Claverton in England.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

The high rank of the Duke of Richmond, as well as the circumstance that he had already administered the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland with much satisfaction to its inhabitants, caused his arrival in Canada, as its Governor General, on the 29th of July, to be hailed with gratification by the people. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, Major-General, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

The Legislature met on the 12th of January, but news of the death of Queen Charlotte, the consort of George III., having been received, an adjournment until the 22nd, as a matter of respect to her memory, took place. Parliament was then opened by the Duke in a brief speech, in which he alluded to the offer of the Assembly, made at a former session, to provide for the expenses of the civil government, an offer which the Crown had accepted, but which had not been carried into effect owing to the illness of the recent Governor; and stated that the estimates for the current year would be laid before it. He added that he earnestly desired to promote the "prosperity of this rising Colony." The address of the Assembly was very complimentary to Richmond personally, but his popularity was nevertheless destined to be of brief duration. The estimates for the Civil List of the current year amounted to \$396,302, being an increase of \$89,718 over the previous year.—This increase was principally caused by a sum of nearly forty-nine thousand dollars, to be granted to the Crown in perpetuity, "as a pension fund for rewarding provincial services, and for providing for old and reduced servants of the Government and others." The large addition to the estimates at once aroused the hostility of the Assembly, and a select committee was appointed to report thereon. That report was adopted, and recommended, in strong terms, a policy of retrenchment and economy. Its concluding paragraph was couched in a tone of discourteous censure, not only as regarded the local, but also the Imperial, Government. "Your committee are of opinion," it stated, "that this House, in making suitable provision for such offices as are indispensably necessary, should make an unqualified reduction of those sinecures and pensions, which in all countries have been considered as the reward of iniquities, and

the encouragement of vice ; which in the mother country have been, and still are, a subject of complaint, and which in this Province will lead to corruption."

In accordance with the recommendation of its committee the Assembly now absolutely refused to follow the practice of the Imperial Parliament, and make a permanent provision for the Civil List of the Province during the King's reign, and decided to vote only an annual Supply Bill by items. And even this Supply Bill was not to be voted unless the right were admitted to apportion the fund already appropriated by law for certain specific purposes, and the disposition of which had been placed in the hands of the Crown. In pursuance of this determination the Assembly proceeded to pass a bill specifying the items of public expenditure, and making provision for them in detail. It went, in committee of the whole, through the entire Civil List, from the Governor General's salary, of £4,800 sterling a year, down to the humblest office holder, and fixed the sum to be paid in each case. At the same time, it declined altogether to provide for offices which it deemed to be sinecures or unnecessary. In the debate which ensued the leaders of the majority contended, that the Assembly had the unrestricted right to dispose, as it saw fit, of the people's money ; and that if the Imperial Commons did not think proper to exercise that right, they were not bound to follow this example.—When the Supply Bill was sent up to the Legislative Council, it was received with no small scorn, and at once rejected on the grounds that it was "unprecedented and unconstitutional, and a direct assumption, on the part of the Assembly, of the most important rights and prerogatives of the Crown."\* The "Conciliation Committee" took no steps to smooth the differences between the two chambers on this Supply Bill matter, as they were deemed to be irreconcilable.

The Supply Bill had occupied the attention of the Assembly to such an extent, that very little business otherwise was transacted during the session. Nor were any steps taken to provide for the relief

\* The following is the full text of the Legislative Council's resolution on this occasion :

"That the mode adopted by this bill, for granting a supply to his Majesty, to defray the expenses of the civil list, is unprecedented and unconstitutional, and a direct assumption on the part of the Assembly, of the most important rights and prerogatives of the Crown. That were the bill to be passed into a law, it would give to the commons of this Province, not merely the constitutional privilege of providing the supplies, but the power also of prescribing to the Crown the number and description of its servants, and of regulating and rewarding their services individually, as the Assembly should, from time to time, judge most expedient, by which means they would be rendered dependent on an elective body instead of being dependent on the Crown, and might eventually be made instrumental to the overthrow of that authority, which, by their allegiance, they are bound to support.

"That this House will proceed no further in the consideration of this bill."

of the group of frontier settlements along the St. Francis and elsewhere, which had been extensively occupied by English-speaking yeomen, and known as the Eastern Townships ; and which were still without judges or courts for the suitable administration of justice. \$12,000 were voted to enable the Government to survey lands to be granted to the militiamen, who had served during the war, and an imperfect militia bill was passed. The Legislature was prorogued by the Governor, on the 24th of April. While he praised the Legislative Council for its zeal and alacrity in the performance of its duty, he censured the Assembly for not making constitutional provision for the Civil List, and for not reforming the Judicature Act, which it was considered permitted too much latitude to judges, and thus led to public dissatisfaction. This praise of one branch of the Legislature and censuring the other gave rise, as in the case of Craig, to considerable offence on the part of the French-Canadians generally. Shortly after the session had terminated the Duke, on his own responsibility, drew upon the Receiver General of the Province for the sum necessary to defray the Civil List.

While the termination of war had caused little, if any, social disturbance in the Canadas, where the people, as a rule, speedily and quietly settled down to their usual occupations, a very different state of things prevailed in Great Britain. There the sudden collapse of the inflated prosperity produced by the lavish war expenditure, and the vast number of soldiers, militia and sailors, thrown out of employment and cast upon the already glutted labour market, produced a period of great suffering and want. Illegal societies sprang into existence all over England, furious riots and outrages took place in manufacturing districts, and the starving agricultural labourers fired the grain and hay ricks of the farmers who declined to give them employment. In their despair, the working classes of England sought to turn the dial hand of manufacturing progress backwards, and made war upon labour-saving machinery of every kind as their greatest foe. The gaols were filled with treasonable conspirators and other criminals ; numerous trials and executions took place ; and it seemed, at times, as if the very foundations on which society rested were about to be riven asunder. Across the Irish Channel matters were little better. The decrease in the value of agricultural produce, and the almost total destruction of the Irish linen and woollen trades, owing to jealous enactments of Parliament, and the general introduction of spinning and weaving machinery into England, against which hand labour could no longer compete, reduced the now rapidly increasing people of Ireland to a deplorable condition. In their distress they turned, as their fathers had so often done before them, to seek for a new home in the New World ; and a large emigration to Canada took place during the summer. A considerable number of immigrants came also from the congested districts of England and Scotland, swelling up the total to 12,434, many of whom were in a state of destitution, and

drew largely upon the charity of the benevolent. And, from thence forward, year after year, one immigration wave after another continued to flow up the St. Lawrence. Now the Paisley Weavers leave their looms to try farming in the rear of the Johnstown District ; now the Highlanders come to found a new Glengarry on the Upper St. Lawrence ; now English and Irish farmers and labourers swarm in to fill up the wastes of the Eastern Townships, or to scatter in every direction over Upper Canada. But while French Canada had no inflow of this kind, its natural increase was enormous, and enabled it, so far, to sturdily hold its own in numbers and influence. Peace and prosperity reigned throughout all its borders, and, unlike the days of the Old *Regime*, the *habitant* found that personal liberty and security of property beneath the Union Jack which he had never known under the *Fleur de lis*.

Having completed his duties in connection with the recent session of the Legislature, and made arrangements for a proper administration of public affairs during his absence, the Governor General left Quebec, on the 24th of June, on an extensive western tour of inspection. Two days afterwards his camp was pitched at Sorel or, as it was then called, William Henry, pleasantly situated on the right bank of the Richelieu, where it falls into Lake St. Peter, forty-five miles below Montreal. In by-gone days this was a favourite rendezvous of the Iroquois, when they gathered for their forays on the settlements down the river, and here, accordingly, the Marquis de Tracy erected, in 1665, a fort to check their incursions. About this fort a settlement presently grew up, which had swelled into a large and flourishing village at the time of the Duke's visit. While walking about its streets his attention was attracted by a tame young fox, which presently commenced to play with his little dog. On the following day, when he attempted to caress this fox, it bit him in the hand. The wound was a trifling one and soon healed up. Nothing more was thought about the matter until the Duke was on the return trip. About the middle of August he landed at Kingston, and from thence proceeded through the woods to the newly formed settlement at Perth, accompanied by two attendants. While at Perth the first symptom of hydrophobia developed itself, when drinking a glass of wine and water, in a strange and unusual sensation, but which, however, soon passed away. Thirty miles from Perth, and some twenty miles west of Ottawa, in the midst of what is now a splendid agricultural country, lay the little hamlet of Richmond, so called in honour of the Duke, and first settled, in the preceding year, by disbanded soldiers of the 100th Regiment of the line. Here Sergeant-Major Bell of that corps built for himself a substantial two story house, which is said to be still standing ; and in which he then kept a tavern known as the Masonic Arms. Following a blazed track through the forest the Duke proceeded on foot to Richmond, and during the journey showed extreme dislike to crossing the smallest streamlet. Three miles from the hamlet a dense swamp, partly



flooded, was encountered, the passage of which the Duke absolutely refused to attempt ; and obtained shelter for the night in the log shanty of a settler. One of his servants came on to Richmond and told how matters stood, and next morning the settlers, full of loyalty, went out to meet the representative of their sovereign, carrying with them planks and boards to bridge the bad places in the swamp. With these went Lieut.-Col. Burke, government store keeper of the settlement, who issued rations and supplies to his former soldiers, and Colonel By, now engaged in surveying the Rideau Canal, with some others who had come to meet the Governor General, and all of whom he entertained, in the evening, at a dinner given at the Masonic Arms. But he could scarcely take a glass of wine with his guests, passed a restless night, and a cup of coffee was his only breakfast in the morning. "Take me to Quebec as quickly as possible" he said to his servants, who at once embarked with him in a canoe on the Goodwood River, an affluent of the Rideau, which flows by the village, and along which he was swiftly rowed. The worst form of Hydrophobia now rapidly developed itself, the Duke presently became greatly distressed at the sight of the water, and asked to be taken on shore. He was assisted to a barn near by, as he said that would be farther from the river than the settler's shanty, and there, upon the camp couch which his servants carried with them, after suffering the most excruciating torments, he died at eight o'clock on the following morning, the 28th of August. It was indeed a sad and tragical ending, amid the sombre forest of Canada, in the presence only of his servants and one or two others, of a brilliant career. The *Montreal Herald* had a most eloquent obituary notice of the unfortunate nobleman, and the magistrates of its city requested the public to wear mourning for him for thirty days. His remains were conveyed to Quebec and buried there, with much pomp and ceremony, in the English cathedral.

Chief Justice Monk, as the senior member of the Executive Council, now assumed control of the administration of the Province, and issued, accordingly, on the 20th September, the necessary proclamation. On the 7th of February he was superseded by 1820. Sir Peregrine Maitland, who took charge of the government, pursuant to orders from England, until the Earl of Dalhousie, promoted from Nova Scotia to the Governor Generalship, should relieve him. Maitland, however, had to open the Legislature of Upper Canada on the 21st, and proceeded to Toronto on the 9th. Monk therefore again assumed charge of the government, and at once issued a proclamation dissolving Parliament. This unwise proceeding was no doubt adopted under instructions from the Colonial Office. Instead, however, of increasing the government supporters in the Assembly, the purpose sought to be accomplished, it had the opposite effect ; and seriously weakened the hands of the Executive. On the 17th of March Maitland returned from Toronto, and relieved Monk of the government.

The Legislature had been summoned to meet on the 11th of

April, and was then duly opened by the acting Governor in a brief speech. After the Assembly had re-elected Papineau as its speaker, it commenced an enquiry into its legal competency to proceed to business, inasmuch as no member for the County of Gaspé had as yet been returned. While this enquiry was in progress, a message from Maitland, recommending the renewal of certain acts about to expire, was paid no attention to by the House. The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery was then ordered to produce the list of the returns for the late general election, and it being thus officially confirmed that the number of fifty members, required by law, was not complete, the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution declaring itself incompetent to proceed to the despatch of business.—As the legal term of twelve months, within which the Legislature must assemble, would expire on the 24th of the month, a question would thus be raised, presuming no member for Gaspé were elected in the interval, as to whether the constitution of the Province had not been violated. Maitland remonstrated with the refractory Assembly, but to no purpose. It was resolutely bent on resenting, in some way, the late sudden and useless dissolution, and accordingly eagerly seized upon the pretence of a legal difficulty as the best and safest method of embarrassing the administration ; and now doggedly persisted in its refusal to do any business, or to hold any communication with the other chamber.

The Gordian Knot of this Parliamentary “ strike ” was, however, presently untied by the death of the King, news of which was received on the 24th of the month, the last day of grace with the Assembly. For the long period of fifty-nine years and four months had George III. reigned over England. On the 25th of October, 1760, he ascended a glorious throne ; for through the energy and foresight of its Great Commoner, Pitt, Britain had become the first nation in the world. After a checkered reign of mingled victory and defeat for the empire ; of mingled joy and sorrow for himself, he passed to his final rest on the 29th of January. Indifferently educated, narrow-minded and bigoted, he was largely responsible for the “ War of Independence,” and led the Parliament he had helped to pack in its insane crusade against the American colonies. But, unlike his two Guelph predecessors his domestic life was a pure one ; and his intentions however mistaken were always honest. He did his best, says Thackeray,\* he worked according to his lights. What virtue he knew he tried to practice ; what knowledge he could master he strove to acquire. The punishment of his kingly pride, of his obstinacy, of his self-will, fell alike upon people and chief. But his courage never failed him, never quailed. It trampled North under foot, it baffled the eloquence of Chatham, it bowed the stiff neck of the haughty younger Pitt, it humbled the aristocracy of England. Even his fits of insanity never conquered his indomitable spirit ; and as soon as his brain again became clear

\* *Vide* Thackeray’s *Four Georges*.

it resumed the projects laid aside when his reason left him. Nine years before his death the loss of his favourite child, the little Princess Amelia, whom he tenderly loved, rendered him hopelessly insane. Watchers had at once to be set about him, and from November, 1810, George III. had ceased to reign. In addition to the terrible affliction of madness he became blind and deaf. All light, all reason, all sound of human voices, all the pleasures of this beautiful world of God's creation, were taken from him. Some slight lucid moments he had, in one of which his brave old Queen, desiring to see him, entered his room, and found him singing a hymn, and accompanying himself on the harpsichord. When he had finished he knelt down, and prayed aloud for her, for his family, for the nation, for himself; then burst into tears and his reason again fled. What a painful and sad ending to human greatness! For him death was indeed a blessed release. So he passed to his fathers; and George IV., the most unprincipled and most faithless of all the monarchs of England, reigned in his stead. Six days before the death of George III. his fourth son, the Duke of Kent, died after an illness of three days. The Duke's infant daughter, now Queen Victoria, was then eight months old.

In England, under a statute of William III., the death of the sovereign did not necessarily cause the dissolution of Parliament. But its provisions had not been extended to Canada.—Maitland, accordingly, went down to the House, and, without the least allusion to its recent refractory proceedings, dissolved the Assembly in consequence of the death of George III. During this ceremony bells were tolled, and minute guns fired, in honour of the deceased monarch. Afterwards a royal salute of one hundred guns announced the accession of a new king; and George IV. was solemnly proclaimed in the presence of the troops, and of a vast concourse of citizens. The same ceremonies took place at Montreal, at Three Rivers, and at other centres of population in the Province.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.

On the 18th of June, George, ninth Earl of Dalhousie, and a lieutenant-general in the army, promoted from the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia to be Governor General of Canada and the rest of British North America, arrived at Quebec to assume charge of the administration. His military career had been a most distinguished one. In 1787, at the early age of seventeen, he had succeeded to the title and estates of his father, and the same year became a cornet in the 3rd Dragoon Guards. He served in Ireland during the Rebellion of '98, and with Sir Ralph Abercrombie during his campaign in Egypt. In 1809, he took part in the unfortunate expedition to the Scheldt. The Duke of Wellington made honourable mention of him in his despatches for good conduct at Vittoria and the Pyrenees, and he received the

thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his distinguished services, particularly at Waterloo.

The general election took place immediately after Dalhousie's arrival, and resulted in the return of a French-Canadian majority rather larger than usual. Only ten members of British nationality were returned, and even some of these belonged to the anti-Executive party. The opposition, however, still continued of the opinion that it would be able to acquire complete control of the Province by parliamentary methods, and by the skilful use of its overwhelming majority in the Assembly. That this view was also entertained by Papineau, at this time, was shown by a very conciliatory speech which he had made in Montreal during the recent election, and in which he contrasted, in forcible and appropriate language, the happy condition of his people under British sovereignty with what it had been in the old days of French dominion. "Then," said he, "this country was held as a military post, whose feeble garrison was condemned to live in a state of perpetual warfare and insecurity, frequently suffering from famine, without trade, or with a trade monopolised by privileged companies. Public and private property often pillaged, personal liberty daily violated, and the inhabitants dragged, year after year, from their homes and families, to shed their blood—from the shores of the great lakes, from the banks of the Mississippi and the Ohio, to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay. Now religious toleration, trial by jury, the act of *habeas corpus*, afford legal and equal security to all, and we need submit to no other laws but those of our own making. All these advantages have become our birthright, and shall, I hope, be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To secure them, let us only act as British subjects and free men."

The new Parliament met on the 14th of December, and was immediately disturbed by a quarrel between its two branches, owing to the manner in which the Supply Bill was voted by the Assembly, which now made voluntary provision for the pension list, though not embraced in the estimates. The Legislative Council contended that this list had already been permanently provided for by law, and not being included by the Executive in the amount required for the public service, the Assembly had no right to assume its control. In support of this position, the Upper House agreed to a series of standing orders, to the effect that it would not entertain any supply bill which should not be applied for, and recommended by the King's representative; nor proceed upon any bill of appropriation for the civil list specifying the expenditure by chapters or items, unless such appropriation extended during the life of the reigning sovereign.

Thus the breach widened continually between the two branches of the Legislature. The Upper House, chiefly composed of members of British origin, a majority of whom were mere Government dependents, took a position more and more in favour of retaining

all real power in the Executive, and so secure for its members place and pension ; while the popular branch, from the very nature of its formation, ostensibly leaned to a greater constitutional freedom, a purer administration of affairs, and an economical use of the public resources. But, beneath all this pretence, the current of self-interest and a desire for place and power, ran deep and strong.

Hitherto, the Crown lands of the Province had been granted to favourites of Government in the most prodigal manner. 1821. During this year's session of the Legislature, this circumstance was made the subject of investigation, and enormous abuses brought to light. Enquiry was also made into the conduct of John Caldwell, the Receiver-General of the Province, an officer appointed by the Crown, and who was suspected to be largely a defaulter. He was extensively concerned in the lumber trade, and the possession of the provincial moneys by a person engaged in commerce was a source of much dissatisfaction to the mercantile community. The sessional payment of members of the House was again discussed, and negatived in committee. An attempt was likewise made to do away with several useless offices, and to compel the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, who drew a salary from it of £1500 sterling, to reside in Canada instead of in England. Appropriations were granted for several public purposes ; among the rest was one to construct the Lachine Canal at the expense of the Province, the incorporated company having surrendered its privilege. As the disagreement still existed between the two Houses, no provision was made for the payment of the Civil List. Government, finding itself in an unpleasant predicament, had in the earlier part of the session made a concession to the Assembly by calling Papineau to the Executive Council ; but as he declined to act nothing was gained by this proceeding.

Meanwhile, the Province had been steadily progressing. The introduction of steamers on the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, had given a vast impetus to trade. Immigrants had rapidly crowded in, and the Eastern Townships alone now contained a population as large as that of all Canada at the Conquest. The annual revenue had increased to \$600,000 ; the Lachine and Rideau Canals, great public works, were in progress, and the general condition of the country fairly prosperous. At the same time, party spirit had taken firm hold of the community, owing to the difference of origin, the arbitrary conduct of the Executive, and the quarrels which originated in the Legislature. Confident in their increasing numbers and influence, a desire for a distinct nationality began to take possession of the minds of many among the French-Canadian population, owing to the intrigues, chiefly of the popular leaders, who saw in "*La Nation Canadienne*" an accession to the place and power denied them under existing circumstances. On the other hand, the British minority could not divest themselves of the idea that the French-



Canadians were a conquered people, that they alone had the right to govern, and chafed at their own want of legislative influence. This feeling, as time progressed, became more and more intense, and displayed itself in a variety of ways, nearly all equally offensive to the popular party, and tending to unite it still more closely in its antagonism to British interests. The great majority of the people were still wholly uneducated, and even several members of the Assembly could not write. Hence the simple *habitants* gradually became the mere tools of the better informed and more designing, who found it to their interest to foster national prejudices, and make the mass of the people more completely French-Canadian every day. The truth of Mr. Fox's statement, "that it would be wiser to unite still more closely the two races than separate them," became more and more apparent as time progressed. As things now stood, if an Englishman, or Irishman, or Scotchman aspired to a seat in the Assembly, he had to divest himself of his national prejudices, learn the French language, and become a French-Canadian to all intents and purposes.

While matters remained in this unsatisfactory condition, a financial dispute arose with Upper Canada, which now claimed a larger portion of the import duties than it had 1822. hitherto received. This dispute, in connection with the quarrels of the Legislature, and the tendency to independence now plainly manifesting itself, determined the Imperial Parliament to interfere. A bill was accordingly passed which provided for the union of the two provinces; conceded all that Upper Canada had asked for; and made the Executive, to a certain extent, independent of the Assembly, as regarded an annual vote of supplies. This bill prevented the Legislature of Lower Canada from imposing new duties on imported goods, unless with the consent of the Parliament of the Upper Province or the Sovereign, and also contained the very important provision of permitting parties to commute, by transaction with the Crown, the seignorial tenure into free and common socage. With exception of the clause providing for the union of the provinces, omitted till the sense of the inhabitants should be ascertained, it passed into law, and became known as the "Canada Trade Act."

When the project of a union was published in this country, it caused very great excitement. The inhabitants of British origin were generally strongly in favour of the proposal, while those of French descent were as decidedly opposed to it. Public meetings were held by both parties, at which resolutions for and against the measure were adopted, and petitions were drafted, accordingly, and sent to the Imperial Parliament. The French-Canadians dreaded the total loss of their ascendancy in the Province, and deprecated the project as one of bad faith; while the Anglo-Canadians, on the other hand, denounced this very ascendancy as retarding the prosperity of the country, as productive of anti-British feeling, and as tending to check the growth of international commerce. The sig-

natures and crosses appended to the anti-union petition, taken to England by John Neilson and Louis J. Papineau, amounted to sixty thousand. James Stuart carried home the petitions of the unionists. From this agitation the Governor-General wisely held wholly aloof.

Thoroughly alarmed by the projected union, which was generally regarded as a coercive measure, the Assembly came together, 1823. on the 10th of January, in a much more tractable spirit than formerly. After electing Mr. Villiers as Speaker in room of Papineau, who still remained in England, the proposed union of the provinces was taken into consideration, and resolutions passed against it by a majority of fifteen to five. On these resolutions were based petitions to the Imperial Parliament and the Crown, which were transmitted to Papineau and Neilson for presentation. Sir Francis N. Burton, the Lieutenant-Governor, having arrived in the meantime, his salary was increased from £1500 to £3000 sterling. The claims of the Eastern Townships to a more equal representation, and the establishment of convenient courts of justice therein, were taken into consideration. The new district of St Francis was accordingly erected, and a judge appointed to it with an inferior jurisdiction. A court of quarter sessions was also established in these townships. The great difficulty of the Assembly was the question of a representation in its own body. The Eastern Townships were nearly all settled by persons of British origin, and if formed into counties their representatives must necessarily be opposed in opinion and feeling to French-Canadian influence. By way of compromise a bill was introduced giving six members to these townships, but which, at the same time, increased the representation of the rest of the Province so as to preserve a large anti-British majority. This bill was very properly rejected by the Upper House.

The estimates for the Civil List were laid before the Assembly on the 5th of February, eventually agreed to, and the necessary sums voted. Agreeable to instructions from the Home Government, these estimates were of two kinds. One was for the fund over which Government claimed the entire and independent control ; the other specified the more popular expenditure, for which the Assembly was to make appropriation. Both estimates were given in detail. Several appropriations were also made for public works ; pensions were granted to Judges Monk and Ogden, who had been superannuated ; and sums voted to the General Hospital at Montreal, and the Hotel Dieu at Quebec. On the whole, the session, which terminated on the 22nd of March, passed off satisfactorily. " It only remains for me," said the Governor, in the closing paragraph of his speech, when proroguing the House, " to offer my warmest thanks for your assiduous and laborious attendance. I esteem the result of the session to be at once honourable to yourselves and useful to your country." Shortly afterwards it

was officially promulgated that his Majesty's Government had relinquished the project of a union for the present.

Owing to the total failure of the Receiver-General, John Caldwell, for £96,117 sterling of the public money, the Executive found itself so embarrassed for funds, that the Legislature was called together, on the 25th of November, to devise some measure for its relief. Caldwell proposed to surrender his private property, which he valued at £32,000, in liquidation in part of his debt; and, if he were continued in office, to pay £1000 per annum until that portion of it which he considered due, amounting to about £45,000, was discharged. The balance he asserted ought to be placed to his credit, as it amounted to only three per cent. on the whole moneys passing through his hands, the receiver-general of Upper Canada having that allowance. No promise of this nature, however, had ever been held out to him; and his offer could only be regarded as an emanation of bankrupt ingenuity. In this light it was evidently viewed by the Assembly; which, very justly, was averse to allowing such an enormous compensation for services so dishonestly performed. Alarmed at the additional burthen this failure must impose upon the country, it sought to shift its responsibility to the Imperial Government, whose immediate servant Caldwell was; and establish the sum deficient as a debt due from it to the Province. As the Assembly had no control whatever over the Receiver-General, who never accounted to it, directly or indirectly, the correctness of its position can scarcely be doubted. It had long been known that Caldwell was likely to prove a defaulter; and in allowing him to retain office, under those circumstances, the Government had been guilty of a gross dereliction of duty, and was justly punished by the manner in which the occurrence strengthened the hands of the Assembly.

The estimates for the Civil List were not laid before the House till a late period of the session. In going through their details twenty-five per cent. were deducted from the salaries of all 1824. public officials, beginning with the Governor, and other measures adopted equally unsatisfactory to the Legislative Council, which at once rejected the bill. The Governor now called upon the Assembly to refund the advances he had made, from the military chest, to the Receiver-General, in 1822-3. This it refused to do, on the ground that it was merely a loan of accommodation to Caldwell, then known to be a defaulter, and whom, instead of thus sustaining, it was the duty of the Executive to have at once removed. As the session progressed, some discussion took place on the claim put forward by the United States to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, which was steadily resisted. An offer from Upper Canada to raise the tariff on importations was also taken into consideration, and rejected on the ground that, owing to the unfavourable state of commerce, it would not be advisable to levy new taxes. An address was voted to the Crown praying the division of the Clergy Reserves of the Province among

all Protestant denominations ; which, emanating entirely from Roman Catholics, gave great offence to members of the Church of England, who regarded this step as an improper interference with their concerns. After the transaction of some other business, the Legislature was prorogued on the 9th of March. No provision had been made for the Civil List, and several important matters otherwise were left in a very unsatisfactory state.

On the 6th of June Dalhousie, having received leave of absence, departed for England, leaving Sir Francis Burton, the Lieutenant-Governor, to conduct the administration. The general election took place in July and August, and increased rather than diminished the opposition to the Government in the Assembly. Very few members of British origin were returned, and of these some were opposed to the Executive. In the Legislative Council, Caldwell, the defaulter, was still permitted to retain his seat, a very questionable policy, and clearly showing how lightly the Government regarded the enormous peculation of which he had been convicted.

The new Assembly met on the 8th of January, and after choosing Papineau as its Speaker, proceeded to take into 1825. consideration the expediency of having judges rendered more independent, by appointing them for life, instead of during the pleasure of the Crown, and preventing their sitting in the Legislative or Executive Council, a measure which would wholly remove them from the influence of Government. But no decided measures on this head were adopted. The estimates were this time laid before the Assembly without any distinction being made between the appropriated funds of the Crown, and the sum required from the House to make up the deficiency. This seemed to be a tacit surrender of the Crown revenues to the control of the Assembly, an advantage it had long desired to acquire, and which placed the Executive completely at its mercy. It subsequently appeared, however, that the Lieutenant-Governor was neither authorised nor intended to make any concession of the kind. Postponing the use of the new power they supposed themselves to have acquired, the Assembly voted the entire sum necessary for the Civil List without specifying details, and in this shape, also, the bill passed the Upper House. There, however, two members strongly opposed it, on the ground that the practice of the British Commons should be followed, namely, to fix the amount of the Civil List at the beginning of each reign, and then to grant the same for the life of the sovereign ; new items of expenditure only to be made the subject of a yearly vote. Placing public servants annually, they also urged, at the mercy of the Assembly, had a direct tendency to republicanism. The bill was likewise disapproved of by Lord Bathurst, still Colonial Secretary.

Dalhousie having returned from England opened Parliament on the 21st of January, and, pursuant to his instructions from 1826. the Home Government, laid the estimates before the

Assembly in two classes, as had been the practice before his departure. This produced a good deal of indignation among the members, and before going into committee of the whole, on the question of the supplies, they passed a resolution to the effect, that the expenditure of any public moneys of the Province otherwise than as provided for by law, was a breach of the privileges of the House; and that the Receiver-General would be held personally responsible for such illegal expenditure. The Assembly then proceeded to vote the civil expenditure by items; exercising its assumed right of disposing, in the first place, of the appropriated revenue of the Crown, as far as it would go, and then making up the balance required from the resources of the Province. Having become aware of these proceedings, Dalhousie now sought to influence the Assembly to vote the supplies in the manner desired, by submitting the despatch from the Colonial Secretary, dated 4th of June, 1825,\* disapproving of Sir Francis Burton's conduct in accepting the Supply Bill of the year before. This step, however, had little weight with the Assembly, which persisted in its course. The government party, only some half-dozen strong, now led by the Attorney General, James Stuart, who from being a patriot leader had been converted into a place-man, and from being the most popular of men, with the French-Canadian members, had now become the most unpopular and the most odious, vainly essayed to induce the House to alter its determination. The Supply Bill was finally passed in the manner originally proposed; sent up to the Legislative Council; and there amended. But the Assembly refused to concur in the amendments; and the Government was again left without supplies. As the Assembly, however, had now been made officially aware that the Governor General was merely carrying out the policy of the Home Government, in accordance with his instructions, it sought to soften its refusal to vote the supplies, in the manner desired, by adopting a very loyal address to the King, in which the hope was expressed that the Province

\* "I regret," says that despatch, "that it is not in my power to consider this arrangement as in any degree satisfactory. The special instructions which have been given by his Majesty's command to the Governor General, in my despatches of 11th of September, 1820, and 13th of September, 1821, had imposed upon him the necessity of refusing all arrangements that went in any degree to compromise the integrity of the revenue, known by the name of the Permanent Revenue; and it appears to me on a careful examination of the measures which have been adopted, that they are at variance with those specific and positive instructions." According to this despatch the items of expenditure as regarded the Permanent Revenue of the Crown, would always be laid before the Assembly for its information only, but not for its control, and to show that this fund was always applied, in the discretion of the Crown, for the benefit of the Province. As the Bill was limited to one year, it was not to be disallowed, and the Colonial Secretary stated, that he would confine himself to instructing his Majesty's representative in Lower Canada not to sanction any measure of a similar nature. It was quite evident, therefore, that the Home Government was determined to adhere to its policy of refusing the control of the Crown revenue to the Assembly;



would not be taxed without the consent of its Parliament. The Legislature was prorogued on the 29th of March. In his closing speech Dalhousie laid considerable stress upon the fact, that his public policy was entirely in accord with the instructions of the Home Government, and did not originate with himself.

Little of importance occurred during the ensuing summer. Despite the distress in the manufacturing districts of England, and the general depression of trade, the shipping business of Quebec and Montreal was not materially diminished, and the revenue was almost equal to that of the preceding year. The summer was very dry, and forest fires did much damage, in many parts of the Province, and the wheat crop was a poor one. Root crops, however, and the coarser grains, yielded well, and the people had abundance of food. Immigration was fast filling up the new townships, as in Upper Canada. The addition to the population was not always as orderly as it might have been, crime was on the increase, and grand juries made such strong presentments touching this fact that the Executive felt the necessity of a more active and extensive system of police. This state of matters was duly submitted 1827. to the Legislature by Dalhousie, in his opening speech, on the 23rd of January. The Home Government was still resolute in maintaining its policy as to the manner of obtaining the supplies for the Civil List; and the Assembly was equally resolute in its resistance. The estimates were submitted to a committee of seven members, only two of whom were favourable to the Executive. This committee made an adverse report; and wound up by expressing its regret, that the Crown should persist in its policy of withdrawing a large portion of the revenue from the control of the Assembly. This report, and the estimates and messages of the Governor General, were referred to a committee of the whole. The final result was that the Assembly, on the 6th of March, absolutely refused to pass a Supply Bill unless the control of the whole provincial revenues were conceded; the vote standing 32 to 6. This ended the business of the session, as the Legislature was prorogued next day. In his closing speech Dalhousie stated "that it was lamentable to see that no concessions were of any avail; and that the Assembly persisted in rejecting every measure which his Majesty's Government recommended for its consideration. The Assembly had refused not only the supplies necessary for the ordinary expenses of government, but also for gaols, houses of correction, asylums, education and charity, for local and public improvements.

Great excitement now spread throughout the Province. The Anglo-Canadian part of the population, almost to a man, supported the policy of the Government; while the French-Canadians ranged themselves, with equal unanimity, in opposition. The Roman Catholic clergy held wholly aloof from the agitation, and watched in silence the progress of events, in the hope that it would eventuate to their own advantage in some way. Most absurd

stories were put into wide circulation, by designing persons, among the simple *habitants*. The Governor General was represented as the most odious and oppressive of tyrants, who had obstructed beneficial legislation, robbed the public treasury, and was endeavouring to change the language, the laws, and the religion of the people. If not speedily recalled he would drive the Province into a rebellion, which would not fail to sweep the little that remained of British power from the continent of America.\* This proceeding showed that even then the French-Canadian leaders had commenced to think of open rebellion, if they could not obtain control of the Province by milder methods; and sought to prepare the minds of the people for the alternative. In order to carry out their purpose, they evidently stood ready to push the Government to an extreme position, and so render it as odious as possible. In this direction, and in consequence of the quiescence of the clerical order, they were largely successful. The uneducated and unreflecting *habitants* were only too prone to regard all who did not profess the same religion, or speak the same language as themselves, with dislike. They knew little or nothing even of their own past history, or of the evils their fathers had been rescued from, and were, therefore, as plastic as clay in the hands of the demagogues, who now abounded in every town and village. The refusal of the Assembly to renew the militia law added fresh fuel to the flame. The law officers of the Crown held that the non-renewal of this Act brought the militia ordinances of 1787 and 1789 again into force, in which opinion the Chief Justices afterwards concurred. Dalhousie, accordingly, issued on the 5th of July a militia general order, directing that the officers commanding battalions should see that their corps were properly drilled. Several officers refused to obey this order, on the ground that it was illegal, and that no militia law was in force; and were accordingly dismissed. Others were also dismissed for seeking to excite the people, at public meetings, against the Government; and so became martyrs in the cause of freedom. But throughout the English-speaking settlements the order was promptly and cheerfully obeyed, and the best state of feeling prevailed.

Acting evidently under instructions from the Colonial Office, Dalhousie, late in July, dissolved Parliament, a most unwise step to take in the existing temper of the people, and which could in no way strengthen the hands of the Executive. In fact it made affairs worse instead of better; and scarcely gave a dozen supporters to the Government in the Assembly. Only nine members of English descent were returned; and among these were the two Nelsons and others who acted with the opposition. In point of fact, as matters now stood in Lower Canada, were it not that the quadrennial election of the Assembly had to be complied with, in order to carry out the law, it might just as well be permitted to

\* Christie vol. iii. p. 132.

convert itself into another "Long Parliament," and sit in perpetuity. The same side had the majority continually, and general elections produced no changes in the character of the representation, from which the British element was now almost entirely eliminated. Meanwhile, a bitter newspaper war was maintained, racial difficulties sprang out anew, and Dalhousie, realising that his administration must terminate in failure, began to exhibit a loss of temper, and to reply with warmth to addresses from the Anglo-Canadian part of the community. The French-Canadians, who had crossed into the United States, strongly sympathised with their countrymen, and started a newspaper at Plattsburg to uphold their cause, a policy it pursued with an abundance of inflammatory appeal and invective. The *Canadian Spectator*, published at Quebec by an Irishman of good birth, named Waller, was almost equally hostile to the Government.

But while addresses poured in to Dalhousie, endorsing the stand he had taken against the demands of the Assembly, not only from various parts of the Province but even from the Glengarry men of Upper Canada, the opposition was not less active and determined. Meetings were held at Quebec and Montreal, at which strong resolutions were passed recounting numerous grievances, and a determination was arrived at to petition the Imperial Parliament and the King for their removal. Committees of management were appointed to obtain signatures to this petition, and to make the necessary collections for defraying the expenses of sending delegates to England to support its prayer for redress of grievances, and its complaints against the administration. Counter-petitions, in favour of the Government, were numerously signed by the Anglo-Canadians; and the contest was speedily transferred to the House of Commons. To the French-Canadian petitions were affixed the signatures of eighty-seven thousand persons, of whom, however, only nine thousand could write their own names; the remainder like the red men of old times, when they descended to Quebec, to hold council, made their marks; a circumstance that forcibly proclaimed the want, at this period, of public schools in Lower Canada. The agitation, however, still continued without any abatement. Several magistrates were dismissed, and libel prosecutions threatened.

The new Parliament was summoned to meet for the despatch of business on the 20th of November, and was looked forward to with the deepest interest, as it was questionable if Papineau were again elected speaker, whether the choice would be confirmed by the Governor General. Papineau and seven other members of the Assembly, had issued a manifesto on public affairs, in which a strong personal attack was made on Dalhousie. The latter had also been assailed in Papineau's address to his constituents after the election; and it was generally supposed that this misconduct could not be overlooked by the representative of the King. When Parliament met the members of the Assembly were summoned to

the bar of the Legislative Council, and informed, by Dalhousie, that he would explain his reasons for summoning them, at so early a period, when they had chosen their speaker, and presented the person so chosen for his approbation. It was at once seen by the Assembly that Dalhousie would reject Papineau; but he was elected, nevertheless, on a vote of 39 to 5. The speaker of the Legislative Council stated that his Excellency, in his Majesty's name, disallowed and discharged its choice, and directed the Assembly to proceed to the election of another speaker, who was to be presented for approval three days afterwards. Papineau was again chosen speaker, by a vote of 39 to 4, and the Assembly declared by resolution that it persisted in its choice. On the evening of the 23rd a proclamation was issued, proroguing Parliament, and the members returned home greatly dissatisfied, and prepared for new agitation. Numerous addresses were presented to Dalhousie endorsing his course; and very acrimonious discussions took place in the newspapers. Several criminal libel suits were instituted by the Executive, and true bills found against the accused at the ensuing assizes, to be, however, afterwards abandoned owing to Dalhousie's departure.

Public matters in Lower Canada were now in a more unsatisfactory state than ever. The Home Government saw that its old policy had completely failed, and that a new one must be adopted, or very grave and unpleasant results would ensue. Early in April Joseph Hume, now the acknowledged leader 1828. of the Radical Party in the House of Commons, brought up the question of the dissatisfied condition of the two Canadas, condemned in strong terms the policy of the Colonial Office, and asserted that military administrators, naturally despotic, should be superseded by civil governors. A few days afterwards the Lower Canadian petitions were laid before the Commons. The petition from the French-Canadians described the grievances caused by the Legislative Council constantly throwing out useful bills passed by the Lower House, the arbitrary acts of the Governor General, and the illegal expenditure of the public moneys without authority from the Assembly. The Home Government now clearly saw that a very embarrassing situation had arisen which must strengthen the hands of the Opposition, and especially its more Radical section, unless it could skilfully extricate itself from it. It was accordingly determined to recall Dalhousie, and so make him the Jonah of the difficulty, and to release itself from all responsibility in the premises by submitting the matter to Parliament. On the 2nd of May, Huskisson, Colonial Secretary, moved in the House of Commons that a select committee of twenty-one members be appointed to inquire into the civil condition of Canada. "The Assembly," said he, when introducing his motion, "in order to enforce their unreasonable pretensions, have refused to appropriate any part of the large revenue of which they have the command, unless also the appropriation of the Crown revenue be given up to them."

This motion was agreed to, but contrary to general expectation, the committee, on the 22nd of July, reported in favour of the Canadian petition. It recommended the abolition of the seigniorial rights of the Crown, the establishment of new electoral districts, more in accordance with the progress of population, and the surrender of the whole of the public revenue to the Assembly ; measures to be taken, at the same time, to render the Governor, Executive Council, and the judges independent of an annual vote of supply. It also reported in favour of allowing the Canadians to have an agent in England, and generally endorsed the prayer of the petitioners. The report of this committee of the Imperial Parliament gave great satisfaction in Lower Canada, and the Assembly ordered four hundred copies to be printed and distributed among its constituents.

Towards the close of July it was very generally known, throughout the Province, that Dalhousie had been recalled. He had become exceedingly popular with its Anglo-Canadian population, and numerous addresses, professing the most unqualified approval of his firmness and esteem for his personal character, were now presented to him ; while a grand farewell banquet was given to his countess and himself at Quebec. He sailed for England on the 8th of September, just one week before the success of the anti-Executive party in the House of Commons became known, and was thus spared the mortification of witnessing any part of the great rejoicings that ensued over the condemnation of his public policy. That policy he endeavoured to sustain in a memorial presented to the Colonial Secretary, in which he condemned the Report of the Commons committee, and accused it of treating him unfairly ; and declared that if the government carried out that report it would lead to serious difficulty. The Ministry, well aware that Dalhousie's only fault was the carrying out of its own policy to its legitimate issue, had already resolved that he should in no way be the sufferer therefor ; and he was accordingly appointed commander-in-chief of the Army in India, one of the most important positions in the gift of the Crown. But the trying climate was too much for his weakened constitution ; and after a few years' service he returned home to die at Dalhousie Castle, Scotland, in March 1838.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### UPPER CANADA FROM 1815 TO 1828.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF FRANCIS GORE,—*continued.*

SIR GORDON DRUMMOND having assumed charge of the government of Lower Canada, the public affairs of the Upper Province were directed, for a brief space, by Generals Murray and Robinson, till the return of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Gore, in the latter part of the summer. Three years of bitter warfare had taught the people the blessings of peace, and many gladly laid aside the sword to devote themselves assiduously to their former occupations, and so repair the losses sustained during the progress of hostilities. But the recent war had inflicted numerous injuries which the gently soothing hand of time alone could alleviate. Many a brave man had gone to his last account; and widows and orphans watered with their tears the graves of fathers, who would still have protected and supported them, but for the invasion of their country by the pitiless Democracy of the United States. It is to be sincerely hoped that no attempt of this kind will ever again be made, and that the rivalry between two nations of the same lineage and language—children of the same great Anglo-Saxon family—will be for ever restricted to the peaceful walks of commerce and agriculture.

During the early part of this year, a strong effort was made by the Home Government to direct the current of British emigration to Canada. On the 22nd of February a proclamation was issued at Edinburgh, offering a free passage to emigrants of good character, a grant of one hundred acres of land to themselves, and a like grant to their sons on coming of age. They were also to receive provisions till their crops were harvested, and the necessary farming implements at half of prime cost. To prevent any abuse of these advantages, intending emigrants were obliged to deposit eighty dollars in the Government agent's hands as security, which sum was to be returned when they had settled permanently on their grants of land. A large number of persons who came out from Scotland on these conditions were located in the county of Lanark.

But the immigration was of too partial a character to be of much solid benefit to the country, and it soon became a source of regret

to many that the Government now steadily set its face against the admission of settlers from the United States, refusing altogether to grant them lands. As an additional measure of precaution, they were not permitted to take the oath of allegiance, and were thus, under the authority of an act of the Legislature, liable to be at any time driven out of the Province by the Executive.

A single year of peace gave sufficient repose to the public mind of Upper Canada, and attention was now turned to the better development of its resources, and the improvement of its facilities for education. The Legislature was convened on the 6th of February, and passed a number of necessary bills.— One appropriated \$3,200 for the purchase of a library for the use of members of both Houses ; another gave a salary of \$800 per annum to their speakers. A grant of \$4,000 was made to encourage the cultivation of hemp by bounties ; and an act, to continue till repealed, gave \$10,000 per annum to help to defray the expenses of the Civil List, still a burden on the Crown, in gratitude, as the preamble stated, for the aid given by his Majesty in defending the country. But the most important act, by far, passed at this session, was that founding the common-school system of the Province, and granting the sum of \$2,400 per annum to aid in paying the teachers' salaries and to purchase books. It was based on the general principles of the present School Act of Ontario ; but its provisions were simpler and more direct.

The recent war had produced a considerable change in the social condition of the people. During its continuance a large amount of money had been expended in the country, and many persons thus contracted habits of expense little suited to an agricultural community. Several had acquired a fondness for the military life, and returned discontented to the drudgery of their farms. Government, too, had neglected to give the promised grants of land to the volunteers and embodied militia, which also created dissatisfaction.— Thus circumstanced numbers were disposed to quarrel more pointedly with anything which they supposed interfered with their individual prosperity, and to investigate more narrowly into causes tending to check the general progress of the country. Then, again, the people desired to revive, by some means, the current of money into the Province, so completely checked by the termination of the war, and did not at all like the idea of returning to the same degree of comparative poverty in which they were before its commencement. The war, which in one way or another drew almost the entire male population of Upper Canada into its vortex, had of itself completely unsettled the habits of the people by its novelty and excitement, and the absence of these mental stimulants, aside from the greater scarcity of money, produced a very general irritation. This feeling naturally found vent against whatever were deemed abuses, and formed the microscopic medium through which the injuries they entailed, whether real or fanciful, were regarded.

Such was the state of feeling in Upper Canada, when its Legislature met on the 4th of February. The members of the Assembly, who were mostly farmers or country merchants, 1817. were evidently imbued with the dissatisfied spirit of the people generally ; and, after the ordinary business had been completed, went into committee of the whole, on the 3rd of April, pursuant to notice, to take into consideration the state of the Province as embraced under four heads. These were the impolicy of longer checking immigration from the United States, the insufficiency of postal facilities, the circumstance of the Crown and Clergy Reserve lands interfering with the more complete settlement of the country, and the expediency of the Crown granting lands, as soon as possible, to the embodied militia and volunteers who had served during the war. It was wholly opposed, however, to the policy of the Family Compact people, who now completely controlled the Executive and Legislative Councils, and the Lieutenant Governor as well, to permit an investigation of this description.—Unpleasant developments might arise, as to the manner in which so many of themselves had acquired large blocks of wild lands, which were held for a rise in value, and which, also, interfered with the complete settlement of several townships : and as the Clergy Reserve lands were regarded as the exclusive property of the Church of England—their church, no discussion with regard to them was permissible. Eleven resolutions had been framed for the consideration of the Assembly ; the first three of which were merely of a prefatory character, and adopted after some discussion. The Assembly then adjourned until the following Monday morning, the 7th of April. It had just met, and the minutes were about to be read, when, without any previous notice, the members were summoned to the bar of the Legislative Council, where Gore awaited them, and at once proceeded to prorogue the House in a brief speech of three paragraphs in length. In the first, he sneeringly informed them that the session had been sufficiently protracted, and that he could not think of keeping them any longer from their respective avocations ; in the second, which consisted of sixteen words, he told them he had come to close the session, and so permit them to go to their homes ; in the third, he declared that he accepted, on behalf of his Majesty, the supplies voted to meet the deficiency in the Civil List, and had “ great satisfaction in acknowledging the readiness they had manifested to meet this exigence.”

This contemptuous treatment of the Assembly astonished its members fully as much as it did the public generally, and caused a good deal of dissatisfaction and discussion. The three prefatory resolutions adopted by the House merely affirmed the fact, that two acts, still in force, had been passed by the Imperial Parliament, in the reign of George II., for encouraging emigration to the Province, and for the naturalisation of foreign Protestants. Part of the resolutions to be proposed were based on these admissions, and went to show that immigrants from the United States might

still lawfully settle in the country, and that any prohibition to the contrary ought to be rescinded. A ninth resolution averred that the large tracts of Crown and Clergy Reserve lands throughout the Province prevented the formation of connected settlements, so necessary for opening and keeping the roads in repair, and offered a temptation to future wars with the United States, by presenting the means of indemnifying themselves, and rewarding their soldiers, in the event of conquest. The tenth resolution recommended the sale of the Crown Reserves, instead of leasing them, as was then the practice ; while the eleventh condemned, "as altogether too lavish," the appropriating one-seventh of all the lands in the Province for the support of a Protestant clergy, proposed that the Imperial Parliament should be petitioned to sell, for the purpose of building and endowing churches, a part of the lands already reserved, and that a less quantity should be retained in future.

These resolutions and the militia land grant matter embodied the bulk of the grievances of Upper Canada at this period ; and the great majority of the people were very anxious they should be remedied. The arbitrary conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor in preventing their discussion, and his discourteous treatment of the Assembly, were therefore unsparingly denounced, and no small dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the Province. Its yeomen, as a rule, were sturdy and independent, and now bound to make their dissatisfaction felt on the first favourable opportunity. That opportunity very soon made its appearance.

While the arbitrary conduct of Gore was planting the seeds of discontent and agitation in the community, Robert Gourlay, destined to figure somewhat prominently in the affairs of this country for a short time, came out from England in the month of July, attracted hither, in part, by the Home Government's proclamation inviting respectable British emigrants to settle in Upper Canada, and offering them free grants of land.\* Gourlay, however, had as yet formed no definite plan as to his future course ; and was chiefly desirous, in the first place, of examining the country with a view, as he stated, to a general system of immigration from Scotland, and particularly of "his own tenantry there." Owing to the consequential manner in which he introduced himself to their notice, the simple farmers soon came to regard him as a person of no small importance, and to expect considerable benefit from his advent amongst them.

Gourlay was born in Fifeshire, in 1778, and was descended from an old and respectable Scottish family. His father, at one time an

\* The fact of the British Government offering free passages and a grant of land, induced many to leave the country of their birth for Canada. Among these was the famous Robert Gourlay, whose advent was trumpeted by a grand scheme of peopling the waste lands by his tenantry and families from Scotland. The event was celebrated by demonstrations of the inhabitants. At one of these (a ball held at Shipman's) he was partner to Mrs. Merritt in the first set of country dances. Biography of W. H. Merritt, p. 41.

Edinburgh lawyer of some repute, had inherited a considerable quantity of landed property, and for several years was regarded as a person of wealth. But the close of the war with the Emperor Napoleon materially reduced the value of land, and from this cause and other misfortunes the elder Gourlay became bankrupt.—His eldest son, Robert, was fated to be equally, if not still more unfortunate. He was put to no profession, and after leaving college devoted himself to no settled pursuit. Of large stature and robust health he was full of life and energy. Possessed of average abilities, restless, ambitious, always desirous to distinguish himself in some way or another, he lacked the prudence and tact necessary to command success. His genius was of a flighty and erratic, rather than of a sober stamp : he belonged to a class existing more or less in every age and every clime, fated to injure themselves, to be their own worst enemy, while they benefited humanity at large. His father's estimate of him was singularly correct.—“Robert,” said he, “will hurt himself but do good to others.” Robert married and settled down on one of his father's farms, and presently took upon himself various public positions of local usefulness and philanthropy. He was soon much looked up to, by the yeomanry of the county, and came to be regarded as the special advocate at agricultural meetings of the rights and interests of the smaller class of tenants. At one of these meetings he quarrelled with his neighbor, Lord Kellie, whom he subsequently attacked with much asperity in a pamphlet. From this and other causes he became somewhat unpopular in the neighborhood ; and in 1809 leased, from the Duke of Somerset, the Deptford Farm in Wiltshire, England, for twenty-one years, and expended a large sum of money in making improvements. His farm became a model one in every sense ; and its products won prize after prize at agricultural exhibitions. But his restlessness and ambition to distinguish himself speedily led him outside his legitimate pursuits. He commenced a vigorous agitation to reform the administration of the parish poor-laws, and to remove other local abuses ; and soon came into direct conflict with the landed gentry ; a conflict supported on his side by constant speechifying, and by weekly letters to the county newspapers. He was presently regarded, by the landlords of Wiltshire, as a visionary and dangerous man. The Duke of Somerset remonstrated with him, but to no use ; and finally resolved to get rid of him altogether, and on some pretext filed a bill in chancery to cancel his lease. Long and expensive litigation followed, and, although Gourlay eventually won, he emerged from the contest almost a ruined man. He was now thirty-five years of age, with a wife in delicate health, and a family of five children dependent on him, and, like other unsuccessful men, his thoughts naturally turned on a new home in the New World ; and the more so, as five years before he had purchased a farm in Upper Canada, in Dereham, County of Oxford, where his wife also owned some property.

At the present day Gourlay would be regarded with curiosity as



a harmless philanthropic enthusiast, lacking the faculty of attending prudently to his own concerns, and as an impracticable sort of person. But his was a different day and generation. England then overflowed with poverty, with acute misery, with serious crime, and the role of an agitator of any kind was regarded as alike dangerous and suspicious. Philanthropic and harmless as Gourlay's purposes undoubtedly were, his extreme manner of supporting his views soon rendered him obnoxious to his landed neighbours. In Canada a three years' desperate war had been recently terminated ; society, as we have already seen, had not returned to its normal condition, and was still unsettled ; and an agitator of any description would naturally be regarded with suspicion by the authorities, and as a disturber of the public peace. The social and political atmosphere of Canada was, therefore, as little suited to poor Gourlay as that of his native Scotland, or England, had proved to be. As one waded through the three ponderous octavos, of all manner of odds and ends, which he bequeathed to Canada, his coarse abuse of individuals, his intemperate language, his thirst for personal revenge, his transparent egotism, must lower him seriously in the estimation of the impartial reader. Still, he was evidently more sinned against than sinning ; and honest criticism must make due allowance for his difficulties and his misfortunes. An indefatigable worker, enterprising, shrewd, fearless and honest in dealing with public questions and abuses, he struck boldly out for the welfare of Upper Canada after his own odd fashion, and according to his own lights ; and had its leading men sufficient patriotism to turn his abilities to proper account, he must have effected much public good. But they were, one and all, more desirous to benefit themselves individually, than the Province generally. Upper Canada was too young a country as yet to have its disinterested patriots ; and the public welfare was lightly considered when balanced against personal profit. But if Gourlay's visit to this country was a most unfortunate event for himself, it was a fortunate occurrence for its people, then and now, in many ways. His "Statistical Account of Upper Canada," however badly arranged and unsatisfactory it may be from a purely literary standpoint, throws a flood of light upon the social and political history of the Province, for the first two decades of the present century, which is supplied from no other source.—While in Lower Canada the numerous and continual letters of its governors, its intendants, its bishops, its Jesuit and other missionaries, to the king and his ministers, filled the archives of France with abundance of admirable historical material, the correspondence of the officials of Upper Canada, outside purely military despatches, throw a very diminished light upon its early history. Gourlay filled the gap thus left, and filled it well ; and his quaint and rambling record will always remain a rich mine for the Canadian historical student to develop. But he also conferred another great benefit upon the people of this Dominion. The fierce light which he turned upon existing abuses laid the solid foundation for their

ultimate removal ; while the pitiful story of his misfortunes awoke a very general feeling of profound compassion towards himself, of bitter wrath and indignation towards his unscrupulous persecutors, and led to the rise of a new political party, and, in some degree, to " Responsible Government."

While in England, and engaged in seeking the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and in writing and speaking in support of his views, which, as might be expected, were in many cases of an enthusiastic and visionary character, Gourlay undoubtedly leaned to the extreme opinions advocated by the celebrated William Cobbett, the great stickler for royalty and aristocracy in republican America, for the people and democracy in monarchical England. Like him Gourlay was indefatigable in hunting up abuses. Circumstances, as we have already seen, had tended to produce a plentiful harvest of these in Upper Canada ; and without stopping to consider the wisest mode of procedure, Gourlay ran full tilt against them ; offended the feelings and prejudices of men in authority, by the uncereemonious and needlessly disrespectful manner in which he spoke of them ; and, by imprudent speech and imprudent acts, speedily made himself a host of bitter enemies, who soon destroyed all his prospects of usefulness in this country. His profitless experience in England and Scotland was about to be repeated on a larger scale in Upper Canada. A little more tact, a little more Scotch caution, a little more common sense, would have enabled him to steer clear of the difficulties which soon beset him. But the morbid passion for notoriety, which had distinguished him in the Old World, a disposition to treat the authorities with contempt as his inferiors in intelligence, and his rash language made speedy shipwreck of his hopes in the New. He still continued to be his own worst enemy, and had learned nothing from his past bitter experience.

After a residence of a few months in this country, during which he sedulously applied himself to acquire a knowledge of its natural resources, and the social and political condition of its people, Gourlay conceived the idea of becoming a land-agent, and by the compilation of a statistical account of Upper Canada, to acquire the requisite information. This information, in the first place, he proposed to procure by addressing thirty-one queries to the principal inhabitants of each township, the answers to which must supply precisely what he sought. Thirty of these queries related merely to agricultural matters, or to that description of information usually embodied in census returns, and were perfectly innocent of themselves. Owing to the agitation already commenced in the Province, the 31st query, however, possessed a pointed political meaning, and created an immediate alarm among the Family Compact people. " What," it asked, " in your opinion, retards the improvement of your township in particular, or of the Province in general ; and what would most contribute to the same ?"

This question at once aroused a serious opposition to Gourlay's

plans. Wild lands were then untaxed, Government favourites who had got grants of valuable land, and held them in reserve, till the labours of the surrounding settlers made them doubly valuable, as well as all those interested in the preservation of land monopolies of every kind, disliked that any light whatever should be thrown on a system so largely advantageous to themselves. By these parties a feeling hostile to Gourlay was immediately excited. He was accused of sinister motives, stigmatised as a democrat and disloyal person, and in several instances the people were dissuaded from furnishing the information sought for. In the Home District, where large blocks of land were held by Government favourites, no return whatever was made to his queries, owing to the interference of members of the Executive. In other quarters, all his queries were answered but the 31st. In a majority of cases, however, this was broadly replied to, and the Crown, Clergy Reserves, and wild lands held by speculators, very generally stigmatised as greatly interfering with local prosperity.

Gourlay was not by any means disposed to allow his plans to be thwarted in silence, and his letters to the newspapers, of which seven were now published in the Province, added to the 1818. growing discontent of the people. When the Legislature next met, a vote of enquiry into the condition of affairs was carried in the Assembly. But before any further action could be taken in the matter, Gore seized upon the pretext of a difference with the Legislative Council, and suddenly prorogued Parliament, leaving a large amount of public business unfinished.

Finding there was little prospect of anything being done by the Legislature to remove the evils they complained of, the people now readily caught at a scheme, proposed by Gourlay, of petitioning the Imperial Parliament to investigate the affairs of the Province, and of employing an agent in England to support their views. He further proposed that deputies should be selected by the different townships, to meet at Toronto, and there to decide on the draft of a petition and the other necessary measures. This convention met during summer, and wholly unconscious of doing anything wrong or disloyal, had concluded its deliberations before the Legislature assembled. Owing, however, to the opposition of the Government, no decisive action was taken upon its resolutions. The agitation, nevertheless, had one good effect. The Colonial Office at last determined that the promised grants of land should be at once made to the militia embodied during the war.

The Executive now became seriously alarmed, and as it was found exceedingly inconvenient to have a person of such a curious and prying disposition as Gourlay in the country, it was determined to get rid of him on the first opportunity. He had already published the draft of a petition to the Crown, to be adopted by the people, so far as they thought proper; and a passage in this was now fastened on as affording grounds for a criminal prosecu-

tion for libel. This passage, couched in the strongest language, alluded to the ignorance of the Colonial Minister of the wants of the country, the system of patronage and favouritism, and the universal corruption of the Canadian authorities. "Corruption, indeed, has reached such a height in this Province," said the obnoxious passage of the proposed petition, "that it is thought no other part of the British empire witnesses the like. It matters not what characters fill situations of public trust at present; all sink beneath the dignity of men, and have become vitiated and weak."

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF MAJOR GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND.

Meanwhile Mr. Gore had been recalled, and Sir Peregrine Maitland appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In the interim of the general's arrival the government was administered by Samuel Smith, a U. E. loyalist, who, while entirely unconnected with the Family Compact, had raised himself, by integrity and ability, to the highest positions in the country. Sir Peregrine had possibly never heard in his life of Gourlay till he arrived in his government in August, but that gentleman lost very little time in attracting his notice. He wrote a letter to him stating, "that he was under a charge of libelling the Government, that he was a year in the country, and would have no objection to wait upon him at any time, and give him the benefit of his experience."\* Maitland, however, had no disposition to avail himself of the one year's experience of the egotistical Gourlay, who four days after making what he no doubt supposed to be a very liberal offer, was shut up a close prisoner in Kingston gaol. Here he remained for six days until brought to trial on the 20th of August, when he succeeded in beating the Government, and was acquitted. The sympathy of the community ran high in his favour. Ten days afterwards he was tried a second time, at Brockville, for another libel in the same petition, but was again honourably acquitted; and having now twice defeated the Government, was apparently in a fair way of becoming quite a popular personage. But his elevation had been too rapid to be lasting.

On the 12th of October the Legislature was opened with a short speech, one paragraph of which was levelled at Gourlay. "In the course of your investigation," said Maitland, "you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to excite discontent, and to organise sedition. Should it appear to you that a convention of delegates cannot exist without danger to the constitution, in framing a law of prevention your dispassionate wisdom will be careful that it shall not unwarily trespass on the sacred right of the subject to seek a redress of his grievances by petition."

\* Gourlay vol. iii. p. 502.

The Assembly was now as thoroughly alarmed by the convention as the Government, and regarded the movement as an infringement on the rights of parliamentary representation, and a censure on its own body. The term convention, too, was an American phrase, which smacked of republicanism, and of itself alarmed its members. "We remember," said they, in an address to the Lieutenant Governor, on the 19th of October, "that this favoured land was assigned to our fathers as a retreat for suffering loyalty, and not as a sanctuary for sedition. We lament that the designs of one factious individual (Gourlay) should have succeeded in drawing into the support of his vile machinations, so many honest men and loyal subjects of his Majesty." Not a word, however, was breathed about grievances, or the condition of the Province; the convention had all that business to itself. The Assembly was now prepared to pass any measure the Executive might recommend: and to put its ban, if necessary, upon the unlucky Gourlay. On the 28th of October Jonas Jones, a leading light of the Brockville branch of the Family Compact, introduced a bill to prevent the future assemblage of conventions, under the head of "An act for preventing certain meetings within this Province," which was duly passed into law, twelve out of a house of thirteen voting for it.\*

The extreme position taken by the Legislature, and the efforts of the Family Compact, produced a reaction against Gourlay in several parts of the country: and many persons were led to believe that he was a seditious and disloyal person. Still, confiding in his own integrity of purpose, considering himself as a British born citizen perfectly safe in a British colony, and not a little elated at the sudden importance he had achieved, he now resolved to settle permanently in the Province as a land agent. But his enemies determined that they should not be so easily foiled. Under the provisions of an Act passed in 1804, during Hunter's administration, authority was given to the head of the Government, the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, and the superior court judges, to issue their warrant for the arrest of any person not resident in the Province for six months, or who had not taken the oath of allegiance, or was suspected of treasonable practices, or of a seditious intent to disturb the public tranquillity. If, on examination, the person so arrested did not give a satisfactory account of himself he could be ordered to depart from the country. If this order were disobeyed he was to be committed to the common gaol of the district, and there remain for trial, without bail or mainprise, until the next court of Assize, unless delivered therefrom, in the meantime, by a special order from the Governor or his representative. If, after conviction by the court of the offence charged, the offender remained in, or returned to, the Province,

\* This law was repealed two years afterwards. Chief-Justice Robinson alone voted against its repeal.



he was to be deemed guilty of felony, and suffer death as a felon without the benefit of clergy. This law, so Draconic in its provisions, which had rarely or ever been acted on, and was almost forgotten, it was now determined to enforce in the case of Gourlay, all other means to put an end to his agitation against existing abuses having failed. The prime mover against him was William Dickson, a distant relation of his own, who had been well acquainted with him for many years, had visited him in England in his prosperous days, had hospitably received him when he came to this country in the preceding year, had given him a large amount of information respecting various short-comings of the Executive, and had urged him to expose them. Dickson was of English birth, and had kept a small store at Niagara on first coming to this country. He had also acted as clerk to the District Judge, thus acquired a little legal knowledge, and presently blossomed into a lawyer, an easy matter in those days. Fortune smiled upon him still, and he was elevated to the Legislative Council. By one means or another he had acquired a large amount of landed property, among which were six thousand acres of Indian lands on the Grand River for which he was now seeking to get a title from the Crown, and was accordingly exceedingly adverse to the continuance of an agitation which he saw must do him injury. But, aside from this personal consideration, Dickson was well aware that if he could drive Gourlay out of the country, and thus put a summary end to his agitation, it would greatly add to his influence with the Executive Council and the whole of the Family Compact. And for these base considerations of personal profit he now stood prepared to strike down his relative and former friend and guest. Dickson found a willing assistant in his plans for Gourlay's ruin in William Claus, a neighbour and fellow Legislative Councillor. Claus had succeeded Butler as Government Indian Agent, and in this capacity had improperly influenced, by presents and otherwise, the Grand River Indians to cede a large tract of their land to Dickson, for a small consideration mainly made up of his fees for drawing out some accounts, and doing some other trifling legal business for the Indians, for which the most outrageous charges had been made. So Claus was Dickson's fast friend, and prepared to aid and abet him in crushing Gourlay. All that the pair of conspirators now needed was to find some tool ready and willing to lay an information against Gourlay. This tool Dickson soon found in Isaac Swayze, a Pennsylvanian of German descent, one of Butler's Rangers, a commissariat forager and spy therefor, and a dangerous and unscrupulous man. But he had made some money, took up his grant of land with his fellow Rangers after the war, became apparently a pious member of the Methodist body, now numerous in his district, and thus, although scarcely able to write his own name, so ingratiated himself with the community that he had been returned to the Assembly for the fourth district of the County of Lincoln. Swayze was well-

acquainted with Gonrlay, whom he had met a year before, and knew as fully as Dickson and Claus that he had resided for over twelve months in the country, and from which he had only been absent for a few days' visit to the adjoining state. He, nevertheless, deliberately swore to a formal information, drawn up by Dickson, charging Gourlay with being an evil-minded and seditious person, who had not taken the oath of allegiance, and who had not resided six months in the Province. So Gourlay was arrested and taken before his judges, the two interested conspirators, Dickson and Claus. He had been condemned beforehand; and all his pleadings as to his innocence of intent, as to his loyalty as a British born subject, as to his willingness to take the oath of allegiance, as to his being longer resident in the country than the time charged in the information, all which his judges knew just as well as he did, went for nothing. His statements and explanations were held to be insufficient, and he was served by the court with a written order enjoining him to depart from the Province within ten days. "To have obeyed this order," said Gourlay, "would have been ruinous to the business for which I had qualified myself at great expense, an acknowledgment of guilt, and a surrender of my birthright as a British subject." So he determined to disobey it, and fight it out in his usual obstinate way; a rash resolve. He should have instead obeyed the order, and fought his persecutors by legal methods.

On the 4th of January, three days after the expiration of the ten days allowed him, Dickson and Claus issued a formal  
1819. commitment for Gourlay who was accordingly arrested, and committed to Niagara gaol, there to remain until his trial came on at the next assizes to be held in the month of August. His first proceeding, after incarceration, was to take steps to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*. In pursuance of that writ he was brought before Chief Justice William Dummer Powell at Toronto. His counsel produced three affidavits to support his argument for his client's discharge. One of these was made by the Hon. Robert Hamilton, a member of the Legislative Council, another by Peter Hamilton, and a third by Gourlay himself. These affidavits showed that he had resided in the Province for a longer period than that charged in the committal, that he was a British born subject, and had taken the oath of allegiance.\* His case was clearly made out. He had been un-

\* *To the Honourable William Dummer Powell, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench of Upper Canada, and the rest of the Justices of the said Court; or any one of them.*

#### THE PETITION OF ROBERT GOURLAY, ESQ.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner is now a prisoner in the Jail of Niagara District, by virtue of a warrant of Commitment. whereof a copy is annexed.

That your Petitioner, humbly apprehending he is not a person of that description against whom such a warrant can legally be issued, as he believes

lawfully condemned upon a false pretence, and was plainly entitled to his full discharge. And that was the opinion afterwards given by some of the ablest lawyers in England, among whom was Sir Arthur Pigott. But Canadian judges were not then appointed for life, and were still the mere agents of the Crown, Powell, a native of Boston, in Massachusetts, and at one time strongly suspected of treasonable practices and put under arrest for a time, but who had afterwards contrived to thoroughly ingratiate himself with Gore, was now the head and front of the Family Compact, an Executive councillor, speaker of the Legislative Council, a large landowner, and on intimate terms with all the people that Gourlay had struck

will fully appear from the affidavits annexed, and, inasmuch as he has not heretofore been called upon, or had an opportunity of showing the facts, prays for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and, as bound in duty, will pray.

Dated at the Jail of Niagara, the 13th day of January, 1819.

(Signed) ROBERT GOURLAY.

Witness, Wm. Kerr, }  
John Moffatt, }

#### AFFIDAVITS.

*District of Niagara,* } Peter Hamilton, of the township of Niagara, in the Province  
*viz.* } of Upper Canada, maketh Oath and saith, that he hath seen  
that he knew the same person and his connections and friends heretofore in Britain ; and that he was there respected, esteemed, and taken to be a British subject ; and that he is so this Deponent verily believes is notoriously true in this district.

(Signed) P. H. HAMILTON.

Sworn before me, the 9th day }  
of January, 1819. }  
ALEX. HAMILTON, J. P. }

*Niagara District,* } Robert Gourlay maketh oath and saith, that he is, by birth, a  
*viz.* } British subject, that he hath taken the oath of Allegiance to  
our lord the present King of Great Britain, and that he has been an inhabitant of the Province of Upper Canada now more than a year preceding the date of the warrant first issued against him by the Hon. William Dickson and William Claus, Esq., and referred to in that, whereof a copy is annexed

(Signed) ROBERT GOURLAY.

Sworn before me, this 13th day }  
of Jan 1819. }  
(Signed) WM. J. KERR, J. P. }

*District of Niagara,* } Robert Hamilton, of Queenston, in said district, Esq.,  
*viz.* } maketh Oath and saith, that Robert Gourlay, Esq., who is  
now confined in the Jail of this district, has been domiciliated at Queenston, in the Province of Upper Canada, more than nine months next preceding the date of this deposition ; and this Deponent further maketh Oath and saith, that he hath always understood and verily believes the said Robert Gourlay to be a natural born subject of Great Britain.

(Signed) ROBERT HAMILTON.

Sworn before me, this 12th day }  
of Jan. 1819. }  
(Signed) JAMES KERBY, J. P. }

so hard at. So he wilfully and corruptly shut his eyes to the cause of justice and truth, evaded his plain duty, and sent the unfortunate Gourlay back to his cell at Niagara. And, while doing so, he was guilty of a palpable falsehood. In the "order of remand" he stated that Gourlay had required to be admitted to bail, whereas he had made no such demand, well-knowing, from the advice of his counsel, that the statute under which he was committed did not permit of bail. He could only be discharged as having been illegally committed, or remanded for trial. That was the sole alternative which the case permitted. Under the advice of English counsel Gourlay instituted actions against Dickson and Claus for false imprisonment. But the contest was too unequal.— Each of the defendants obtained an order for security for costs, and as the imprisoned plaintiff failed to furnish this the actions lapsed, and Dickson and Claus escaped all punishment, in this world, for their wicked and most foul perversion of justice.

In June the Legislature again assembled. In his opening speech the Lieutenant-Governor stated, that he had received instructions from the Crown to give lands to the militia, but would take the responsibility on himself of refusing grants to the members of the recent convention, who were thus to be punished for demanding the redress of public grievances. It was anxiously hoped by the people that the Assembly would be equal to the occasion, and evince its disapprobation of this part of Maitland's opening speech. But, after a long debate, it was at length endorsed by the casting vote of the speaker, the address was agreed to, and the Upper House concurred in language the most direct and submissive. This conduct supplied a new grievance text to Gourlay, who under instructions from the sheriff, Thomas Merritt,\* was permitted the unrestrained use of writing materials. He wrote a letter to the *Niagara Spectator*, which was surreptitiously passed out through the open window of his cell, and published in the absence of the editor. This letter commented in rather severe terms on the conduct of Maitland, and also made disparaging allusions to his father-in-law, the Duke of Richmond. Gourlay's unwise conduct, on this occasion, led to the gaoler refusing him almost every indulgence, until at length he completely broke down. His long confinement of over seven months in a wretchedly constructed prison, destitute of proper sanitary arrangements, had so ruined his health that when brought to trial, on the 20th of August, he was partially insane, and nearly unconscious of the entire proceedings. His clothes hung loosely on his large and wasted frame, his eyes had lost their wonted light of intelligence, and during the whole of the proceedings he stood like one amazed and confounded, and mentally unable to realise his true position. He was indicted for merely refusing to obey the order of Dickson and Claus to leave the Province, the only proceeding permitted under the statute, and found guilty as

\* The father of William Hamilton Merritt.

a mere matter of routine. The Attorney General, John Beverley Robinson, had prepared another indictment against him for seditious practices, which was duly read in court to influence the jury, but afterwards abandoned. Chief Justice Powell now demanded if the prisoner had anything to say why the sentence of the court should not be pronounced upon him; and all eyes were turned upon the unfortunate man, who stood before them without counsel to plead his cause, or friend to sustain him. Suddenly a gleam of light flashed across his mental stupor: he realised that he was upon his trial, that he had prepared a written defence, but he could not for his life remember where he had put that defence, although it was in his pocket. And, then, a thick darkness again settled down upon his mental vision; and to the horror and amazement of those present he burst into a peal of unmeaning maniacal laughter, which filled the court room like the wail of a lost soul.— But that laughter relieved the terrible mental strain; his reason returned, and with returning reason there came back a sense of injustice and oppression. He made a brief but ineffectual attempt to argue out his case with the judge; who told him that the facts had already been passed upon by the jury, and that he could now only be permitted to speak on questions of law. The sentence of the court, that he must leave the Province within twenty-four hours, was pronounced; and the Chief Justice then proceeded to read him a severe lecture upon his bad conduct since his arrival in the country, and to give him advice as to turning his great abilities to some practical account. Before leaving the dock he complained of the bad treatment he had experienced while in prison, and was ironically told by the Chief Justice that he might, if he chose, prosecute the Sheriff. Gourlay speedily crossed the Niagara River, and shook off the dust of his feet against Canada, for never had justice or law been more abused than in his case. Seventy-two years have now passed away, since the painful scene of injustice and wrong, in the mingled drama of poor Gourlay's checkered existence, was enacted in the shabby little court room at Niagara. Dickson, and Claus, and Swayze, and Powell, and Robinson; and all the host of land-jobbers that rejoiced over his fall, have been confronted long ago by Gourlay at another and higher tribunal, where even-handed justice is administered without fail. Gourlay was never the same man afterwards. His long imprisonment during a hot summer, in a close cell: his mental troubles, his treatment, his disgrace, injured his health; and unbalanced his mind to such an extent that he was afterwards subject to periodical fits of insanity. He returned to this country in 1849, and again in 1854, married a second time, and resided subsequently at the hamlet of Mount Elgin, in the County of Oxford. As we write these lines we have a letter of his before us, written in that large plain hand which prevailed at the close of the last century; and in which he finds fault with the account given of him in the first edition of this history, published in 1855.



Such was the sorrowful termination of Gourlay's original connection with Canada. Whatever may have been his faults or his failings, his intentions were unquestionably good; and at the present day there can be only one opinion of the treatment he met with, to wit, that it was most unjust and despotic; and reflects indelible disgrace on the public men who gave it the sanction of their authority. The people of Canada have every reason to thank Providence that such an occurrence can never again disgrace their country, and that the sway of the oligarchy which permitted it, or rejoiced at it, has long since passed away never to return.

But the ruin of Gourlay did not satisfy the Executive Council, and the rest of the Family Compact. It was also determined to prosecute Ferguson, the editor of the *Niagara Spectator*, for publishing Gourlay's letter reflecting on Sir Peregrine Maitland and the Duke of Richmond. He was accordingly indicted, and put on his trial for sedition; and although he proved that he was absent from home when the letter appeared in his paper, knew nothing about its publication, and was therefore entirely innocent of the offence charged; he was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of two hundred dollars, to be imprisoned for eighteen months, and to stand in the public pillory one hour each day for the first month of his imprisonment; at the end of which he was to give bail for his good conduct for seven years; himself in two thousand dollars, and two sureties in a thousand dollars each. He was also to remain in gaol till bail was given, and the fine paid. Poor Ferguson did the best he could in his unfortunate position. He made an humble submission to the authorities, and promised to be more careful for the time to come. So Maitland, after a brief space, remitted the penalties; and, on giving the required bail for his good behaviour, he was permitted to resume his business. He was a ruined man, however, and shortly afterwards failed. His printing material was sold, under a claim held by William Hamilton Merritt, to Amos McKenny, who thought it advisable to change the name of the *Niagara Spectator* into that of the *Gleaner*.\*

The arbitrary conduct of the Government, with respect to Gourlay, excited a very general feeling of indignation throughout the Province, and a determination to send a different class of members to the Assembly next time, who would be more disposed to advocate the measures of reform desired by the people. The Lieutenant Governor was already becoming unpopular. He surrendered himself completely into the hands of the Family Compact, the more dexterous and politic members of which, while they pandered to his desire for flattery, and apparently yielded to his love of power,† took good care to hold the reins of government firmly in their own hands. Of cold, haughty, and overbearing manners, with much more of the military man about

\* Biography of William Hamilton Merritt, pp. 49, 53.

† Well's Sketches of Canada, p. 157.

him than the civil governor, he was not adapted by nature for a popular ruler, and leaned, from habit and constitutional temperament, to a system of arbitrary government. The fact, too, of his having eloped with the Duke of Richmond's daughter at Paris, while the allied armies lay there after the battle of Waterloo, and that he was merely sent out by the Home Ministry by way of making provision for him, in deference to his father-in-law, and not in consequence of his fitness for the office, gradually leaked out, and tended to make him still more unpopular.\*

The population of the Province had now increased to nearly one hundred and twenty thousand souls. New settlements had been formed in various districts; and as the country was on the eve of a general election, it was deemed advisable to increase the representation. The Legislature was accordingly convened, on the 21st of February, when an act was passed which nearly doubled the number of members. Another act regulated the commercial intercourse with the United States, and a third embodied a new School Bill. As the act prohibiting meetings of delegates in convention had caused a good deal of bitter feeling among the people, it was thought prudent by members to repeal it before they again asked support from their respective constituencies. One voice alone was raised against the measure, that of John Beverley Robinson, afterwards chief justice, and who, at a subsequent period, protested still more forcibly against the union of the Canadas. Agitation had also effected another benefit. Gourlay's suggestion was at length adopted, and a tax laid upon wild lands to the infinite chagrin of speculators.† On the 7th of March the House was dissolved, and writs were soon after issued for a new election.

Beyond the establishment of branches of the Bank of Montreal in the principal towns of the Province, and the labours of the commission for settling the boundary line between the United States and Canada, nothing of importance occurred during the summer. In December the new Parliament was summoned to meet, for the despatch of business, on the 31st of the ensuing January. Before it assembled a notice, in the *Upper Canada Gazette*, informed the public that five new members had been called, by the Crown, to the Legislative Council of the Province. Four of these were ordinary and every-day men; the other, first on the list, was a man of mark, the late Bishop Strachan, of Toronto, then Rector of York. He had been already appointed, in 1818, to both the Executive and Legislative Councils, but in merely an honorary capacity, as it was said at the time. The Rector, however, speedily became "the power behind the throne;" took so kindly to politics, and evinced so much thorough

\* Gourlay, vol. iii. p. 493.

† While in prison at Niagara Gourlay had advocated a tax on wild lands as a check to speculation, and the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence.

business capacity, that it was now deemed advisable to publish his active connection with the administration. His rise had been equally rapid and extraordinary ; and presents a pointed illustration of what Scotch shrewdness, tact, and worldly sagacity, in connection with even moderate abilities, can do for a man in a new country, such as Upper Canada then was, and where society was as yet rough and unformed. The story of Bishop Strachan's fortunes reminds one of the successful heroes of romance. Descended from an humble Aberdeen family, his father, a non-juror Scotch Episcopalian, and an ardent hater of the House of Hanover, died while he was still a child ; and his training devolved upon his mother, who belonged to the strict Anti-Burgher off-shoot of Presbyterianism, and straitly brought up her family in her own faith. After acquiring a fair share of classical and other learning at Aberdeen, John Strachan became, in 1796, at the age of eighteen, teacher to the children of a farmer in Angusshire. He subsequently taught the parish school of Kettle, in Fifeshire, at a salary of one hundred and fifty dollars per annum, rather more than equal to double that sum now. On this small stipend he eked out an existence for some time while attending St. Andrew's College, as an irregular student, with a view of entering the ministry of his own branch of the Presbyterian church, in accordance with the dearest wishes of his mother—a pious and worthy woman. There was truly a noble picture presented by that humble Scottish household. The poor and struggling widow religiously bringing up her family ; the elder son educating himself by his own efforts ; fitting himself to win his way to future success, and even assisting his mother out of his small stipend. And so the everlasting promise, proclaimed amid the thunderings of Sinai, descended to him also, and his days were indeed long in the land.

Some Canadian writers have stated that Simcoe, among other projects for the benefit of Upper Canada, designed to establish grammar schools in its several districts, and an university at their head at the seat of government ;\* and that he gave authority to Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, and Robert Hamilton, of Niagara, both members of the Legislative Council, to procure a gentleman from Scotland to take charge of this university. It has also been stated that John Strachan received the appointment ; and that he accordingly sailed from Greenock, for Canada, in August, 1799, *via* New York, and reached Kingston on the last day of that year. Here he was informed that Simcoe had left Canada some time before, and that the project of an university had been abandoned. These statements embody an anachronism which needs explanation. Simcoe left this Province, owing to his recall, in 1796, over three years before Strachan's arrival ; so he could not have authorised his engagement in 1799, and no statute

\* Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians* p. 293. See also Taylor's "Three Bishops."

passed during his administration makes provision for either the founding of grammar schools or the establishment of an university affiliated therewith. The Province was as yet too young and too poor, and the population too widely scattered and too sparse, to warrant the carrying out of any project of this nature.\* Then Simcoe was an Oxford man, himself; thoroughly English in his likings and dislikings, and Scotland would be the last place in which he would seek the principal for his university, and the young Presbyterian lad of eighteen, then a tutor in Angushire, about the last person he would select for the post. Richard Cartwright, of English descent, and born at Albany, in the state of New York, in 1759, came to Canada with other U. E. Loyalists at the close of the War of Independence, and settled in Kingston, where he went into mercantile business, with Robert Hamilton as his partner. They did a large trade, made money, and eventually separated; Hamilton going to Niagara. Cartwright was a man of liberal education, became county judge, a duty discharged for several years without salary, and was appointed by Simcoe to the Legislative Council, when it was first constituted, and remained a member until his death in 1815. He was a man highly thought of in his day, of large and liberal views, and of an independent turn of mind, which occasionally led him into opposition to the administration, to the annoyance of Simcoe, who complained of both him and Hamilton to the Colonial Minister.† His life and letters, an interesting duodecimo, of some one hundred and fifty pages,‡ now lie before us as we write, and throw so much light on his day and generation, that it is a matter of regret he did not write a good deal more. He makes no allusion whatever to the grammar school and university project. Had there been any such important matter afloat, he would no doubt have mentioned it in some of his letters.

With all these facts before us, we must turn to Gourlay's account of the cause which led the Rector of York to emigrate to Canada as the true one. By way of antidote to Gourlay's expected forthcoming book the Rector had also prepared a statistical account

\* A despatch from Simcoe to the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Portland, under date of July 20th, 1796, shows clearly that up to the period of his recall, which shortly afterwards occurred, he had taken no steps whatever for the establishment of an university. The Governor, in that despatch, recommends that a part of the Crown lands should be sold and devoted to the erection and endowment of an university. This despatch also shows that he deemed the founding of an university was a matter beyond his control, and that he had no funds for the purpose. Under these circumstances the engagement of a principal for an university which had no present prospect of existence was scarcely possible. Hamilton and Cartwright, also, stood in bad odour with Simcoe, as they frequently opposed his plans. It is probable, however, that Cartwright when engaging Strachan might have alluded to Simcoe's abandoned university project, and hence the error.

† Cartwright's letter to Isaac Todd, Kingston, October 1st, 1794.

‡ Published by Belford Brothers, Toronto, 1876.

of Upper Canada, which was published in Scotland in the name of his brother James. This book was very severely criticised by some of the Scotch newspapers, as being inaccurate and misleading. It speaks of Capt. Brant "as a miserable man of savage ferocity, puffed up with his own importance," and devoted a whole chapter to abuse and misrepresentation of Gourlay, who thus, for the first time, became acquainted with the Rector of York. Gourlay's own work was not yet published, and being anxious to administer the antidote to his critic's bane, began an enquiry into his antecedents. The worst he tells us was that not content "with whipping children," the Rector had virulently attacked an ex-President of the United States in the newspapers, and published a pamphlet "abusing Lord Selkirk for his attempt to establish a colony in the Hudson's Bay territory." But he also tells us why the Rector of York came to this country. Richard Cartwright being desirous of having the benefit of a good education for his children, whom he tenderly loved, solicited his friend, the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, of Gladsmuir in East Lothian, to send him out a young man qualified for a resident family tutor, to whom he would give £50 per annum. Dr. Hamilton, who was the uncle of Mrs. Gourlay, and connected with the Robert Hamilton, already spoken of, offered the situation to young Strachan, who gladly closed with the proposal, and came *direct* to Kingston. Not the slightest discredit attaches to this circumstance, and the advent of Cartwright's tutor was quite as honourable an occurrence as the advent of Simcoe's university principal would have been.

While fulfilling his engagement of three years with Cartwright, the tutor became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Stuart, the rector of the parish, who advised him to prosecute the study of divinity, and enter the ministry of the Church of England. He still, however, remained a member of the Presbyterian communion; and at this period we find him in correspondence with a congregation in Montreal,\* and offering to become their minister, and return to Scotland for ordination, if they paid him a salary of twelve hundred dollars per annum. But this congregation being either too poor, or unwilling to meet his views in point of remuneration, the matter terminated. This occurrence was the turning point in John Strachan's career, and he now lent a more willing ear to Dr. Stuart, and fully made up his mind to connect himself with the Church of England. On the 2nd of May, 1803, he was ordained a deacon by Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, whose diocese still continued to embrace the two Canadas, was priested in the following year, and appointed to the mission of Cornwall, then a poor little village of four hundred inhabitants—an episcopal oasis in a Scotch Presbyterian and Roman Catholic settlement. But he

\* This was the St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian congregation. Before they erected their own church they were permitted to meet for worship in the Roman Catholic Recollet Church, and in gratitude for their liberality presented the fathers with a cask of wine.



was a brave and resolute man, and at once determined to make the most of his position. After a time he opened a school which, in those days of limited culture, speedily became famous throughout the Province, and drew pupils from every direction ; and in which many of its leading men, of the past generation, received their education. In 1807, when grammar schools were at length founded, the Rev. John Strachan became the master of the Cornwall school. In that year he married a young and wealthy widow, who only died a short time before himself ; and received doctor's degrees from St. Andrews and Aberdeen Universities. At the instance of General Brock, who saw the great advantage of having such a successful practical educationist at the seat of government,\* Dr. Strachan was appointed Rector of York in 1812. There he established another prosperous school ; and laid the foundation of several of the educational institutions for which Toronto is now famous. In 1825, he was appointed archdeacon ; and in 1839 was created bishop of the new diocese of Toronto, by patent from the Crown. In 1836 he resigned his seat in the Executive Council ; and in 1840 also retired from the Legislative Council, and disappeared altogether from political life, in which he had been a conspicuous actor for twenty-two years. During that long period he was the foremost man in the ranks of the Family Compact ; subdued one governor after another to his sway, and wielded an influence possessed by no other person in the Province, not even excepting Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson. He commenced life by ruling boys : he finished it by ruling men. He left his impress for all time upon the Church of England in Ontario ; and to his strong will and dexterous management may be traced, for many years, a large part of the resolute opposition of the Legislative Council to popular measures ; and to the more liberal policy of the Lower House. He never rattled, never turned aside from his Family Compact friends ; struggled hard from first to last to make his church the national church of Canada, and to preserve the Clergy Reserves for its sole benefit, to be baffled and beaten in the end ; to learn from a greater " Preacher " than himself that life brings with it a sure harvest of disappointments, and that all is " vanity and vexation of spirit." For the ensuing twenty seven years, after his retirement from political life, he was simply the blameless and Christian bishop of his large diocese, and on the 2nd of November, 1867, finally crossed that bourne " whence no traveller returns " in the eighty-ninth year of his age.†

Dr. Strachan's remarkable success was achieved without the aid of either extensive learning or brilliant talent. His scant oppor-

\* When the war broke out in 1812, Toronto had, outside its garrison, scarcely a thousand inhabitants. After the war its population increased very slowly, and in 1820 did not exceed three thousand.

† Dr. Ryerson, his contemporary for so many years, said the Bishop had long outlived the jealousy of distinctions, and the enmity of parties, and had died regretted by all classes.—*Jour. of Ed.*

tunities could not have sufficed to make him a profound scholar ; nor did he attain to any celebrity in the other walks of literature. His "Sketches of Canada" had such slender success, that he never attempted anything again in the way of serious authorship. Nor were his pulpit discourses distinguished for their elegance of diction, or charm of style. His sermons, whatever may have been their intrinsic merit, were delivered with such a broad unmusical Scotch accent, as to make them particularly unpleasant to the natives of other countries beside his own. His success, therefore, must be sought in the fact, that he was a clever man of the world, a shrewd judge of human nature, and possessed of sufficient ability and tact to turn these qualities to the best account.

Now that the effervescence of Canadian politics before the union has settled down, and past occurrences can be calmly and impartially investigated, it is evident that whatever temporal benefit the Church of England in Ontario acquired for a time, in having its most distinguished member an active politician, this very circumstance, of itself, has inflicted a deep and lasting injury on its weal. The original agitation against the Clergy Reserves did not commence on religious grounds ; there was at first no dislike on the part of other Protestant Churches to the Church of England. The people simply complained that the Clergy Reserves, as well as the Crown Reserves and the wild lands of speculators, interfered with local and individual prosperity ; but there was nothing said about a State Church, nor the impolicy of endowing it so richly, to the detriment of other churches, till Dr. Strachan engaged openly in politics in 1818. But, as the dignitaries of the English Church allied themselves more and more closely with the members of the Family Compact, and were thus drawn deeper into the vortex of political squabbles, from which as ministers of the gospel they should have kept wholly aloof, an unreasonable feeling arose against the Church itself, as being despotic in its tendencies, and opposed to popular rights. Thus, to the course pursued by Dr. Strachan as a politician may, undoubtedly, in a great measure be traced the fact, that in no part of the British empire, nor in any other country, is the Church of England regarded with such hostile feelings by other Protestant denominations as in Ontario, and nowhere, certainly, has she lost the hearts of so many of her own members, who have gone to swell the ranks of contemporary creeds. The Church of England in Canada, as well as elsewhere, has secured to itself the advantage of a refined and well-educated ministry. Unfortunately its Ontario antecedents have militated seriously against its usefulness. The Clergy Reserves' agitation did it an enormous amount of mischief, sharpened and intensified in bitterness, as it was, by the unyielding opposition of Bishop Strachan. The question as to the exclusive right of the Church of England to the Clergy Reserves, was pointedly raised, early in 1819, by a petition from the Presbyterian inhabitants of the town of Niagara to Sir Peregrine Mait-

land, praying for a yearly grant of four hundred dollars, out of the Clergy Reserve fund, for the support of their clergymen, on the ground that the Church of Scotland was a Protestant Church, recognised by law. This claim the Lieutenant-Governor submitted to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst,\* stating, at the same time, that the Canadian law officers were of the opinion, that the words "Protestant Clergy," in the Act, only applied to the Church of England, thus very unfairly placing the Established Church of Scotland in the category of dissenters. The important issue thus raised, for the first time, was very leisurely considered; and the Lieutenant-Governor's despatch remained unanswered for over a year. "As to the right of Dissenting Protestant Ministers," said the Colonial Secretary in reply, "to partake of the lands directed by the Act 31 George III., Chap. 31, to be reserved as a provision for the support and maintenance of the Protestant Clergy, I have now to acquaint you that His Majesty's law officers are of opinion, that the provisions of that act are not confined solely to the Church of England, but may also be extended to the clergy of the Church of Scotland; yet they do not extend to Dissenting Ministers, since the terms Protestant Clergy can only apply to the Protestant Clergy recognised and established by law."†

Had Dr. Strachan gracefully submitted to this decision, which was unquestionably the true one in the premises, and consented to admit the Church of Scotland to a fair share of the Clergy Reserves, it would have gone far to disarm hostile action. When it was considered that nearly a third of all the lands granted by France before the Conquest went for the support of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada, independent of its tithes,‡ there was nothing unreasonable in the procedure that one-seventh of the public lands should be set apart for the support of Protestant Churches in Upper Canada. But Dr. Strachan did not submit to this decision; and he organised an opposition which pressed so strongly on the Home Government, that the matter was permitted to remain in abeyance. His policy, also, in other respects led to much dissatisfaction and even bad feeling. With him the Church of England was the only orthodox body. It absorbed all his affections, and in the narrowness of his mind he cared little for the prosperity of other Protestant creeds, no matter how wide or how beneficial their influence might be, and so never lifted a finger to remove the disabilities under which they laboured. Very few, comparatively, of the U. E. Loyalist exodus to Canada were members of the Church of England. They mostly belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, established by Wesley in the American colonies, or were Presbyterians or Congregationalists.—

\* Maitland's despatch, May 17th, 1819.

† Bathurst's despatch to Maitland, May 20th, 1830.

‡ *Vide* p. 280 of this volume.

Richard Cartwright,\* in 1793, estimated that only one-twentieth of the population belonged to the Church of England; and although a devout member of that church himself, he strongly protested against giving it the same exclusive political privileges it enjoyed in Britain. "Such a policy," said he, "is as short-sighted as it is illiberal; and however little it may be noticed at present, if persisted in and pushed very far, will unquestionably be sowing the seeds of civil discord, and perhaps laying the foundation of future revolutions." He also advocated the removal of all disabilities from other churches; and the passage of a new marriage act, which would permit the ministers of all denominations to perform the marriage ceremony; a right not afterwards granted until 1831.† Before that period ministers of the Churches of England and Scotland, of Lutherans and Calvinists, were alone permitted to perform the marriage ceremony in Upper Canada. The immigration into the Province after the war, especially from Ireland, was largely composed of members of the Church of England; but the dissenting bodies, then as now, continued to form the bulk of the population. If Dr. Strachan had acted in a true Christian spirit, and assisted to remove their disabilities, instead of opposing measures looking to that end, and behaved more wisely and charitably otherwise, he would have largely benefited the cause of true religion, and his own church as well; and disarmed much of the extreme opposition he encountered throughout his political career. When one contrasts the calm, and charitable, and eminently useful lives of the contemporary Bishops of Quebec and Montreal, men born and bred in the Church of England, with the political obstinacy and extreme course of Dr. Strachan, bred a Presbyterian, they will comprehend how little he understood the true temporal policy of the Anglican Church in this country. He knew nothing originally of its literature. From the time that he attached himself to its ministry he was either the overtasked schoolmaster, working at night to add to his slender stock of classical reading, so that he might be able to meet his more advanced classes next day,‡ or the bustling politician, who ruled the Executive and Legislative Councils a good deal as he ruled his own school. In an old and

\* The first Methodist preachers in Canada were officers of the army, who had become followers of Wesley in England. The real founders of Methodism in Canada were, however, Paul and Barbara Heck, of the Township of Augusta, in the County of Grenville, whose graves may still be seen at the Blue Church, three miles west of Prescott. When Upper Canada, in 1791, was created a Province, a Methodist Church was organised in connection with that in the United States. In 1812 there were nearly three thousand members in the two Canadas, and eighteen preachers. In 1891 the Methodist Church in Canada had increased to 233,868 members, with 1,718 ordained ministers and 2,142 local preachers, with Church property valued at \$11,597,491, and 14 Colleges and other educational institutions.

† Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright, pp. 52 and 53.

‡ Taylor's Last Three Bishops, p. 206.

settled form of society he could never have emerged from the average mass of humanity. Sharp, practical and clever, Canada was his true element. Everybody was beginning life ; there was nothing to keep him down ; where learning was a scarce article, a little went a long way. From the tutor of a farmer's children he rose to be the district schoolmaster, "passing rich on £30 a year"; another step forward and he was enveloped in the surplice of the Episcopal minister, By being a clergyman he became a politician ; by being a politician he became a bishop. Yet even as a politician he was neither original nor profound. He attached himself to a body already formed, and can only be regarded in the light of an active partisan. As a partisan his influence was secret and secure, rather than open and exposed ; of a depressing, rather than of an elevating, character. The Church of England, in Ontario, can never recover from the evils sustained by his short-sighted and impolitic sway. Whatever immediate advantages it may have derived from his worldly shrewdness, or business sagacity, were more than counterbalanced by the circumstance of its first Bishop being an active politician and partisan, and lacking that distinguished position in scholarship and literature, which its principal divines have almost invariably attained to.\*

The eighth Parliament of Upper Canada met, pursuant to proclamation, on the 31st of January, for the first time, and the Assembly chose Levius P. Sherwood, of Brockville, for speaker.—The Lieutenant-Governor opened the session with a precise and formal speech. He spoke of the accession of George IV., of the happy constitution of the Province, advised the Legislature to take measures to promote the interests of true religion, and alluded to the current of immigration now setting steadily into Upper Canada. Within the preceding two years forty new townships had been surveyed, and in a great measure granted on condition of actual settlement. But it appeared that the public finances of the Province were in a depressed condition, the militia pensions had been allowed to fall into arrear, and money was not forthcoming for various necessary purposes.

The debate on the "address," showed clearly the complexion of the House. It was evident that the majority sided with the Executive. The people, whatever might have been their hopes, had chosen the wrong men, as a rule, to carry out their views. It was plain that during the ensuing four years no enquiry of much moment would be made into the condition of the Province, and that the Executive might be as arbitrary as it thought proper. Still, there were many good business men in the House, and several useful acts were passed during the session. Among the principal of these was an act to establish a uniform currency throughout the Province ; another act granting a sum of money to aid the construction of the Rideau Canal ; and a third, enacting that no tithes or

\* See Taylor's life of Bishop Strachan.



ecclesiastical rate of any kind should ever be levied in Upper Canada.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 14th of April, and beyond a tour of the Lieutenant-Governor through several districts of the Province, the summer produced little of importance. Money continued scarce, despite the establishment of the Bank of Upper Canada ; business was dull ; and the prices of agricultural produce very low. Flour only rated from sixteen to twenty shillings currency per barrel, and wheat was almost unsaleable.\* The Legislature again assembled on the 21st of November. The opening speech referred to the difference with the Lower Province, as to the amount of duties it should refund to Upper Canada, and regretted that the principal source of revenue should thus be interrupted, to the detriment of the public works then in progress.

A vacancy having occurred in the representation of Lennox and Addington, during the recess, Barnabas Bidwell was returned. He had originally resided in Massachusetts, remained there after the termination of the War of Independence, took the oath of allegiance to the American Government, became attorney-general of the state, treasurer of the County of Buckshire, and was returned to Congress. Bidwell, however, was poor, and possibly temptation proved too strong for him. We find him accused, in 1810, of misapplication of the public moneys, making false entries to conceal the deed, and flying to Canada to escape a trial—a fact of itself that goes a long way to prove the truth of the charges preferred against him. He settled in the Midland District, where he taught school for some time in the village of Bath, took the oath of allegiance in 1812, and prepared the clever “Sketches of Canada” which appear in Gourlay’s work, and form its most valuable portion. He was the fast friend of the latter, became popular as a Reformer, a name by which the anti-Executive party now began to be characterised, and believing that his Massachusetts antecedents were not generally known, or, at least, partially forgotten, offered himself to the electors of Lennox and Addington, and was returned.

But Bidwell was mistaken in supposing that his past conduct was not remembered. His election was immediately petitioned against, on the grounds of his being a person of immoral character—a fugitive from justice, and having taken the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States. An agent was now despatched to Massachusetts, who easily obtained copies of his indictment, and positive proofs of his flight on a warrant having been issued for his apprehension. Bidwell defended himself with great tact and skill. He contended that the charges against him in Massachusetts originated solely with his political enemies ; at all events, as there had been no conviction, the House should not assume the fact of his guilt without a trial. With regard to the oath of allegiance, he maintained that it only embraced the period

\* *Brockville Recorder*, 10th July, 1821.

of his residence in the United States, and did not disqualify him from taking a like oath in this country. But his defence was unavailing. His support of Gourlay and his eloquence had already made him obnoxious to the Family Compact, and every effort was now made to crush him. He was very properly expelled the House, after an unusually long debate, but by a majority of only one, seventeen voting for the motion of expulsion, and sixteen against it.\* A new writ was accordingly issued for Lennox and Addington, and a Mr. Clark elected this time by a majority of one hundred and thirteen. Bidwell's son, Marshall Spring Bidwell, who offered himself as a candidate, was objected to on the ground of his being an alien and his nomination set aside. He was elected, however, at a later period, and became a prominent personage in the arena of Canadian politics.

The case of Bidwell was a novel one, and to prevent a recurrence of anything of the kind, an act was passed, on the 17th of January, making persons in his position ineligible to a seat in the Assembly. This act, however, being too oppressive on 1822. American immigrants, was afterwards repealed in 1824, and a new act passed, which made a residence of seven years the condition of eligibility to membership in the Assembly, on the part of foreigners who had taken the oath of allegiance to their former governments. At the same time, it continued the disqualification of persons who had held any of the principal public offices of the United States. As Bidwell had been attorney-general for Massachusetts this clause effectually shut him out from the Assembly.

Owing to the statement in the Lieutenant-Governor's speech, with regard to the differences with Lower Canada on the matter of revenue, the Legislature determined to send the attorney-general as its agent to England, to press its claims on the attention of the Crown and Imperial Parliament, and voted \$8,000 to defray his expenses and remunerate him for the service. After the transaction of some general business the House was prorogued on the 17th of January.

This year was an uneventful one as regarded Upper Canada.—Despite the continued scarcity of money, the country was steadily progressing in population and in agricultural and commercial prosperity. Steamboats were now in general use on the rivers and principal lakes, and gave a vast impetus to commerce; but down the rapids of the St. Lawrence, below Prescott to Montreal, the old Durham, or flat-bottomed, boat alone continued to descend, to be frequently abandoned at the end of the voyage, or sold for whatever it would bring, as the expense of dragging it back against the current would exceed its value. A high tariff and a lax revenue department led, as hitherto, to a vast amount of smuggling from the adjoining districts of the United States, which had a most baneful effect on the morals of many of the trading community, and

\* See Debates in Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada, and Journals of the House for 1821.

produced considerable disorder in the Province otherwise. Among other commodities, large quantities of lumber were in this way introduced into Quebec and Montreal markets for shipment to England, to the detriment of the Canadian lumbermen, who were loud in their denunciations. Banks had now been established in all the principal towns, but the benefit derived from them was neutralised, in no small degree, by the great number of bad bills put into circulation by American counterfeiters. Farm produce of every kind continued to bring unremunerative prices, so the growth of hemp remained a matter of attention with the agricultural community; and the advantages of the culture of tobacco, in the western peninsula, began to be considered. Agricultural societies had been already established in some districts, and aided in no small degree in improving the modes of tillage, still in a very imperfect state. Even in well-cleared districts the rudest description of bush farming was yet adhered to; and the ploughs and other agricultural implements were entirely unequal to the necessities of the farmer. Labour-saving machines were still unknown, and the products of the fertile glebe continued to be won by the sturdy efforts of manual toil alone.

Towards the close of this year, the proposed union with Lower Canada created a good deal of agitation, and public meetings were held at which resolutions were passed for and against it. The general feeling, however, was decidedly in favour of the measure, as a whole; but some of its provisions were strongly objected to, particularly that raising the property qualification for members of the Assembly from £80 to £500. This clause, it was said, would disqualify one-fourth of the sitting members.\*

The Legislature assembled on the 15th of January. The Lieutenant-Governor's speech on the occasion, beyond congratulating the House of Assembly on the success of its agent in England, in procuring the passage of the "Canada Trade Act," presents no features of importance. The addresses from both Houses, in reply, were mere re-echoes of the speech itself.

During the session a petition was presented from a large body of the freeholders of Lennox and Addington, praying that the recent election might be set aside, in consequence of the younger Bidwell having been illegally prevented from contesting it. The petition assumed the ground that Marshall Spring Bidwell was a British subject by birth, having been born in Massachusetts while still a colony of Great Britain, and never having taken the oath of allegiance to any other government. Bidwell was heard at the bar of the House as counsel for the petitioners; and the matter was brought up for final consideration on the 17th of February, when it was decided by a considerable majority that the election was void and a new writ should be issued. Bidwell was subsequently defeated, after a sharply-contested election, in which the whole weight

\* Resolutions passed at a meeting in Brockville in October 1822.

of the Family Compact was brought to bear in favour of his opponent, Ham, a supporter of the ruling party, whose return, however, was alleged to be illegal, on the ground that the poll was closed too soon. With the exception that provision was made for assizes twice a year in the more populous districts, there is little remarkable to distinguish the legislation of this session, which terminated on the 19th of March.

During summer the project of the Welland Canal was brought before the public in a tangible shape, principally through the exertions of William Hamilton Merritt, of the Niagara district, who, from first to last, occupied a prominent position in connection with this great national work, which has done so much for the prosperity of Canada. The son of a U. E. Loyalist, Mr. Merritt served as an officer in the cavalry militia during the war of 1812 to 1814, and thus aided to preserve his country from the grasp of covetous American Democracy. But he ardently desired to serve Canada in peaceful as well as warlike pursuits, and all its great projects of internal improvement found in him a firm supporter. The Welland Canal forms a lasting monument to his memory, and if he never had accomplished anything else, its inception would alone suffice to give him an honourable place in the annals of his country.\*

Beyond the agitation of this project, the journals of Upper Canada, at this period, record little domestic news of importance. Among their items we find that Maitland amused himself by excursions through the Province, and drew for his travelling expenses on the Receiver-General; and that the presence of distress in Ireland sent many settlers hither, who were mostly located on free lands in the new townships on the Ottawa. As winter approached, the public mind was a good deal moved by the prospect of an approaching election, in which it was evident that the Reform Party would make a strong effort to obtain a majority in the House of Assembly. A decided feeling was setting in against the Family Compact. As time progressed, it became more and more plain that Maitland was the mere tool of this party, which now monopolised every post of honour and profit in the country. The opposition press, however, was remarkably quiet, having evidently the fear of Government prosecutions before its eyes, and there being no editor belonging to it possessed of sufficient talent and courage to take the lead.

The Legislature assembled on the 11th of November. From the opening speech of the Lieutenant-Governor it would appear that a spirit of contentment and obedience to the laws was now the characteristic of Upper Canadian society, and that the country was slowly recovering from the reaction caused by the termination of the war. But the revenue was still very far from being in a flourishing

\* Mr. Merritt first conceived the idea of this canal while riding along the frontier during the war. In 1822 he presented a draft of the scheme to the Government.

condition. He concluded by alluding to the cordial intercourse subsisting between the two Houses. The addresses in reply were couched in the customary complimentary strain. That from the Legislative Council was signed by its speaker, still Chief Justice William Dummer Powell.

This session of the Legislature was distinguished by the effort, now made for the first time, to allow ministers of the Methodist persuasion to solemnise marriage. A bill to that effect was passed in the Assembly, but rejected in the Upper House. An earnest step was also taken towards securing a portion of the Clergy Reserves for the Presbyterian body, on the ground that these lands having been set apart for Protestants, and the Church of Scotland being acknowledged as such by the Statute Book of England, it had therefore a legal claim to its just proportion. An address based upon this principle was voted to the Imperial Parliament, alone competent to decide the issue thus raised, the Reserves provision being a part of the constitutional charter of 1791, which the local Legislature had no power to alter. In the course of the session the election for Lennox and Addington was again declared void, and the sitting member, Ham, unseated on the ground that the poll had been closed too soon; the Welland Canal Company incorporated, with a capital of \$160,000; and provision made for taking the first census of Upper Canada. A fruitless effort was made to secure the passage of a law prohibiting Orange processions, now becoming common, in many parts of the Province, on the 12th of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. These processions gave no small annoyance to the Irish Roman Catholic portion of the community; and their suppression was therefore deemed desirable. As yet, however, they had been conducted with order and decorum, and even Dr. Strachan did not hesitate to preach the annual July sermon. Orangemen mainly came into the country with the North of Ireland immigrants; but its first lodge in Canada was formed, at Brockville, by Wexford and Wicklow men, under the auspices of Ogle R. Gowan, editor for many years of the *Brockville Statesman*,\* and who was afterwards frequently elected to Parliament. He was a man of ability, a fluent speaker, and a good newspaper writer; but, although an ultra loyalist, he never harmonised with the Brockville Sherwoods, and the Joneses, and the other leading Family Compact lights, so numerous in that great stronghold of their party. And bitter war was frequently waged between the Gowanites on one hand, and the Family Compact people on the other. The latter could not brook that a mere immigrant, recently arrived in the country, should acquire the influence and authority with the people which

\* The *Statesman* was first issued about 1826. Its publication was discontinued in 1854, when it was purchased by a company mainly started by the late Hon. Geo. Sherwood, and merged into the *Brockville Monitor*. Gowan had then removed to Toronto, became license inspector for that city, and died there.



they regarded as their birthright. But Gowan and Orangemen had come to stay, to the great chagrin of their opponents of all classes and shades of opinion. Number one Orange Lodge still exists at Brockville, and has during its lifetime witnessed the disappearance of every member of the local Family Compact, as well as of almost all their descendents. Their very names in many cases, have been wholly blotted from the people's memory ; and their spacious homes have passed into the possession of the plebeians they so contemptuously looked down upon in their day.—Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of January, and the 1824. winter passed away without producing any event of note, with the exception of the failure of the Kingston Bank, which had been fraudulently managed, and now caused no small loss and inconvenience in the Midland District.

The writs for a general election were issued in the latter part of June, and made returnable on the 19th of August following. Much excitement ensued, and although it was the busy season of the year, with the farming community, a very full vote was polled.—Hitherto not only had the Family Compact usually the numerical majority in the Assembly, but also the greater part of its debating and business talent as well. A change had now taken place in both respects. The Reform Party had not only managed to secure a small majority in the Assembly, but had also elected several very able leaders of their party. Foremost among these was Marshall Spring Bidwell, an excellent lawyer, an eloquent speaker, and a prudent and cautious man for a young one, but a republican at heart. His colleague, in Lennox and Addington, was burly Peter Perry, so widely known in Upper Canada in his day and generation ; a rough rustic diamond, unpolished by education, brought up on a farm, when public schools were few and far between, and very poor ones at the best. The son of a U. E. Loyalist, he was a man of the people, with whom his rude and ready eloquence gave him a large influence, and a great friend of the Bidwells—father and son.

But the most able and brilliant Reformer elected was unquestionably John Rolph. He was born at the market town of Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, England, on the 4th of March, 1793, and was the second son in a family of eighteen children.—His father, Thomas Rolph, was a physician of some local repute, who considering England too small a country to enable him to provide for his numerous progeny, emigrated to Canada in 1808. His son took part in the recent war, was for some time paymaster of his corps, was taken prisoner by the enemy but very soon exchanged. He shortly afterwards went to England, entered one of the colleges at Cambridge, and after graduating there became a student at law, in London, and in due time was called to the bar of the Inner Temple. He returned to Canada, and settled in the County of Norfolk, which then formed part of the Talbot district. He took the popular side during the Gourlay prosecutions,

and strongly condemned the treatment suffered by the Bidwells. At once a brilliant and eloquent speaker, firm in opinion and logical in argument, he made many converts to his own way of thinking, and became so popular that he was brought out by the Reformers of Middlesex, and returned with his colleague, Captain Matthews, a retired officer of the Royal Artillery, who had become disgusted with Family Compact rule, at the head of the poll.—Shortly after the elections the first Reform Association was established at Toronto. It embraced, among others, Doctor William W. Baldwin, his son Robert, and William Lyon Mackenzie.

The summer was distinguished by the formation, under an Imperial charter, of the Canada Land Company, a corporation at first productive of benefit, but subsequently of injury, to the Province. It commenced its operations by buying up vast tracts of the Clergy Reserves and Crown lands at low prices, which it sold again in small lots at a large advance. It was, in short, a huge land monopoly; and, like all monopolies, has proved an injury to this country precisely in proportion to its extent. Thus, without once asking the consent of the Upper Canadian Parliament, a vast quantity of our soil was withdrawn from public purposes, and passed into the hands of private speculators of the London Stock Exchange.

The new year opened with public disaster. On one of 1825. the first days of January the Parliament building at Toronto was burned down, but fortunately the library and furniture were saved. The loss to the Province was estimated at \$8,000, a modest sum, which would be entirely insufficient for the erection of many buildings for public school purposes now existing in Canada.

Parliament was convened on the 11th of January, and a good deal of interest was excited as to the composition of the Assembly. The election of speaker tested the strength of the respective parties. John Wilson, of Wentworth, was chosen by a Reform majority of two, the vote standing twenty-one to nineteen. A plain farmer, but a man of sound common sense, calm, temperate, and dispassionate, his election was a popular one with his party. The Family Compact was at length in a minority. The Reformers, however, proceeded warily. The address in reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's speech was agreed to unanimously, and couched in as complimentary language as he could desire. Still it was evident that Maitland felt an apprehension of approaching trouble. He forgot to make his usual gracious reply to the Assembly, an honour vouchsafed to the Upper House. The long shadows of Canadian Radicalism were already settling down on his administration, and the *Colonial Advocate*, controlled by William Lyon Mackenzie, sadly disturbed his prospects of dignified repose with pungent diatribes on packed juries and government abuses, though as yet warily expressed. Even then the clouds were gathering for the storm of 1838.

Mackenzie had been only a short time in the country, where he arrived in 1820, just at the close of the Gourlay agitation. He was destined to exercise no small influence on the political future of Canada, and was indirectly one of its more important stepping-stones to the large measure of liberity and self-government which its people now enjoy. Descended from a poor Highland family of Perthshire, who, like the rest of their clan, cherished a strong affection for the Stuart dynasty, his paternal grandfather, Colin Mackenzie, joined the standard of the Pretender in 1745, and after the fatal battle of Culloden fled with him to the Continent. His mother was also a Mackenzie of the same clan ; and the old family Bible records that she was married to Daniel, on the 8th of May, 1794, at Dundee. Their circumstances were of the most humble kind, and Daniel earned his daily bread as a weaver. William Lyon, their only child, was born in March, 1795, and twenty-seven days afterwards lost his father in consequence of a severe cold contracted at a dancing party. Belonging to the strict Seceder Presbyterians, the widow, a woman of strong nerve and resolute will, sought to imbue her son's mind, as he grew up, with her own fervid religious impressions, and to give him the the best education that her poverty, which at times extended to a want of the actual necessities of life, would permit. If she failed in a religious point of view, she succeeded in storing his mind with a vast mass of general information, and an ardent love of liberty. But the latitude allowed him as an only child, by his widowed mother, gave Mackenzie an erratic and restless turn of mind, which seriously militated against him in after life. After leaving school we find him, for a short time, an apprentice in a draper's shop in Dundee ; next an articulated clerk in the counting-room of a timber merchant of the name of Gray ; and at the early age of nineteen, he appears in the small town of Alyth as the proprietor of a little shop of odds and ends and a circulating library, to become a bankrupt in the short period of three years. In the spring of 1817, he crossed the Tweed into England, became clerk for a brief space for the Kennett and Avon Canal Company, then filled a similar office for a while in London, and finally emigrated to Canada in April, 1820. His course in this country was equally as erratic and uncertain as it had been in Scotland. Of slender frame, and only five feet six inches in stature, his massive head, bald from early fever, and high and broad in the frontal region, looked far too large for the small body it surmounted. His eye clear and piercing, his firm set Scotch mouth, his chin long and broad, and the general contour of his features, made up a countenance indicative of strong will and great resolution, while the ceaseless activity of his fingers, and the perpetual twitching of the lower part of his face, betrayed that restlessness and nervousness of disposition which so darkly clouded his existence.

For a brief period Mackenzie was employed in some subordinate capacity in connection with the survey of the Lachine Canal. We

next find him keeping a small drug store in Toronto, and after a short stay there he removed to Dundas, where he and John Leslie entered into partnership to carry on the drug business, to which was added hardware, groceries, paints and dye-stuffs, as well as a circulating library. This partnership only lasted, from some cause, for fifteen months, when Mackenzie removed to Niagara. At this place he opened a general store on his own account, but, still unstable as water, he abandoned this enterprise within a year, became a public journalist, and, on the 18th of May, 1824, issued the first number of the *Colonial Advocate*, containing thirty-two octavo pages. In it he describes himself as an independent editor, neither rich nor in want; and gave an amusing exhibition of his eccentricity by publishing twelve hundred copies without having as yet obtained a single subscriber. Its topics were varied, widely dissimilar, as might naturally be expected, and tinged with no small portion of egotism. He declared himself a Calvinist in religion, and his adherence to the Westminster Confession; approved the wisdom of the British Legislature in setting apart the Clergy Reserves for the support of the Protestant religion, but demurred to their being monopolised by the Church of England. The Executive, the Bench, the Bar, the Church, were criticised in turn, and in some cases most unfavourably. Sir Peregrine Maitland was unpleasantly contrasted with De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York State; the Legislative Council was designated as the "tool of a servile power;" while the Church and the Bar were not in the satisfactory state they should be. Finally, he averred that the Imperial Union Bill of 1818 had been rightly rejected, and the union of all the British-American provinces the only desirable one.

The very first issue of the *Advocate* awoke the greatest alarm in the Family Compact. Another prying Scotchman of the Gourlay stamp had come to disturb its repose, and its organ suggested that he should forthwith be banished from the Province, and the whole edition of his paper confiscated. To the charge of disloyalty Mackenzie responded, by publishing an amusing autobiography of himself, after the fashion of Cobbett, soundly berating, at the same time, Fothergill, editor of the *York Observer*, and a member of the Assembly, and John Beverley Robinson, and declaring "that he would rather work for his bread than submit to the official fungi of the country, more numerous and pestilential than the marshes and quagmires that encircle Toronto." But the storm of censure which had met the Executive for its arbitrary conduct in the case of Gourlay, was too recent, and too keenly remembered, to permit of a similar course being pursued towards Mackenzie. Beyond threats and abuse from the Family Compact organ, no attempt was made to injure him for the present. After issuing his *Advocate* two or three times, he adopted the broadsheet as the most convenient form for a public journal, and in the November following removed to Toronto, where he speedily became noted as a grievance-monger, and a keen hunter-up of abuses in the various public

departments. The Assembly was only a few weeks in session when his petition on the subject of disorders in the Post-Office department was brought up by Matthews and McCall, two Reform members of the chamber. His allegations were supported by the investigations of a committee. It was proved that the mail bags were often filled with goods, letters opened and mis-sent, and that it would be advisable the Provincial, instead of the Imperial, Government should have control of this department.

This session of Parliament was decidedly a talking one. After sitting till the 13th of April only seven bills had been passed, and, to make matters yet more uncomfortable, the annual Supply Bill, not coming up to the estimate, shared the fate of similar bills in Lower Canada, being thrown out by the Upper House. Although the finances of the Province were still in a depressed condition, it saw no necessity for retrenchment. The first Reform Assembly did not bid fair by any means for popularity. The people's bill for legislation was even heavier than usual, and the Family Compact declared that less value had been given in return. This accusation aroused discussion, and it was shown that the estimates had been cut down most properly. The attorney-general, for instance, was not content with his regular stipend, and swelled up his income by charging the public with the rent of his private office, travelling expenses, legal advice to the Lieutenant-Governor, and so forth. All these charges, and many more like them, had been included in the estimates, although having no lawful business whatever to be there.

Summer passed rapidly away without producing disaster to dim its pleasant sunshine, or matter for the pen of the annalist. The Legislature was again convened on the 7th of November. The opening speech and the addresses in reply were longer than usual, more carefully prepared, and appeared to give satisfaction to all parties. Maitland now made a courteous response to the address of the Assembly, and soon after sent it a message, pursuant to instructions from the Colonial Office, recommending that a more liberal provision be made for the naturalisation of foreigners of every description. A bill was accordingly passed for this purpose, but rejected in the Legislative Council. Resolutions were also agreed to on the expediency of excluding judges from the Executive Council, and rendering them independent of the Crown by appointment during good conduct, as in England. An address founded on these resolutions was voted to the King.

During this session thirty-one acts were passed, one of which made provision for a bounty of \$500 to every person establishing a paper mill. But eighteen other bills were thrown out by the Legislative Council, among which was one repealing the Sedition Act, under which Gourelay had been turned out of the country. This caused a very unpleasant feeling to spread abroad. The Family Compact still held firm possession of the Legislative Council ; it also continued to grasp the entire Executive



control, although defeated on every important vote in the Assembly. The estimates laid before the House showed that the expenses for the current year would amount to \$121,412, the revenue to \$144,240. Upper Canada was now in a condition to support its own Civil List, and to release the Crown from all burdens on its account, presuming that due economy were exercised.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 30th of January, the usual appropriation having been first granted for the public service. In a few weeks afterwards the Lieutenant-Governor made a tour through a portion of the Province, and was met in every direction with very flattering addresses, chiefly concocted, however, by friends of the Executive. In several instances these addresses were condemned by the opposition newspapers, as not correctly conveying the sentiments of the community, and for dishonestly censuring the House of Assembly.

Steamers had now become numerous on the lakes and rivers of Upper Canada; the construction of the Welland Canal was being rapidly pushed forward; and the building of the St. Lawrence Canals had begun to be seriously agitated. Despite the very general depression in financial matters, the Province was steadily progressing. The population had increased to nearly one hundred and seventy thousand souls; while the continued stream of immigration was fast filling up the new townships.

Beyond the discussion caused by the rejection of the Alien Bill in the Legislative Council, which refused to pass it without amendments destroying its more important features, there seems to have been very little political agitation of any description at this period. Although disliked for his reserved manners, and for surrendering himself completely to the influence of the Family Compact, the Lieutenant-Governor was generally respected. The public mind, as a rule, was contented, and the prevailing desire was to obtain redress of existing evils solely by constitutional methods.—As yet the idea of Responsible Government had not resolved itself into a precise form, as a public question, although, doubtless, it was already entertained by many individuals.

In those days comparatively few of the people read newspapers, which did not, therefore, by any means exercise the influence on the public mind that they do at the present day. The postage on a weekly newspaper amounted to four shillings a year, payable quarterly in advance. Post-offices were few and far between, and postmasters exceedingly lax in the performance of their duties. The pungent editorials of Mackenzie, owing to these causes, and to their being regarded as too caustic and violent, were very little felt in the community. His affairs, consequently, were far from being in a flourishing condition,\* and he made up his mind to discontinue the publication of the *Advocate*, and was seriously meditating

\* Canada as it Was, &c., vol. i. p. 121. Life and Times of Mackenzie, p. 74. Dent's Rebellion, vol. i. p. 130.

a removal to Montreal or the United States, when, during a temporary absence from home, his printing office was broken into by nine young men of respectable standing, mostly all connected with leading Family Compact people, who had taken offence at his writings, and completely wrecked, two magistrates looking coolly on. This event at once gave him a most opportune notoriety ; and had the Government countenanced the act, in any way, his popularity would have been still greater. The Lieutenant-Governor chanced to be absent from Toronto at the time, and on his return promptly expressed his disapproval of the outrage, and at once dismissed one of the clerks of his own office who had acted as a sort of leader on the occasion : with the remainder of the rioters the law was quietly allowed to take its course. Maitland's conduct in this matter gave general satisfaction to the public. For the moment he became decidedly popular ; and Mackenzie had not as yet the opportunity of becoming a political martyr. He sued the aggressors for damages, and on the 30th of October, despite all the eloquence of Hagerman, obtained from a special jury at Toronto a verdict in his favour for \$2,500 damages and costs.\* The suit, however, was brought for \$8,000, on the ground that the stoppage of his printing business occasioned him additional loss. A subscription was set on foot to pay the verdict against the rioters, and the greater part of the necessary sum was raised by this means. The parties thus escaped due punishment for the offence, a circumstance which produced a good deal of public indignation, and increased the hostile feeling against the Family Compact. This feeling was deepened, in no small degree, by subsequent occurrences. The young men who had deliberately committed the outrage in the open day, as if they sought to set all public opinion at complete defiance, were regarded by their Patrician friends, in Toronto and elsewhere, as heroes who had done some meritorious service to the state. When the people's wrath had somewhat subsided, and it was deemed the proceeding could be safely taken, several of the rioters were placed in important and lucrative positions by the Government. Jarvis, their leader, son-in-law of ex-Chief Justice Powell,† at once got a good post, and was eventually created Indian Commissioner, to become, however, a defaulter ; Richardson, a law student in the office of the attorney-general, was appointed clerk of the peace for the Niagara District ; and Captain Lyons, Maitland's dismissed clerk, was made registrar of the same district ; while Colonel Fitzgibbon, who collected the money to pay their damages, was appointed clerk to the Assembly, to the great disgust of the Reform members. As these appointments could not be made without the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor, the credit which attached to

\* Mackenzie subsequently admitted that the actual damage to his office was not very great, and that he had overestimated it. *Vide* Life and Times of Mackenzie, p. 101.

† Powell ceased to be Chief Justice in 1825, and was succeeded by William Campbell.

his original dismissal of Lyons was diminished in no small degree. Although Mackenzie at first felt disposed to prosecute the rioters criminally, he was eventually dissuaded by Bidwell, who had ably conducted his civil action, from taking a step of this character, which the public would not fail to regard as being dictated by feelings of revenge. The partial destruction of his printing office had made him largely the gainer, both in pocket and popularity.— In a pecuniary point of view the liberal verdict of the jury was a fortunate circumstance for him. It enabled him to pay his debts, to provide himself with new printing material, and to resume, towards the close of the year, the publication of the *Advocate* under more favourable auspices than ever. It continued, however, to be marked by the same characteristics as formerly; and was just as indiscreet, as extreme in its language, and as personal in its censure as ever. Had it been conducted with a judgment equal to its energy, it would have been a power for good; but even as it was it acted as a check, in no small degree, on Executive aggression, and thus served a beneficial purpose.

The Legislature again assembled on the 5th of December. In his speech the Lieutenant-Governor alluded to the satisfactory progress of the Province, the advanced state of its great public works, and the prosperous and contented condition of the people, all which he had personally witnessed during his recent tour. The address from the Assembly directly censured his conduct, in receiving and replying to addresses, during that very tour, which reflected on its body. Maitland retorted by declaring, that in this procedure it had departed from the courtesy usual on such occasions, and stoutly maintained he had acted correctly in the premises.— Trouble was evidently brewing. A commons with sufficient courage to censure a Lieutenant-Governor was a new thing in Upper Canada. While the Family Compact retained a majority in the House such an occurrence had never been known.

Apart from this squabble the session passed smoothly over.

Several bills were enacted. Among these was a Naturalisation Act, which was reserved, however, by the Executive for the pleasure of the King, by whom it was rejected, much to the gratification of the bulk of the people of Upper Canada, who thoroughly disliked it, owing to its illiberal provisions. Among others who denounced this bill was Robert Gourlay, still confined in a house of correction in London, for having assaulted Mr. Brougham in the lobby of the House of Commons, and being also insane, and who continued at lucid intervals to correspond with the Upper Canadian press. As the year progressed, considerable discussion was excited owing to the exclusive claims to the Clergy Reserves put forward on behalf of the Church of England, and the right of Presbyterians to a share therein being very strongly urged by friends of the Kirk, led by William Morris, member for Lanark in the Assembly. The naturalisation question, also, was very actively discussed at public meetings and by the press: and it was evident

that the agitation on this matter must speedily compel its settlement.

In May an occurrence took place at Niagara Falls, which created a good deal of public feeling. A reserve of one chain in breadth, along the bank of the river, had been retained by the Crown for military purposes. This reservation was expressly stated in the deeds to parties holding the adjoining lands.\* A person of the name of Forsyth, however, who then owned the principal inn at the Falls, and considerable landed property in the neighbourhood, enclosed the Crown reservation. This act was immediately protested against by many of the neighbouring residents, who petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor against the encroachment on the public domain, and particularly as it left no passage open to see a part of the Falls but one through Forsyth's own house. Captain Phillpots, the engineer officer who had the district in charge, was accordingly ordered to see that this space was kept open; and as Forsyth refused several times to remove the fence, he directed it to be pulled down.

This conduct was loudly protested against by the Reform press, eager to seize upon anything to the prejudice of an Executive it disliked. If Forsyth, it was urged, had taken improper possession of the ground, he should be ejected by due course of law, and not by military violence. This would most undoubtedly have been the wiser course, as Forsyth was afterwards beaten in two suits, brought to recover damages from Phillpots and another person for trespass. His pretensions to the ground in dispute were likewise set aside by an action against him for intrusion, which resulted in favour of the Crown, and chiefly on the evidence of a surveyor named Jones, who had made the original survey. The course pursued by the Executive on this occasion was censured by the Home Government.†

The Legislature assembled on the 15th of January; and the Lieutenant-Governor made his speech to an unusually thin House. In the Assembly some difficulty was experienced 1828. in collecting a quorum for the despatch of business, which was not surmounted till the 18th. It was the last session of the eighth Parliament of the Province, and members appeared to be very indifferent whether they attended or not. To judge from the newspapers of the day, many of them were too busy in canvassing for the next general election to pay much attention to legislative matters.

As the session progressed, the ill-feeling towards Maitland evidently increased. His appointment of a clerk to the Assembly was regarded by that body as an interference with its privileges.—Forsyth had petitioned the House for redress, and the committee selected to investigate his case thought proper to summon

\* Chief-Justice Robinson to Colonel Rowan, 31st Dec. 1832.

† Sir G. Murray's Despatch to Sir John Colborne, 20th of Oct. 1828.

Adjutant-General Coffin, and Colonel Givens, superintendent of Indian affairs, to give evidence. Maitland directed them not to obey the mandate, on the ground that the application for their attendance should have been made in the first place to him as their superior military officer. A warrant was accordingly issued by the Assembly for their apprehension for contempt. Coffin denied admission to the sergeant-at-arms, but the latter finally broke open the door with an axe, made him a prisoner, as well as Givens, and both, persisting in their refusal to give evidence, were committed to the common gaol, where they remained till the House was prorogued. The committee reported in favour of Forsyth's petition, recommended that he should be remunerated for the loss of his crops caused by the destruction of his fence, and denounced the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor as altogether too arbitrary.

A good deal of bitter discussion took place with regard to the Clergy Reserves, and a more decided opposition was shown to the admission of the Church of England's claims to their sole possession. A Naturalisation Bill was at length passed of a more liberal and satisfactory character, especially as regarded Canadian-born children of American aliens, which was reserved, nevertheless, for the consideration of the Home Government, and subsequently, on the 8th of May, assented to by the King in council. A cause of prolonged agitation was thus finally removed. The annual Supply Bill having been voted, the Legislature was prorogued on the 25th of March.

Four days after Parliament had risen, Maitland sent a despatch to the Home Government, detailing the circumstances of the Forsyth difficulty, but in a very one-sided way. The Colonial Secretary was shrewd enough to see through the evident misrepresentation which pervaded the despatch; and came to the conclusion "that the Lieutenant-Governor would have exercised a sounder discretion, had he permitted the officers to appear before the Assembly," and that the civil and not the military power should have been invoked to dispossess Forsyth. He also came to the further conclusion that Maitland had better be removed from Upper Canada, and he was accordingly appointed to the government of Nova Scotia. This action of the Home Government was not taken a moment too soon. Party spirit was now becoming more and more vindictive and intense. A young man named Francis Collins, a Roman Catholic Irishman, a printer by trade, had in 1822 applied for the vacant post of King's Printer, which was in the gift of the Lieutenant-Governor, to be curtly told that the office would only be conferred on a gentleman. Collins was a man of unquestionable ability, and deeply resented the insult he had received. Up to this time he had taken no part in politics, but now became the bitter foe of the Executive, and, while reporting the proceedings of Parliament as before, watched for an opportunity to strike it with effect. In 1825 he succeeded in founding the *Freeman*, a weekly Radical newspaper which displayed



no small vigour and ability, but very frequently, like Mackenzie's *Advocate*, disfigured by coarseness and bad taste. For three years he followed up the short-comings of the Executive with ceaseless vigilance, and became a veritable thorn in the flesh to Maitland and his attorney-general. It was at length resolved to crush him in some way, and the Lieutenant-Governor, accordingly, refused to pay him the sum of \$454 voted him by the Assembly for reporting its proceedings. Collins was poor, but he managed somehow to keep his *Freeman* in existence. He told the story of the pitiful and unworthy persecution, commented on it in the bitterest vein, and charged Maitland with partiality, injustice and fraud, in not paying him his honest claim. For this statement a criminal prosecution was instituted against him at the spring assizes. A similar prosecution was also begun, on the information of Solicitor General Boulton, for injurious statements made in the *Freeman*, with regard to his connection with a duel, in 1817, between S. P. Jarvis and John Ridout, in which the latter was killed. Two additional bills were found against him for other libels, on all of which he gave bail. Collins then retorted by demanding permission from the court, presided over by a new judge named Willis, to prosecute Jarvis and Ridout for murder, as well as the rioters who had wrecked Mackenzie's office. Permission was granted, to the infinite disgust of Attorney-General Robinson ; and true bills were found in all the cases. Jarvis and Ridout were acquitted by the jury, but the rioters were all found guilty ; and Judge Willis, in consideration of the heavy damages given in the civil action, only inflicted the nominal penalty of five shillings each. But the court recommended that the Crown should abandon all further prosecutions, and the attorney-general agreed not to press the cases against Collins during the present assizes, and intimated that if he exhibited a proper sense of his duty as the publisher of a newspaper in the future, the prosecutions would be abandoned altogether. The "future" conduct of Collins, however, did not satisfy the attorney-general, who had him put on his trial for one libel at the autumn assizes, with the result that he was acquitted by the jury. But Collins' narrow escape had not taught him wisdom. In reporting his own trial, he accused the attorney-general of "falsehood and native malignancy ;" was indicted and tried for the offence before Judge Sherwood ; found guilty ; and sentenced to pay a fine of \$200, to be imprisoned for one year, to find sureties to keep the peace for three years, and to stand committed until all these conditions should be complied with. It was a severe sentence, and out of all proportion to the offence. The public sympathised with Collins, and his fine was paid by subscription. But he still remained in gaol ; and the feeling of hostility against the Executive became wider and deeper. This feeling was increased by the course of the Government towards Judge Willis, sent out from England in the preceding year. He did not understand very well the social and political element in which he

was placed ; and he and the attorney-general speedily came to dislike one another. This feeling was deepened by Willis' course during the Collins' trials, and the Family Compact now determined to sacrifice him on the first opportunity. His refusal to sit in term, at Toronto, in June, as he held that the court could not be legally constituted without the presence of Chief Justice Campbell, then in England, offering the desired occasion, he was suspended from his office by Maitland. Hagerman was temporarily appointed to the vacant post, an arrangement, however, which did not meet the approval of the Home Government, and Macauley got the judgeship. The news of Willis's deposition spread rapidly through the Province, and caused much excitement. Rolph and the Baldwins had endorsed his refusal to sit in term ; and the people accordingly supposed he had been driven from the bench because he would not stoop to corruption, and declined to become the tool of the Family Compact. Meetings were held to sympathise with him ; and numerous signed petitions, in his favour, were sent to the King. Willis went home to England, to find that several charges had been preferred against him by Maitland.—After waiting for a whole year the judgment of the Privy Council was, that he had acted wrong in refusing to sit in term, and that the Lieutenant-Governor had not exceeded his authority in removing him. As his conduct, however, simply arose from an error in judgment, he was appointed to a judgeship in Demarara. The Family Compact had again triumphed.

These occurrences had a considerable influence on the elections, which took place in the autumn. The Reformers swept the Province from end to end, and Mackenzie was returned for the County of York. Maitland's reign closed in a storm of unpopularity with the Reform Party, which gladly hailed his departure for Nova Scotia, and welcomed the advent of his successor, Sir John Colborne, as a public boon. The new Lieutenant-Governor assumed direction of the administration in November, and, as he was said to have received instructions to govern agreeably to a liberal policy, much was expected from him.

While political lines were thus being strongly and clearly drawn, immigrants from all parts of the mother country continued to pour freely into the Province. Among the earlier of these were many half-pay officers, and other gentlemen of slender means, who moved by the glowing accounts of the fine farms to be had for the asking, and the splendid shooting and fishing which abounded in every direction, came out to better their fortunes in Upper Canada. They got their farms, found the land, as a rule, fertile, but covered with a dense forest which had to be subdued. The rivers and lakes swarmed with fish, among which were the finest salmon and the most delicious trout. The woods abounded with game, from the quail, the pigeon and the partridge, to the duck, the goose and the turkey ; from the squirrel and the hare to the red deer, the gigantic moose, and the black bear. For a time all went merry as a mar-

riage bell with these gentlemen settlers. But, by-and-by, their slender means disappeared in the ceaseless struggle with the forest, high wages to workmen could no longer be paid, and the product of mere shooting and fishing was insufficient to sustain them. They painfully realised at last, in the majority of cases, that they were unequal to the battle of life in a new country ; so their farms were abandoned and their little clearings surrendered to the Canada thistle or a dense growth of underbrush. Fortunately, however, the Home Government did not relax its exertions to fill up the waste places of the Province with loyal settlers ; and presently the true sons of toil, farmers, farm labourers and mechanics, from every part of the mother country, swarmed up the St. Lawrence ; and, despite much original lack of woodcraft, eventually proved themselves equal to the subjugation of the wilderness. Some of the gentlemen immigrants, however, stood their ground stoutly with true British pluck, assailed the forest with resolution, became excellent farmers in time, and exercised no small influence for good among their more uneducated neighbours. We have before us, as we write, the "Twenty years' experience in Canada West" by one of these gentlemen,\* extending onwards from 1824, which gives a graphic and uncoloured picture of the fortunes and misfortunes, the smooth ways and the rough ones, of the earlier settler's life in the backwoods of Upper Canada. "The employments," said he, "of a respectable Canadian settler are certainly of a very multifarious character ; and he may be said to combine, in his own person, several professions if not trades. A man of education will always possess an influence even in bush society : he may be poor but his value will not be tested by the low standard of money, and he will be appealed to for his judgment in many matters, and will be inducted into several offices more honourable than lucrative." Sickness, and sorrow, and death, came to his humble log home very soon ; and not only had he to battle with misfortune and the forest, but also with the black fly, the mosquito, the bears and the wolves. But, like thousands of others, the elastic and hopeful temperament of youth, the great sheet anchor of the new settler in a new country, enabled him to overcome one difficulty after another. And he learned to love the cloudless sunshine of its Canadian skies, the tender rays of its Indian summer, the healthful pleasures of its frosty winters. "Sleighing is without doubt," said he, "the most delightful mode of travelling you can possibly conceive, and the sound of approaching sleigh bells is the sweetest music to the ears of the anxious wife, watching for the safe return of a husband from the winter's journey, from the dangers of the snow storm, which may make the roads impassable, from the packs of prowling wolves that roam through the forest, making night hideous, at times, with their appalling cries. In no country on the face of the earth does the touch of wedded love beam

\* Major Strickland. His work, in two volumes, was edited by his sister Agnes, the celebrated authoress.

brighter than in Canada, where the husband always finds the wife dearer than the bride. I have seen many an accomplished and beautiful English girl forgetting, with her father's house, the amusements of fashionable life, to realise with a half-pay officer, or "younger brother," the purer, holier, pleasures of domestic love in this country, where a numerous issue, the fruits of their union, are considered a blessing and a source of wealth, instead of bringing with them, as in the Old Country, an increase of care." Such is the picture of Canada sketched in the earlier half of the present century by the pen of an English gentleman, of warm sympathies and kindly heart. It was true to life then : it is true to life now.

But English, and Irish, and Scotch immigrants, were not the only settlers who found their way into Upper Canada at this period. The taxes imposed upon wild lands began to force them freely into the open market, and Americans of means again made their appearance in the Province, and bought up the soil, to the great gratification of the Dicksons, the Powells, and other large real estate owners, who had begun to find their properties more burdensome than profitable. A poorer and more undesirable class of persons also began to find their way across the border. They had got into debt, or into some legal difficulty, came to Canada as a sure haven of refuge, sought to live by their wits; which had hitherto dealt so poorly by them, and occasionally made some trouble. But the progress of time, and the large and healthy British immigration gradually neutralised all difficulties in this direction. Springing from the same ancestry, speaking the same tongue, the people blended harmoniously together, and took kindly to the old Yankee ways which came in with the U. E. Loyalist immigration; and which have governed rural society in English-speaking Canada from that day to this; most probably because they were adapted to the inexorable fitness of things. These were the days of innumerable Logging, Barn, and House Raising Bees; of frolicking Quilting Bees without end; of Apple Paring Bees; and dozens of other Bees besides. A rude plenty, won from the forest and fertile glebe by stalworth arms and brave toil, abounded all over the land.—Whiskey was cheap, and a good deal of it circulated at the Bees where men prevailed; and led occasionally to quarrels and broken heads. But kindly feelings came back with returning sober reason, and neighbours became fast friends again and bore no malice. But if there were a good deal of whiskey drinking, of horse-play and pugilistic encounters, in these primitive times, the gentler and better aspirations of humanity never failed to assert their supremacy, and there were, also, a good deal of love-making, a good deal of marrying and being given in marriage. Happy homes spread themselves over the land, which commenced to blossom as the rose; waving grain fields bent to the gentle summer winds in the ancient hunting grounds of the Huron and the Algonquin, the Mohawk and the Seneca; and the great forest wilderness of the past slowly but surely receded forever into the distance, to be beaten back

still farther and farther into the remote perspective as time rolled on.

The church and the school house came, as soon as could be reasonably expected, after the settler had made his home fairly comfortable. When the churches were prudently located they were well attended; and free farms and abundance of food soon filled the log school houses with a new generation. Among the religious bodies the Methodists, still labouring with primitive simplicity and force, continued in the ascendant, both as regarded numbers and usefulness.\* The old U. E. Loyalist settlers clung to the episcopal, or American, branch of this denomination, which mainly drew its ministers from the New York Conference; while its members from the Old World held fast to Wesleyan Methodism. The Church of England, its ranks largely added to by recent immigration, especially from Ireland, came next in point of numbers, followed by the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. Of other denominations there were very few in the Province. Outside the vice of intemperance, cheap whiskey proving too great a temptation for Old Country settlers, the people were law-abiding, exceedingly honest, and the rural districts were easily kept in order by the local magistracy aided by the county constables, a few of whom sufficed for a whole district.

The great drawback of Upper Canada, at this period, was the want of a seaport of its own. Montreal was in another Province, whose Legislature was by no means as friendly as it should have been; and had frequently shown itself adverse to closer relations with its English-speaking sister towards the west. William Hamilton Merritt, that great practical benefactor of his country, went to England, in the summer of 1828, to raise more funds for the completion of the Welland Canal, on which \$700,000 had already been expended; and was examined by a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to enquire into the civil government of the Canadas. To the question, in what way does the want of a seaport affect the value of land in Upper Canada? his answer was, that it was thus excluded from its natural source of wealth.—He illustrated this opinion by stating that the wealth of the State of New York centered in the City of New York, to be redistributed from thence, while the wealth of Upper Canada, such as it was, centered in Montreal. He added that the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, so as to permit of its ascent by good-sized vessels, and the completion of the Welland Canal, an event now close at hand, would make a sea-coast of all the great lakes, and do for Canadian prosperity what the Erie Canal was so abundantly doing at that time for the Northern States of the Union. Freight from Liverpool to Montreal then averaged from four to seven dollars a ton; while from Montreal to the upper end of Lake Ontario, the average rate was from twenty to twenty-seven

\* Life of William Hamilton Merritt, p. 107.



dollars a ton. The freight on a barrel of flour, shipped from St. Catherines to Montreal, ate up a third of its value ; while the freight on heavy goods from Montreal cost the full half of their price. The trade of Upper Canada was terribly hampered by this state of things, and Merritt returned home to press the construction of the St. Lawrence Canals as strongly as possible on the legislatures of the sister Provinces. Little wonder that Toronto after an existence of some thirty years was still only a large village. The difficulty of transport, which had so injuriously affected the commerce of Canada, above Montreal, during the days of French dominion still existed, and now seriously restricted the trade of the Upper Province. Were it not that it shared, to some extent, in the facilities for commerce which the Erie Canal gave to western New York its condition would have been still worse. Merritt lived to see all his great projects fully carried out ; and the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals working in harmony, and giving a vast impetus to western trade, and a new life to all the great lake cities and towns. In 1861 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of the Province. In January 1862 he lost his wife, and sensible that his own end was not far distant he put his affairs in order in his usual precise way. On the approach of summer his medical adviser recommended change of air. On his arrival at Montreal, on his way to the sea-coast, he became very ill, and being anxious to end his life at home was carried on board the steamer *Champion*, and died, full of years and honour, on the morning of Sunday, the 5th of July, while passing through the Cornwall Canal.\*

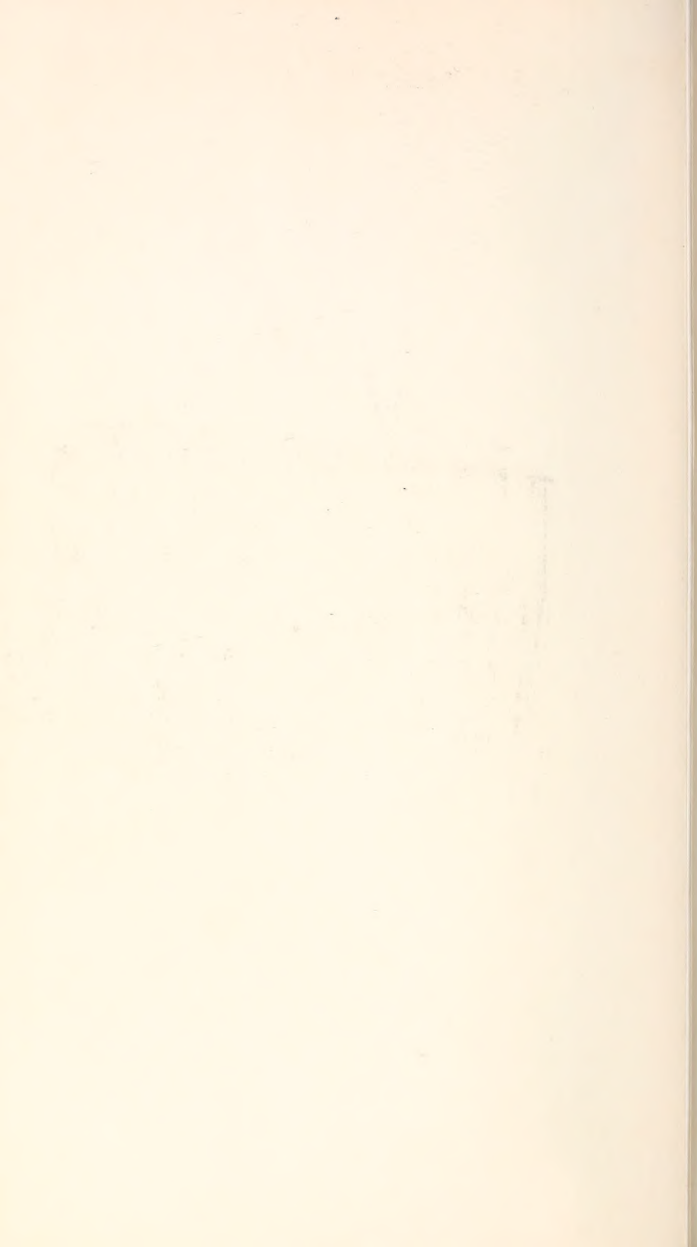
\* Life of William Hamilton Merritt, p. 429.

THE END OF VOLUME I.











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